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OF
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HENRY B. DAWSON.
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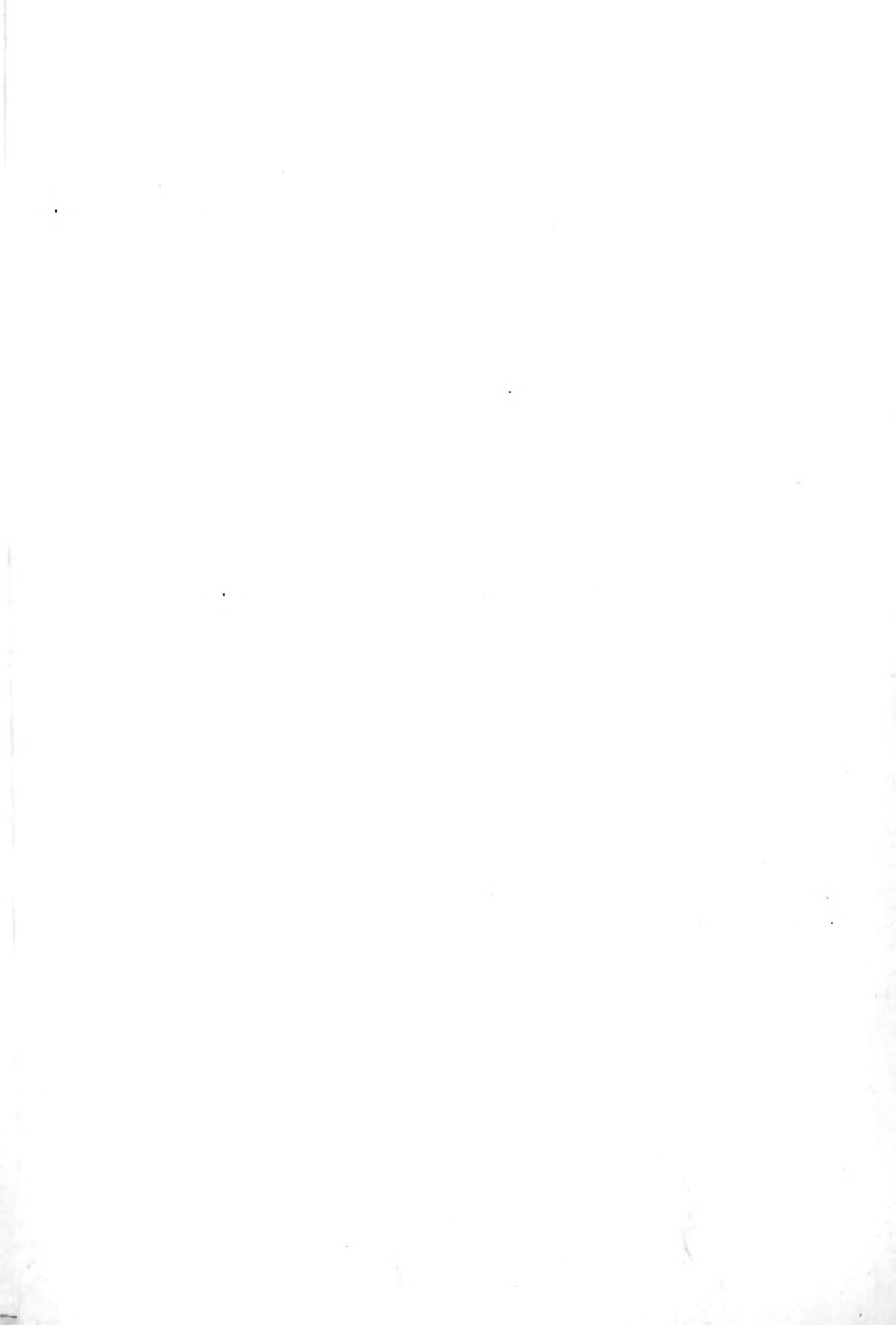
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PREFATORY NOTE.

It is our agreeable duty, at the close of another volume, to renew our thanks to our Contributors as well as to our Subscribers, for their continued kindness; and to express our hope that the agreeable relations, thus continued, may not be again interrupted, until the Magazine shall become, what we earnestly hope to see it, a welcome guest in every library and a trusted friend to all who shall need the information which may be obtained from its pages.

HENRY B. DAWSON.

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INDEX.

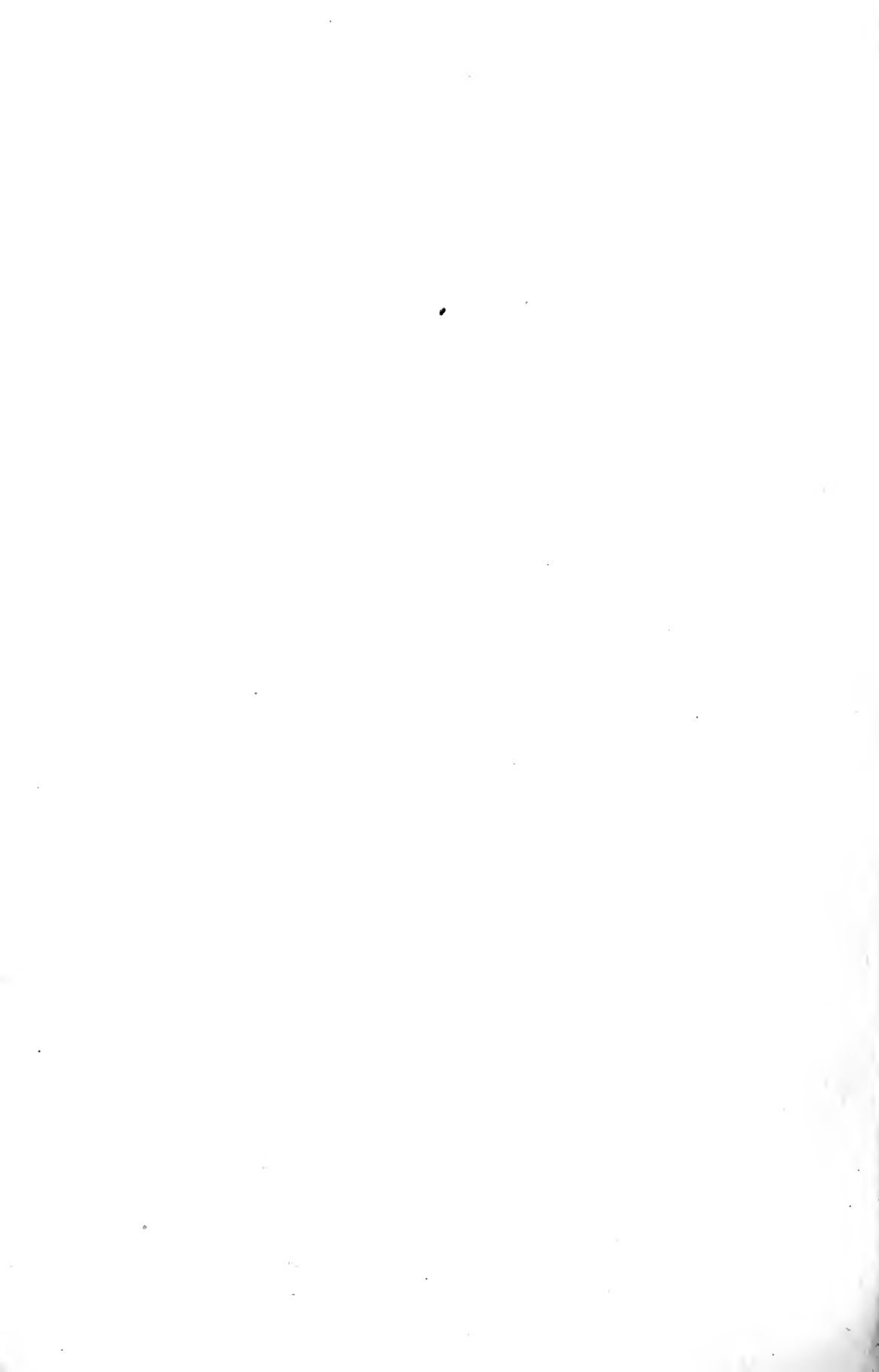
- Abbott, J. S. C. Errors in his *History of the Civil War*, 36, 51, 53.
- Abenakis. The, 85.
- Adams. Samuel, Portrait of him presented to Independence-hall, 320.
- Albany. The Presbyterian - church there, 248.
- Allen. Ethan. Note on, 193; portrait of, 372.
- John, the book-collector, 253.
- Alstead, N. H., 113.
- America. Curiosities of Literature of, 54, 60, 110; manners of Bench and Bar, in, 94; flag of, in California, 109; antiquities of, 242; names in, compared with those in Asia, 369.
- Americus Vesputius. Bibliography of his letter, 111.
- Ames. Fisher, 56.
- family, of Dedham, 56.
- Anasquam. Sketch of, 363.
- Ancient Penobscot, or Panawanskak, 85.
- Prophecy, 118.
- Anderson. Major Robert. Sketch of, 37; ordered to Charleston, 37; who obtained the command for him, 37; assumed command, 39, 40; his original instructions, 39; condition of the post, 40; his relations with the Carolinians, 40, 43; his lukewarmness, 41, 45, 145, 146; his determination to abandon Fort Moultrie, 45, 48; reasons for doing so, 47; at Mrs. Foster's party, 48; not in Charleston, on Christmas-day, 48; his pretence of expected attack, 48; his political opinions, 144; his rights, as commander of the post, 154; reported ability to defend Fort Sumter, 171-173; effects of those reports, 173; alleged private orders received from the President examined, 176; his correspondence with Governor Pickens concerning the *Star of the West*, 189, 190; reported association with Lincoln, Davis, and Taylor, 299.
- Andre. Major John. His execution, 98.
- Antiquities of America. Aztec pictures in the West, 242.
- Appleton's Encyclopedia*. Error in, 51.
- Arnold. General Benedict, and the Shippen family, 372.
- Asia and America. Names of localities in, compared, 369.
- Associated Press reports. Errors in, 142.
- Aztec pictures in the West, 242.
- Babbitt. Isaac. Sketch of him and his discovery, 30.
- metal, 163.
- Baked beans, on Sunday, 290.
- Bangs, Merwin, & Co., 254.
- "Banjo. Who owns it?" 54.
- Baptists, in Maine. Their history, 114.
- Barker. Jacob. Death of, 114.
- Battle-flags, Delaware. Presented to Delaware Historical Society, 383.
- English. Inscribed with "BUNKER-HILL" and "LEXINGTON," 285.
- Bayard family vault, 301.
- "Bear-flag" of California, 109.
- Bells. Notable, 262.
- Bethel, Maine. First male child born there, 242.
- Bible. The Puritan, 56.
- Binghamton. The first newspaper there, 241, 306.
- Biörck. Rev. Ericus, the Swedish pastor, 204.
- Blair. Rev. James, 17.
- Bland. Richard, and the tobacco question in Virginia, 15.
- Books. 59, 125, 192, 254, 315, 375.
- Boston. Green-dragon-tavern, 28; freemasons in, 28; fire in, 1787, 111; church-affairs, 1720-30, 196; *Topographical and Historical History of*, used by three different authors as the title of different works, 243; railroads and stages from, 364; the Bar of, 250; the "massacre" at, 298.
- Bragg. General Braxton, and the Generals of his command, 257, 334; unpublished letters from, 258, 260, 265, 266, 338, 339; quarrels with his officers, 258, 266, 334; Report on Battle of Stone's-river, 267, 334.
- Brandywine. Washington at the Battle of, 244.
- Breckinridge. General John C. Unpublished letters from, 261, 266, 337; his action on General Bragg's Report on Battle of Stone's-river, 334-350.
- Bristol, Maine. Old church there, 299.
- Bronson. Chief-justice G. C., 96.
- Brooklyn*, frigate, held in readiness to relieve Fort Sumter, 43; ordered to sail, 162, 180, 182, 183; order countermanded, 184; sailed, 188, 191.
- Brown. Ethan Allen, 52.
- Bryant. Doctor Peter, of Cummingtown, 334.
- William C. and Major Anderson, 57.
- Buchanan. President James. His original instructions to Major Anderson, 39; his policy with the South, 42, 43; his provision against a surprise of the forts, 43; his new orders to Anderson, 43; his interview with the Representatives of South Carolina, 43; misrepresentations of that interview, 44; his action, 45, 160, 162, 180, 182, 183, 184, 188; misrepresentations of, 44, 45, 157, 158; his errors of statement, 51, 142, 257, 161; his interviews with the Carolinian Commissioners, 157, 160-162; meetings of the Cabinet, 157; his ignorance of the weakness of Fort Moultrie, 160; orders the *Brooklyn* to strengthen Sumter, 162, 182; countermands the order, 163, 184.
- Buckner. Adjutant-general John A. Unpublished letter of, 349.
- General S. C. Unpublished letter of, 263.
- Buell. Major D. C. Orders sent to Anderson by him, 43.
- "Bunker-hill," on English regimental colors, 285.
- Burning at the stake, in New York, 112.
- Burr and Montgomery, 123.
- Buxton, Maine, 114.
- Calatrava. The Cross of, 245, 306.
- Calhoun. John C., on gifts to public officers, 113.
- California. American flag, in, 109; the "bear flag" in, 109; Fremont's flag, in, 109.
- Canajohara. Meaning of the word, 120.
- Canterbury, Conn., 246, 308.
- Cape May, N. J., in 1758, 242.
- Carolinians. Their temper, 35, 40, 41, 42, 45, 47, 165; their Representatives in Congress, 43; their Convention, 45, 149-151, 165, 168; Caleb Cushing sent to them, 45; their guard-boats, 52; seize the public buildings and forts, 148; their subsequent action, 156-158, 162, 164; their status, Jan. 9, 1861, 190.
- Castle Pinckney described, 36; work on it, 41; occupied by Carolinians, 149, 152, 153.
- Catholic-church of Sacred Heart, at Conewaga, 283.
- history. See *Standish, Conewaga*.
- Caughnawaga. Meaning of the word, 121.
- Cedar-county, Iowa, 243.
- Charleston and the War, 35; defences of its harbor, 35; garrison of, 37, 39; Anderson not there, on Christmas-day, 48; excitement on occupation of Fort Sumter, 139, 140; seizure of public buildings, 148; condition of, 158, 162, 164; fears of the *Brooklyn*, 191; indefensibility of, 164.
- *Courier*. Errors in, 51.
- *News*. Errors in, 51.
- Charter-oak, at Hartford, 120.
- Cheatham. General B. F. Unpublished letter from, 258.
- Checkley. John, 196, 197; 199-202.
- Chicago. Newspaper press in, 241.
- Choate. Hon. Rufus, 250.
- Church affairs in Boston, 1720-30, 196.
- Cincinnati. Pennsylvania Association of Order of, 107.

- Civil Service and President Washington, 298.
 Clay, Henry. His birthplace destroyed, 112.
 Cleaveland. Rev. Ebenezer, 300.
 Clendune. General P. R. Unpublished letter from, 262.
 Clendenin's-lane, Bloomingdale, N. Y., 56.
Cleopatra's Barge, yacht, 309.
 Clergy, in Virginia, and tobacco, 14.
Clinch, guard-boat, 52, 139, 153, 175.
 Clinton. General Sir Henry, 56.
 "Clove, The," New York, 7.
 Colden. Lieutenant-governor C. Letter from, 26.
 Colonial tea-pots, 57, 250.
 Conewaga, Penn., Catholic - church there, 284.
 Confederate Army of Tennessee, 258-274, 334-351.
 Love-taps, 258, 334.
 Conflicts of the War of Secession, 34, 139.
 Congress, on the insurrection, 164; first shorthand-writer in, 241, 305.
Congressional Register, 302, 305.
 Connecticut. Charter of, and the Charter-oak, 120; education of negroes in, 246, 308, 372; invasion of, 365.
 Constitution for United States, 110.
 Contoit's-garden, New York, 56.
 Convention. Constitutional, of 1787, 110.
 South Carolina. Its temper and action, 149-151, 165, 168; sent Commissioners to Washington, 156, 166.
 Corwin. Thomas. Anecdote of, 298.
 Cotton. Rev. John. His ancestry, 303.
 Couch. Judge Jessup N., 73.
 Crandall. Prudence, and her negro-school, 246, 308.
 Crawford. Colonel, 208.
 Doctor Samuel W., U.S.A., 52, 53, 142.
 Cross of Calatrava, 245, 306.
 Crowninshield family, 309.
 wharf, 242, 309.
 Cumberland-county, N. J. Tea-riot there, 1774, 231.
 Curiosities of American literature, 54, 60, 110.
 Current Events, 319, 353.
 Cushing, Caleb. His mission to South Carolina, 45.
 Cutler. Doctor Manassah, 324-329.
 Rev Timothy, 198, 203.
 D'Arenth. The Baron. Unpublished letters of, 77.
 Danbury. Movement of Royal Army on, 1777, 365.
 Dane. Nathan, 57.
 Darlington. William, LL.D., 32, 249, 370.
 Davis. Jefferson. His relations with Lincoln, Anderson, and Taylor, 299.
 Lieutenant Jefferson C., at Castle Pinckney, 41; at Mrs. Foster's party, 48; at evacuation of Fort Moultrie, 50-53, 142, 143.
 Declaration of Independence. The original manuscript injured, 306.
 Delaware. Battle flags of, 383; Swedish settlements on, 204; the Lord's Prayer in the aboriginal language of, 55.
 river. Early steamboating on, 54, 249.
 De Peyster. Colonel Abraham, as Judge, 31.
 De Saussure. Colonel Wilmot G., 149, 153.
 Dexter. Samuel, of the Boston Bar, 250.
 Dissenters in Virginia, 16.
 Dixwell, the regicide, 57.
 Douglass. Doctor William, the historian, 29.
Drake's History of New England, 302.
 J. Rodman. His grave, 105.
 Draper, Professor. Errors in his *Civil War in America*, 39, 51, 53.
 Dudley. Joseph. The death of, 19.
 Duels in America, 57, 124.
Duyckinck's War for the Union. Errors in, 45, 53.
 Eacker. George I. His duel with Hamilton, 124.
 Early. General J. A. Report of his Division, 1863, 227.
 printing in the West, 120, 124, 250, 303.
 steamboating, 54, 249.
 East Chester, N. Y. in 1787, 328.
 East Haven, Conn., 364.
 Editor's Salutatory, 1.
 Elder. Parson, 125.
 Episcopacy, in Maryland, 248; in Massachusetts, 196; in Pennsylvania, 248.
 Erskine. Robert. Ironmaster, 6.
 Estvan, Colonel. Errors in his *War Pictures*, 53.
 Evans. Rev. Evan, 248.
 Faesch. John Jacob, 7.
 Faulkner's *History of the Revolution*. Errors in it, 51, 53.
 Fay family, of Vermont, 116.
 Ferguson. Colonel Patrick. His headquarters, 55; at Battle of Brandywine, 244.
 Fire Company, at Reading, Penn. Centenary of, 339.
 First Churches in New England, 115.
 Fitch and early steamboating, 24.
 Fithian. Philip V., 250.
 Flag. See *America, Bear, Fremont, Fort McAllister*.
 raising, at Fort Sumter, 147.
 Fletcher. Lt. Col. Errors in his *History of American War*, 53.
 Fleury. Colonel, 78, 79.
 Flotsam, 54, 109, 241, 297, 362.
 Floyd. John B. His temper, in November, 1860, 36; in December, 1860, 157; his resignation, 161; Scott's correspondence with him, 178.
 Fort Johnson, 36.
 McAllister, 300.
 Moultrie. See *Moultrie, Fort*.
 Sumter. See *Sumter, Fort*.
 Foster. Captain John G., U. S. A., 39, 40; 41; 47; 48; 50; 51; 140; 142; 143.
 Mrs. Her party, 48.
 Fowler. C. A. Letter from him, 292.
Frank Leslie's Pictorial History. Errors in, 36, 48, 51, 53, 143, 150.
 Franklin. Benjamin. Letter from, 110; his opinion of War, 110.
 Fredericksburg. Report on operations before it, 102, 246.
 Free Public Libraries, 302.
 Freemasons in Boston, 28.
 Fremont's flag, in California, 109.
Frost's Rebellion in the United States. Errors in, 51, 53.
 Fulton and early steamboating, 21.
 Gardner. Lt. Col., at Charleston, 37; removed 37.
 General Assembly of South Carolina, 166, 167.
General Clinch, guardboat, 52, 139, 153, 175.
 Gerritsen's Bay, Long Island, 368.
 Gettysburg. Battle of, 212-214; 232-9.
 Ghosts. Belief of, in New Jersey, 6.
 Gifts to public officers, 301.
 Goffe, the regicide, 57.
 "Going the Circuit, in New York, 1700," 31.
 Goldsmith. Oliver. Manuscript on the American Revolution, by him, 365.
 Gooch. John. Letter from, 1776, 22.
 Goodenough - the Morristown-ghost, 7.
 Graffenried, North Carolina, 120.
 Grant. Did he "fight it out?" 306.
 Grantham, New Hampshire. First male born there, 299.
 Graves. Major R. E. His Report on battle of Stone's-river, 346.
 "Great West," 321.
 Greeley. Horace. Errors in his *American Conflict*, 45, 51, 53, 149, 150, 169.
 Green-dragon-tavern, Boston, 28.
 Greene. Colonel Christopher, 77-79.
 Greenhow. Mrs., a spy, 297.
 Green-mountain-boys of Vermont. Minutes of their Conventions, 20, 80, 134, 206, 289.
 Greenwich, N.J. Tea-riot there, 1774, 251.
 Griunell. Moses H. and the relief of the forts, 181, 182.
 Grouchey. Marshal, 302, 370.
 Hall. Lieut., at the evacuation of Fort Moultrie, 49.
 Lyman. His headstone, 57.
 Hamilton. Colonel James A. and the relief of the forts, 181, 182.
 Philip. His death, 124.
 Hampden, Maine, 300.
 Hampton-falls, N. H., 365.
 Hancock. General W. S. and the Delaware battle-flags, 383.
 Hardee. General William J. Unpublished letters from, 259, 265.
 Harlem-plain. Battle of, 22.
Harper's Pictorial History. Errors in, 51, 53, 148, 149, 150, 153.
 Harris. Rev. Henry. Letter from, 196; sketch of, 199.
 Chaplain Matthias, 50, 147.
 Hartford, in 1787, 324; the Trumbull house, at, 299.
 Hatfield. John, 114.
 Hazen's Regiment, Continental Army, 37.
 Headley J. T. Errors in his *Great Rebellion*, 53.
 Heathcote Ward, Savannah, 245, 369.
 Hempstead-harbor, Long Island, 368.
 Henry. Patrick, sketch of, 18; on the Stamp-act, 18; on the Minister-tax, 18.
 Hesselius. Professor Andrew, 503.
 Hill. General D. H. Letter from, 119.
 Historical Magazine. Its objects, 1; Publishers' Notes, 192, 193.
 History. How written. See *Abbott, Appleton's Encyclopedia, Associated Press reports, Charleston Courier, Charleston News, Duyckinck, Draper, Estvan, Faulkner, Fletcher, Frank Leslie, Frost, Greeley, Harper's Pictorial, Headley, Lossing, Moore, Pollard*.
 Hoffman. Ogden, 95.
 Holt. Hon. Joseph, appointed Secretary of War, 161.
 Houghton. Caleb, 299.
 Houlton, Maine, 299.
 Illinois. The first printing there, 204.
 Independence. Ode on, 334.

- Indiana. The first printing there, 303.
 Indians. See *Abenaki*, *Delaware*, *Maine*, *Massachusetts*.
 Names in Mohawk-valley, 120; Ohio, expedition against, 1782, 207.
 Ingoldsby. Colonel Richard, 18.
 Iron-works in New Jersey, 7.
 Irvine. General William. Unpublished letter from, 207.
 Irving. Washington. Why he was not married, 305.
- Jans. Annetje. See *King's-farm*.
 Confirmation of her title, 297.
 Jennings. Evarista, 299.
 Jews, in New York City, 366.
 Johnson. Fort, described, 36; expedition to, 49, 50, 52.
 James, of Boston, 28.
 Jones. James Athearn, 56.
 Jordan. Ambrose L., 97.
 Judges and Lawyers. Manners of, in America, 94.
- Kanouse. Rev. Peter, 4.
 Kearney letters and New Jersey troops, 122.
 Kent. James, 96.
 William, 96.
 Kentucky. First printing in, 303.
 King's-farm and Trinity-church, 287.
 mountain. Battle of, 55.
 Kittery, Maine, 299.
- Lake. Sir Bibye. Letter from him, 1738, 27; sketch of him, 27.
 Lane. Captain John, 118, 119.
 Lawrence. Captain James, 242.
 Laws of Massachusetts. Original edition, 250, 304.
 Lawyers and Judges. Manners of, in America, 94.
 Lee. General Robert E. His room, in the College, 364.
 Leisler. Jacob, 18.
 Lent. DeWitt C., 253.
 Leonard. Major Richard, 252.
 Lewiston, Maine. Early settlers of, 242.
 "Lexington," on English battle-flags, 285.
 Lincoln. Abraham, 35, 299.
 Literature. Curiosities of American, 54, 60, 110.
 Little-neck-bay. Long Island, 368.
 Livingston. Chancellor, and early steam-navigation, 23.
 Lloyd. Thomas, 241, 305.
 Long Island. Early history of, 368.
 Longacre. J. B. Engraver on the Mint, 306.
 Lord's Prayer, in Delaware language, 55.
 Lossing. Benson. J. Errors in his *History of the Civil War*, 37, 39, 41, 44, 48, 49, 50, 140, 141, 148, 149, 152, 153, 157, 169, 178, 185, 186, 187.
 Louisburg. Siege of, 118.
 Lynn, Mass., 299.
- Maine. Ancient Penobscot, 85; her Indian policy, 91; early Baptists in, 114; first tea used in, 299; old church, 299; first male born in Bethel, 242.
 Malden, Mass. Why Mr. Wigglesworth resigned the pastorate of, 288.
 Malfeasance. Is it? 372.
 Manhasset-bay, Long Island, 368.
 Manners, of American Judges and Lawyers, 94; of olden times, 366.
- Marshall. Chief-justice, 95.
 Colonel James. Letter from, 208.
 Martin Gerritsen's-bay, Long Island, 368.
 Massachusetts. Paper-money in, 55; her Indian policy, in Maine, 87; persecution of Scotch Presbyterians, at Worcester, 245; Puritan and Pilgrim fathers dissimilar, 245; original edition of her laws, 250, 304; woolen manufactures in, 299.
 Matches. Discoverer of, 114.
 Mayhew family, 31.
 Matthew. Unpublished letter of, 31.
 McArthur. Governor Duncan, 72.
 McClellan. General George B., 298.
 McCulloch. General Ben. Report on his operations in Missouri, 1861, 129; note on it, 133.
 McKenzie. William Lyon, 121, 253; his writings, 121, 253.
 McMichael. Hon. Morton, on General Meade, 209.
 Meade. General George Gordon. Oration on, 209; his dread of politics, 362.
 Meigs. Governor Return J., 71.
 Michigan. Early printing there, 124, 304.
 Middletown, Conn., 1787, 325, 326.
 Midlin. Fort. Attack on, 77.
 Miller. General James, 252.
 Milton. John, and Roger Williams, 242.
 Mass. Paper-mill there, 1764, 55.
 Missouri. Military operations in, 1861, 129; early printing there, 304.
 Mitchell. C. Halsey, 319.
 Mobley's meeting-house. Battle of, 243, 372.
 Mohawk-valley. Indian names, 120.
 Mobians. Last of them, 252.
 Moers. General Benjamin, 98.
 Moore. Frank. Errors in his *Rebellion Record*, 51, 142, 149, 150, 153, 161.
 George H. 311, 372-375.
 Colonel John, 365.
 Morris family, of Morrisania. Early days of, 118.
 Thomas, of Ohio, 73.
 Morristown Ghost, 2, 65; pamphlet on, 4; Rainsford Rogers, 7; operations of, 66; the exposure, 70.
 Morse family, 55.
 Moultrie. Fort, described, 36, 46, 47; work done there, 41, 47; Anderson determined to evacuate it, 45; reasons for doing so, 46, 47; secrecy of the movement, 47; evacuation of, 49-53; detachment left there, 50, 51; flag-staff, 53; defensibility of, discussed, 36, 45, 46, 140; dismantled, 142, 143; occupied by the Carolinians, 140, 149, 150.
 Murfreesboro'. Operations before it, 1863, 237-274, 354-351.
- National Register*, 302.
 Negroes, in war, 54, 56; General Sherman's opinion on, 113; the education of, in Connecticut, 246, 308, 372.
 Neumismatics, 245, 306.
 Newbern, N. C., 120, 246.
 Newbury, Mass. The old parsonage there, 122.
 New England. Witchcraft there, 13; first churches founded there are now Unitarian, 115; baked beans for Sunday dinner, 300.
 New Hampshire archives and the Vermont controversy, 24.
- New Hampshire Grants. See *Vermont Controversy*; *Green-mountain-boys of Vermont*.
 New Haven, in 1787, 326-328.
 New Jersey. Morristown Ghost, 2, 65; social condition, 1788-9, 5, 6; slaves there, 5; Tories there, 5; superstitions, 6; witches and ghosts believed in, 6; iron-works, 6, 7; laws concerning steam-navigation, 23; troops from, and the Kearney letters, 122; opposition to tea tax, 57, 250.
 Newspapers. First in Binghamton, 241 306; Chicago, 241; Illinois, 304; Indiana, 303; Kentucky, 303; Michigan, 124, 304; Missouri, 304; New York, 241; Ohio, 303; Poughkeepsie, 241; Tennessee, 304; Western Pennsylvania, 303; the oldest religions, 363.
 New York City. Trinity-church, 10, 73, 218, 285, 351; Jacob Leisler, in 1691, 19; evacuation of, 1776, 22; Clendenin's-lane, 56; Contoit's-garden, 56; Associated Presbyterian-church, in Nassau-street, 247; Bayard family vault, 201; Rose Butler, 303; the Record "job," 310; in 1787, 329; Jews in, 366.
 New York Historical Society and the Record job, 310; its management, 372-375.
 New York State. See *New York City*. Steam-navigation, 23; her action with New Hampshire Grants, 20, 24, 80, 99, 134, 206, 222, 289, 293, 356; "going the Circuit in," 31; burning at the stake, there, 112; Indian names in the Mohawk-valley, 120; early newspapers at Binghamton, 241, 306.
 Niagara frontier, in War of 1812, 369.
 Niles's Register, 302.
 Niva, guardboat, 52, 139, 153, 158.
 North. Effect of evacuation of Fort Moultrie on, 156.
 North Carolina. Presbyterians in, 247.
 Northfield, Vermont. The University and the War, 299.
 Notable Places, 28, 105.
 Notes, 56, 114, 242, 300, 365.
- O'Callaghan. Doctor E. B., 253, 311.
 Ode on Independence, 334.
 Officers. Washington's mode of appointing them, 298.
 O'Hara. Adjutant-general Theodore, His Report on Battle of Stone's-river, 341.
 Ohio. Early statesmen of, 71; expedition against the Indians in, 1782, 207; first printing there, 303.
 Company, 323.
 river. Early steamboating on, 23.
 Old Chnrch, 299.
 houses, 55, 112, 122.
 people, 55, 112, 114.
 times, 366.
 Ordinance of 1787, 57.
 Otis. Harrison Gray, 250.
 Our ancient records, 310.
 Our historical writers, 33.
 Oyster-bay, Long Island, 368.
- Paine. Thomas. His writings pirated, 55.
 Panawanskek, Maine, 85.
 Paper-making, in Massachusetts, 55.
 Passaic. Early steamboats on it, 23.
 Pardons of Criminals, in Pennsylvania, 1791-1872, 301.

- Parsons. General Samuel Holden, 325.
 Paterson, N. J. Reformed Dutch Church there, 113.
 Peck John, 51.
 Pemberton. Thomas, the annalist of Boston, 243.
 Pennsylvania. List of members of State Association of Cincinnati, in, 107; expedition from, against Ohio Indians, 207; campaign in, 1863, 211, 227, 232-239; Presbyterian-church in, 247; Catholic-church in, 253; Letter from western, 292; Pardons of convicts in, 1791-1872, 301; first printing in western parts of, 303.
 Historical Society, 261.
 Penobscot. Ancient, 85.
 Petaluma (Cal.) Baptist-church-bell, 362.
 Pettigrew. Colonel, 149.
 Philadelphia. Waterworks, 1799, 23; early steamboating from, 54, 249; portrait given to Independence Hall, 320.
 Pickens. Governor, 146, 148, 151, 155, 167-170, 189-190.
 Pilgrim fathers of Massachusetts, not Puritans, 245.
 Pittsford voting to erect a monument, 299.
 Polk. General L. C. S. A. Unpublished letters from, 259, 260, 261, 336.
 Pollard, Mr. Errors in his *First Year of the War*, 53, 142; errors in his *Southern History of the War*, 53; errors in his *Lost Cause*, 142.
 Porter. General Fitz-john, 36, 37.
 Potter family, of Poughkeepsie, 241.
 Preble. Colonel Jed, 371.
 Presbyterian-church, in Albany, 245; New York, 247; North Carolina, 247; in Pennsylvania, 247; persecution of, at Worcester, 245.
 Presidents of the United States. Their ages, etc. 114.
 Price. General Sterling, 129.
 "Price. Mr., 124.
 Printing. Early, 120, 124, 241, 250, 303; See *Newspapers*.
 Prophecy. Modern-Ancient, 116.
 Providence, in 1787, 324.
 Public-officers. Appointments of, 298; gifts to, 301.
 schools and American history, 310.
 Publishers' Notes, 192, 193.
 Puritan bible, 56.
 fathers of Massachusetts, not Pilgrims, 245.
 Purrysburg, S. C., 120, 246.
 Queries, 56, 120, 244, 302, 368.
 Quincy, Mass. First Railroad, there, 107.
 Railroads. The first in America, 107; and stages from Boston, 364.
 Randolph. Peyton, and the tobacco question, in Virginia, 15.
 Raymond. Henry J. Errors in his *Life of Lincoln*, 45.
 Reading, Penn. Centenary of Fire Company, 333.
 Red Jacket, and his dinner, 241.
 Reformed Dutch Church at Paterson, N. J., 113.
 Regicides, in New England, 57.
 Replies, 57, 120, 246, 303, 369.
 Revolutionary War. Evacuation of New York, 1776, 22; battle of Harlem, 22; Green-dragon-tavern, Boston, 28; negroes in, 56; attack on Fort Mifflin, 77; General Mooers in, 97-99; Mobley meeting-house, 243; Battle of Brandywine, 244; tea-riots, 57, 250.
 Riall. General. His capture, 58, 252.
 Richard. Father Gabriel, 250.
 Richmond. Its surrender, 320.
 Rippitt. Mrs., 50, 51, 53.
 Robertson. Captain F. H. Unpublished letters from, 339, 341, 349.
 Rogers. Ransford, at Sufferns, N. Y., 7; his character, 7; removal to Morristown, 7; as a teacher, 7; as the "Morristown - ghost," 8-10. See *Morristown Ghost*.
 Sacramental Tokens, 57, 124, 246, 371.
 Salem, Mass. Phillips-wharf, there, 242, 209; the Crowninshields of, 242, 309.
 county, N. J. Tea-mob, there, 251.
 Salisbury, N. H. In the olden time, 115.
 Sands. Samuel, 241.
 San Francisco. Bells, there, 362.
 Savage's portrait of Washington, 302.
 Savannah. Heathcote Ward in, 245, 369.
 Schenectada. Meaning of the word, 121.
 Schmucker. Mr. Errors in his *History of the Civil War*, 53.
 Schoharie. Meaning of the word, 121.
 Schooley's-mountain, N. J., 5.
 Schoonmaker. Lieut. Col. John, on the Kearney letters, 122.
 Schuerle. General, to occupy Sullivan's Island, 170.
 Scotch Presbyterians persecuted at Worcester, Mass., 245.
 Scott. General Winfield, and the President, 45; his *Views*, 45, 178; desires to relieve the forts, 162; opposes it, 163; renews desire, 177-189; his character, 177.
 Shaw. Charles, 243.
 Shearith Israel, in New York, 366.
 Sherman. General W. T., on negroes and white men, 113.
 Shippens and Benedict Arnold, 372.
 Short-hand writer. First in Congress, 241, 305.
 Shurtleff. Doctor N. B., 28, 243.
 Sigel. General Franz, 129.
 Simmons. General. His report to Gov. Pickens, 170.
 Sixth Army Corps before Fredericksburg, 1863, 102.
 Skillen. Katie, 152.
 Slashes, Virginia, 113.
 Slaves, in New Jersey, 1788-9, 5.
 Slougher. Governor, of New York, 19.
 Smallman. James, on early steamboats, 23.
 Smith. Colonel Samuel, 78, 79.
 Smith's Clove, N. Y., 7.
 Snythe. John, of Perth Amboy, 365.
 Snyder. Lieut., 41, 52.
 Somerby. Frederic T., 116.
 Solitude, N. J., 7.
 Soul. Essay on Nature and Immortality of, 193, 275, 330.
 South. Effect of evacuation of Fort Moultrie on, 156.
 Carolina. See *Carolínians*, *Sumter*, *Fort*, *General Assembly*, *Convention*, *Mobley's meeting-house*, *Slavery*.
 South Carolínians. See *Carolínians*, *South Carolina*, *Sumter*, *Fort*.
 Sprague. Charles. His works pirated, 54.
 St. Andrew's Lodge, Boston, 28.
 St. Clair. General Arthur, 72.
 Stable-point, East-Haven, Conn., 364.
 Stages and Railroads from Boston, 364.
 Stamford, Conn., 112.
 Stamp-act, in Virginia, 18.
 Standish family, 370.
 Miles, 56, 251, 370.
Star of the West, steamer, 175-189.
Star-spangled Banner. Who set it in type? 241.
 Steam-engine, in 1787, 324.
 Steamboat. First on Ohio-river, 23; on the Delaware, in 1790, 54, 249; in 1798, 23.
 Stevens. Atherton H., 320.
 Stiles. President, 327, 325; his mode of writing history, 57.
 Stone's-river. Battle of, 257-274, 334-357.
 Stroudwater, 371.
 Stuart. William, 241, 306.
 Sumter. The Story of, 34-54, 139-192.
 Swedes. Their settlements on the Delaware, 204.
 Taney. Chief-justice, on gifts to public officers, 301.
 Taylor. (Zachary), Lincoln, Davis, and Anderson, 299.
 Tea. The first used in Maine, 299.
 riots, in New Jersey, 57, 250.
 Teapots. Colonial, 57, 250.
 Tell. William. The story of, untrue, 362.
 Tennessee. Early printing there, 303.
 Tobacco and the clergy, in Virginia, 14.
 Tokens. Sacramental, 57.
 Tories, in New Jersey, 5.
 Trimble. Governor Allen, 73.
 Trinity-church, New York. Early records of, 10, 73, 218, 258; 351.
 Trumbull. Governor. His house, in Hartford, 299.
 Henry. 245; his *Indian Wars*, 245.
 Tyler. President John. His private fortune, 293.
 Ulster-county, N. Y. Courts in, in 1700, 31; its condition, 1799, 112.
 Uncas, Lenore, "the last of the Mohicans," 252.
 United States, in 1860, 34.
 Universal Plentitude of Being. Essay on, 193, 275, 330.
 Van Buren. Hon. John, 97.
 Van Dorn. General Earle. Unpublished letter from, 266.
Vermont Controversy, 24, 99, 222, 293, 356.
 Green - mountain - boys of. Minutes of their Conventions, 20, 50, 134, 206, 259.
 Victor. Errors in his *History of the Rebellion*, 51, 53.
 Vinton. Rev. Francis, D. D. Errors in his Oration on Rhode Island, 242.
 Virginia. Tobacco and the Clergy, in, 14; dissenters in, 16; stamp-act in, 18; *The State of Her Majesty's Colony in*, 244.
 War, defined, 155.
 Department. Its refusal to allow its records to be seen, 39, 310.
 of Secession. See *Sumter*, *Fort*, *South Carolina*, *Gettysburg*. How secrets leaked out, in it, 247.
 Washington. General. Order of, 56; death of, 58, 112; dispute concerning

- one of his letters, 253; his appointments, how made, 298; Savage's portrait of, 302; his watch, 361; bedstead used by him, 365.
- Weare, Hon. Mesheck, 365.
- Webster, Daniel. His father, 115.
- Weed, Thurlow. How he writes history, 78.
- Wendell, John, 26.
- West. Early printing in, 120, 250, 303.
- Westchester county, N. Y., in the War of the Revolution, 302; in 1787, 328, 329.
- Western States of the Great Valley and the cause of their prosperity, historically considered, 321.
- Wetzell, Lewis, 72.
- Whalley, the Regicide, 57.
- What we have to say about it, 253, 310, 373.
- White Plains, N. Y. Battle of, 302.
- Whitney, Mr. Errors in his *History of the War*, 141, 153.
- Wigglesworth, Rev. Michael. His reasons for resigning the pastorate at Malden, 288.
- Wilde's *Summer Rose*, 60.
- Williams, J. Earle, in the proposed relief of Fort Sumter, 181.
- Roger, and Milton, 242.
- Williamson, Colonel David. Unpublished letter from, 207.
- Wilson, Inspector-general. Unpublished letter from him, 344.
- Winchester. Operations at, 228-231.
- Witchcraft, in New Jersey, 2; in New England, 3.
- Withers, General J. M. Unpublished letter from, 258.
- Woodbridge family, 59.
- Woollen manufactures, in Massachusetts, 299.
- Worcester, Mass. Persecution of the Scotch Presbyterians, there, 245.
- Worthington, Governor, of Ohio, 72.
- Yale-college, in 1787, 327.
- Young, David, the almanac maker, 4



THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. I. THIRD SERIES.]

JANUARY, 1872.

[No. 1.

I.—TO OUR READERS,

ON THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE THIRD
SERIES.

Five years since, at the opening of the eleventh year of the publication of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, it was our privilege to address those of you who were then "Our Readers;" and, again, at the opening of our twenty-first volume—the first of our Third Series—we are permitted, to-day, to enjoy the same privilege.

Five years, meanwhile, have presented their joys and their sorrows; and each year, as it has passed away, never to return, has borne with it some of those who were our companions and our friends—fellow-laborers, very often, in the field in which we have labored,—all of them laden with the fruits of their toil, returning, their appointed work having been completed, to the rest which had been already prepared for them. Those who have been spared, in order to complete their allotted work, not yet finished, have encountered five years more of anxieties and of joys than they had then encountered; and some there are, with heads more deeply blanched than they then were, and with hands far less steady—trophies of their faithful labors, and, too often, their only rewards,—who, in the interval, have lost the elasticity of their step and the overflow of their spirits, and quietly await the order for their departure—too near, it may be, for those who are dependent on them, for guidance and support—which is, evidently, not far distant. Five years have also shaken thrones; disarranged boundaries; overthrown some of those who were, previously, high in authority; elevated some of those who were, then, low in obscurity; tested the capacity of men for self-government, as it had seldom, before, been tested; developed the resources of those partisans among whom the possession of power, no matter how acquired, is the warrant for the exercise of authority, no matter how much unauthorized by law; and, in politics and in war, set aside maxims which prevailed in better days, among better men; made giants of pignies; and so concealed and belittled the Truth, that Falsehood has become the most attractive.

HIS. MAG. VOL. XI. 1.

In the midst of all these changes, unaffected by any of them, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE occupies, comparatively unchanged, the same position which it occupied, five years ago; and it enters another era,—the third—in its history, with no new duties, no new hopes, no new prospects. What it was, five years since, it is, to-day; and what, to-day, it seeks to attain, it sought, five years ago, as earnestly and as honestly, as now. We promise, now, as we promised then, that "it will be steadily devoted, as it has been, hitherto, to the History, Antiquities, Biography, and Standard Literature of America; and we believe we may safely say that there will not be found in its columns, without our knowledge and consent, any place whatever, for any subject which does not seem to bear 'the guinea stamp' of historic truth and genuineness, unless for exposing its character and denouncing its author."

Nor is there any greater necessity for change in the policy which shall, hereafter, control the Magazine, than in the choice of subjects to which it shall be devoted. We said, five years since, and we say now, that "THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, while it shall remain under our control, will never recognize any pretended necessity to remain silent on any subject which may, properly, be discussed in its columns; nor will it ever hesitate to follow those who shall venture to display their authorial dexterity on the slippery paths of personal or political history." "What is known to be historically untrue, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE will fearlessly expose and condemn, no matter by whom it may have been uttered; and he will be fearlessly exposed and denounced, therein, no matter from whom he may have descended, who shall seek to remove any of the landmarks of our country's history, for the purpose of sacrificing the truth on the altar of expediency." "With such a course marked out for THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we can confidently appeal, for sympathy and support, to the more earnest and honest of our countrymen, who are neither ashamed nor afraid to follow the truth, whithersoever she may lead them. To the mere time server and sycophant, to the

"historically self-righteous, and to 'him who loveth and maketh a lie' in the name of History, this work will neither commend itself nor prove useful; and their sympathy and support are neither expected nor solicited."

It will be seen, from this reiteration of its time-honored principles, that THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has made no compromise with either Falchhood or those who sustain her; and that it will continue to sit in judgment, hereafter—to become the *uninvited censor or umpire*, if that term shall be preferred—as it has sat, hitherto, on all matters, *opinions as well as statements*, within the range of its published objects, which have been published to the world and, thereby, made instruments for either good or evil, among men. Its judgment may not always be a correct one—it makes no claim to infallibility—but, in every case, it will be an honest and an earnest one, and unbought with either fear, favor, or affection.

It will neither mutilate nor *condense* any document which it shall consider worthy of a place in its pages, either for the purpose of saving paper and presswork, of adapting it to somebody's tastes, or of concealing somebody's shortcomings; nor will it mutilate any original contributions to its pages, by other pens than its Editor's, simply in order to make those contributions more palatable to somebody, or less decided in their tone, than their authors, themselves, either desired or intended. The Magazine's contributors will be allowed to speak for themselves, in their own language, over their own signatures; and it will not be a part of our duty to either *prune*, or *condense*, or *modify in expression*, anything which shall be accepted from any one, for publication in its pages—whatever shall be so far unfit for publication as to require such an "uninvited" and unenviable censorship, at our hand, will be either rejected, altogether, or accompanied with suitable foot-notes, exposing and condemning what we shall conceive to need correction.

In short, the Magazine will endeavor to have, hereafter, as it has had, hitherto, well-grounded and clearly-defined opinions on all matters pertaining to the History, Antiquities, and Biography of America; and those opinions, either with or without the authorities on which they shall be based, shall not be withheld whenever there shall be found a sufficient reason for the publication of them, no matter whose descendants may be thereby aggrieved or whose personal, or official, or authorial pretensions, thereby, disturbed.

Those who shall need other food than this, thus forewarned, will unquestionably seek, elsewhere, that food for babes which they cannot find in these pages: those who shall be unable, without flinching, to look the truth of history squarely in the face, quite as unquestionably, will seek, in

other directions, that modified, and condensed, and pruned, and, very often, more agreeable, article, call it what you will, which they will not find in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

II.—THE MORRISTOWN GHOST.

By JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D.D., PRESIDENT OF WABASH UNIVERSITY, INDIANA.

When King James's version of the Bible was made, it was the common belief, in all parts of England, that a *witch* is "a female who, by the agency of Satan, or rather a familiar Spirit or 'gnome appointed by Satan to attend on her,' performs operations beyond the powers of humanity, in consequence of her compact with Satan, written in her own blood, by which she resigns herself to him, forever. Among other advantages resulting to her, from this engagement, is the power of transforming herself into any shape she pleases, which is generally that of a hare; transporting herself through the air on a broomstick; sailing on the sea in a sieve; gliding through a key hole; inflicting diseases, etc., upon mankind or cat-
"le." Doctor Kitto asserts that modern witchcraft can be traced back only to the Middle Ages. Another author states that, in 1484, Pope Innocent VIII. sought to arrest witchcraft, in which he believed, as a fact, by hissing on his inquisitors to find and punish those guilty of it. He even had the *Hammer of Witches* (*Valleus Maleficorum*) published, in which were specific directions for the detection and trial of such persons. In 1494, Pope Alexander VI., in 1521, Leo X., and, in 1522, Adrian VI., hurled their hottest bolts against witchcraft. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the almost universal belief was in the *fact* of there being certain such persons as those who became witches by some process like that already named. It is said that "five hundred witches were burned at Geneva, in three months, about the year 1515; that one thousand were executed in one year in the diocese of Cours; * * * and that not less than one hundred thousand victims must have suffered in Germany alone." Thirty thousand were executed in England for witchcraft. "This commerce with evil spirits," as Blackstone calls it, was commonly admitted to exist. The Church sounded the alarm; and the State, forthwith, began to exterminate those supposed to be guilty of this nefarious "commerce." Some of the most curious relics of those Middle Ages are handed down in the form of witch-trials, before the highest tribunals of England and the Continent. From the confessions which were extorted from the accused, by all kinds of horrible torture, it was gathered, and became a popula

belief, that "general assemblies of witches were held, yearly or oftener, in which they appeared entirely naked, and besmeared with an ointment made from the bodies of unbaptized infants. To these meetings, they rode, from great distances, on broomsticks, pokers, goats, hogs, or dogs; the devil taking the chair, in the form of a goat. Here they did homage to the prince of hell, and offered him sacrifices of young children, etc., and practiced all sorts of license, until cockerowing."

Sir Walter Scott, in his *Demonology and Witchcraft*, states the fact that, in 1722, "an insane old woman" was burned, as a witch, the last execution of the kind in Scotland. The miserable creature "had a daughter lame both of hands and feet—a circumstance attributed to the witch's having been used to transform her into a pony, and get her shod by the devil." We often amuse ourselves by speaking of the "witch-ordeal" by which the executioner either tied together the thumbs of the suspected person or put her in a closely-tied sack, and then threw her into deep water. If she drowned, then she was not a witch; if she did not sink, then, clearly, she was a witch, to be put to death in some other way. And yet this ordeal indicated how witchcraft had possessed the convictions and imagination of the popular masses. What a hold it must have gained, is inferable from the superstition of Blackstone and Samuel Johnson. "The thing itself"—witchcraft—says Blackstone, "is a truth to which every nation in the world hath, in its turn, borne testimony, either by examples, seemingly well attested, or by prohibitory laws, which, at least, suppose the possibility of a commerce with evil spirits." How the great Johnson placed his shoes, at night, and his unwillingness to put the left foot, (if I do not forget) first across the threshold, are well known.

Mr. Bancroft shrewdly apologizes for the superstition prevalent in this country, and which broke out, notably, in Salem, by saying, "the belief in witchcraft had fastened itself on the elements of religious faith, and become deeply branded into the common mind. Do not despise the credulity. The people did not rally to the error: they accepted the superstition only because it had not yet been disengaged from religion." In Boston, Salem, and many other places, was found many a "scandalous old hag * * * thought to be crazed in her intellects." It became a popular creed, that "there is both a God, and a devil, and witchcraft," that "most nefarious high treason against the Majesty on high." And what the credulous Mather said, the saintly Richard Baxter endorsed. There is scarcely any part of human history so humiliating to recall as this of

the Salem witchcraft, at the close of the seventeenth century.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the witch-murders ceased; but, in the old world and the new, the superstition held the popular imagination in bondage. It was an easier task to drive it from the head than from the imagination of mankind. This was seen in the almost numberless "signs" which people had, for the common occurrences of life. Sensible men shuddered to find themselves "looking at the new-moon over the left shoulder," and experienced a sense of relief to find themselves taking their first look over the right shoulder. Friday was "the unlucky day;" potatoes, radishes, and such roots, planted in "the new of the moon," would "run to top;" and pork and beef butchered "in the old of the moon would shrink in the pot." The time to wean a baby or a pig was laid down in this time-table of superstition; and, to this day, there are thousands who would as soon deny the authenticity of the Bible as neglect those rules which popular superstition has maintained so long. Besides this, every community had "its haunted house" and its places where spectres dire or sheeted ghosts had been seen.

Long after the "witch-ordeal" and the trials for witchcraft had ceased, there were many people who believed in witchcraft as firmly as in their own existence. It is true, they never saw a loaded wagon bewitched into immovability between the bar-posts neither of which it touched; nor had they ever seen a demon, in obedience to some notorious witch, "invisibly entering the house and tearing down part of it." They had never seen the witch riding on a broomstick or poker, or engaging in the "devil's dance;" nor, indeed, anything appealing to any outward sense. But thousands heard witch-stories related at the ample kitchen fire-place, by the slaves, who, as a class, did not a little to keep the people sound in the belief in witches. People now are living, not fifty years old, who can remember how Sambo and Dinah conjured up hobgoblins and witches in their thrilling stories, until their hearers started at every shaking leaf, and feared to look over their shoulder lest they should see something. Age became garrulous, as it told a thousand tales about witch and ghost; and time was, not a hundred years ago, when around many an ample fire-place, with its cheerful warmth and glow, people talked of these things, over their apples and cider, with evident sincerity. It was a very general fact, belonging to every section of this country; and it throws light on what I am now to relate.

Who has not heard of "The Morristown Ghost"? Eighty-four years ago—1788—this famous character excited more notice in New

Jersey than the putting the new *Constitution* in motion. Some people were ashamed to have their credulity exposed; others were enraged to find themselves robbed of cash, by the ghost; and others were beginning loud explosions of laughter, which one generation after another takes up and transmits.

"The Morristown Ghost" exhibited himself to a few select mortals, in various places and circumstances, during the years 1788 and 1789. Great events then happened together. The immortal *Constitution* of these United States was published, in 1788; and the immortal Morristown Ghost came into being, the same memorable year. The immortal Washington, in the Spring of 1789, became our first President; and, whilst he was entering on his high sphere, the immortal Ghost of Morristown was gliding about, on stilts; shaking horse-shoes around the houses of people, in dark nights; occasionally thumping the weather-boards, in a ghostly way; and performing many other ghostly deeds.

A word about my authorities. The bursting of the bubble covered with confusion the very respectable persons duped by the Ghost, who was arrested and imprisoned, but let out, as is said, in order that he might clear the country. About two years afterward, a pamphlet was published, having, on the outside cover, the title printed, *The Morristown Ghost*. The inner title page is as follows: *An account of the Beginning, Transactions, and Discovery of Ransford Rogers, who seduced many by pretended Hobgoblins and Apparitions, and thereby extorted Money from their pockets. In the County of Morris and State of New Jersey, in the year 1788. Printed for every Purchaser—1792.* Who wrote and who published this pamphlet cannot now be certainly ascertained. Some supposed that Rogers himself wrote it, in order to increase his revenues and also to punish the Morristown people for their treatment of him. From the resemblance of the type and paper to that used in the *New Jersey Journal*, of that date, I suspect the pamphlet was printed by Sheppard Kollock, of Elizabethtown. The production was said to be very offensive, in Morristown and vicinity; and that those involved in the transactions, as far as they could, bought up and destroyed all the copies they could learn of. Whether this tradition is true or not, I have inquired of many people, in Morris-county, for that old pamphlet; but, thus far, in vain. Fortunately, I found a copy, nearly perfect, in the hands of a Newark antiquary, Samuel H. Conger, Esq. The title-page I have already quoted.

In 1826, appeared *The Wonderful History of the Morristown Ghost; thoroughly and carefully revised. By David Young. Newark: Published by Benjamin Olds, for the author. J. C.*

Totten, Printer. This was "David Young, "Philom," whose name figured so conspicuously on the title-pages of half the almanacs printed in this country, thirty years ago. By accident, he found a copy of the old pamphlet, in Elizabethtown; and he thus speaks of his reasons for revising it: "The very inaccurate and apparently "headlong manner in which it was executed "rendered a revision highly necessary. * * * "Every reader may rest assured that, if the truth "of this narration had been doubtful, I should "have taken no pains to rescue it from oblivion." The additions made by Mr. Young are very slight; but he has omitted some things, and touched up the grammar and rhetoric of his original.

In addition to these printed authorities, some, very recently, were living, who remember the scenes; and, a few years ago, the number of these was quite large. From them, I have learned many curious facts which have never been published. In reference to the general condition of society, at that time, I may quote from a letter written by the late Rev. Peter Kanouse, who was old enough to give testimony, as an eye-witness. He refers to that region, familiarly known, in Morris-county, as "Rockaway Valley." To use his words, "We have rambled over this "ancient field as far back as I dare venture, "when witches and hobgoblins held their pow- "wows in the Old Indian burying-ground, just "as you go down to the Beaver brook, on the "East side, as you approach Dixon's dwelling, in "Rockaway-valley. And, when the witches "burnt down Old Charlotteburg Iron Works, I "heard a lady say they metamorphosed her "aunt into a horse, and, after riding her to the "place of rendezvous, tied her to a tree, where "she witnessed the bonfire and their devil-dance! "Will-o-the-wisp was a spook, often seen, by the "timid ones, along the Rockaway-river, from the "Owl-kill up to Dover, and farther, too. My "early school-mates and myself had many a "frightful race past the graves of old Yommer "and Pero, two Africans, who knew all the arts "of feticism. Then, elf-shooting was often "witnessed—for instance, a cow shot through, "from side to side, with a ball of hair, without "wounding the skin! It was an age of necromancy and heathenish superstition, when men "were prepared to be duped by such impostors "as 'the Morristown Ghost.' Witchcraft and "fortune-telling were in vogue, * * * and "some obscure, yet honest, ignorant, kind- "hearted matron, bowed with age and face fur- "rowed over with years, was regarded with "terror, and her oracles esteemed as if uttered "by a very Pythoness! Spooks and Will-o-the- "wisps were often seen, and were frequently "made the sober theme of the domestic circle,

"when seated before the good old-fashioned fire, on a cold wintry night. There were some astrologers, and, now and then, one who used divination, and could detect rogues and thieves, and find stolen property. The wonderful old Almanac, with the waterman or water-bearer, surrounded by the twelve signs, was full of curious cuts and was oftener read than the Bible."

There was also a very general popular ignorance. Schools were few; and they were usually taught by strolling itinerants, who were not of a kind to correct the popular superstitions of the times. Indeed, they and the *slaves* were a sort of medium through which the follies of superstition were communicated from one place to another. Most of the early teachers, in Morris-county, were from New England and Ireland; and facts are still remembered, which show that many of them were either superstitious or artful, since they did not a little to fasten the yoke of bondage on all within their reach. Many of the slaves were native Africans; and, in their broken but expressive gibberish, they entailed, on the children, their creed in spooks and hobgoblins, as they learned it, in Africa. Most of the wealthy families, in Morris-county, had slaves, as a respectable appendage; and many of these were very cunning. Even now, I seem to hear old Juliet, or Tom, or Sam, or Dinah, in the old Dutch kitchen, dimly illuminated by the fire, swaying backward and forward, as if under some mysterious spell, whilst they told about a certain house in which a pedlar had been murdered for his money; and how his unhappy ghost prowls about the scenes where ended his mortal life; and how, in such a place, an apparition glided across the road, noiselessly as a moving vapor, and disappeared in a certain spot, where, tradition says, a lover was killed by a jealous rival; and how, in such a house, and in such a room, the attenuated, misty form of a beautiful girl has been seen, with hands clasped on her snowy breast, revisiting the place in which jealousy extinguished her life, on her bridal night. In fact, the negroes who lived in the kitchens of the people in this region, eighty and a hundred years ago, were the most ingenious tellers of ghost and witch stories that could be found; and they did a great deal to bring multitudes into a semi-belief in the absurdities of the times. If the whites held them in bondage, slaves as they were, they did not a little to enthrall their masters with chains harder to break than those which they themselves wore.

There was prevalent, in this region—and, no doubt, elsewhere—a class of ghostly stories which pointed to hid treasures, whose vastness was exaggerated by the imagination of the superstitious, and whose hiding-places were guard-

ed by sleepless and mighty demons. In some cases—so the story ran—these treasures were buried securely; and some poor souls were cruelly murdered and buried, in the same place, in order that their ghosts might guard the valuable deposit. To gain these treasures, thus secured, it was necessary to find the hiding-places, and then, either put the ghostly sentinels off their guard, or, in some way, propitiate their favor.

During the War of Independence, there was a very considerable class, in New Jersey, who had no faith in the success of the American arms, and no intention to assume a hostile attitude against the Mother Country. Many of these men were reported to be rich; but, until such time as the rebellion should be crushed, such found it necessary to secrete their money. Besides this class, there was another, who sought to pursue a safe course, for themselves, in either event, the triumph or the defeat of the Rebellion. Some such, as is well known, were seemingly identified with the patriots and yet carried about with them the hateful "British protection." Some of this class were rich; and, to save their riches, they pursued this unmanly course. They, too, as was said, buried their treasures, in order to safe keeping against the time of peace. Peace at last came; but it did not come in the way the Tories expected it. Many of them, having taken an active part with the enemy, were expatriated and their estates confiscated. I have before me a copy of an advertisement made by "Alexander Carmichael and Aaron Kitchel, Commissioners," offering for sale "the houses, lands, and leases for life, and all the real estate that belongs to" "Thomas Millidge, Stephen Skinner, John Troop, John Steward, Ezekiel Beach, Joseph Conliff, John Thornborn, Asher Dunham, Richard Bowlsby, John Bowlsby, Edward Bowlsby, Philip van Cortland, Samuel Ryerson, Jacob Denarest, Isaac Hornbeck, William Howard, and Lawrence Buskerk." This was in 1779. The newspapers of the day contain many similar advertisements of confiscated estates, for sale, in Morris and other Counties of New Jersey; and such was the feeling against these men, that their lives would not have entirely been safe, had they ventured back after the War.

It was a common opinion that men of this class had hid their money in *Schooley's mountain*, a range of highlands which many have crossed, in going by the Morris and Essex Railroad, between Dover and Stanhope. Since the days of the ghost, Schooley's mountain has become a favorite watering-place. Where, in that mountain-range, the treasure was hid, no one knew; only it was believed to be—somewhere. Gradually, popular superstition grafted this opinion on the old stock, which was the opinion that im-

sense buried treasures were guarded by mighty spirits. As I have heard aged people say, these buried and ghostly-guarded treasures, in Schooley's-mountain, formed the theme of many a conversation around the cheery firesides of Morris-county; and, no doubt, the hard cider and pure apple-jack, which belonged to the refinements of social life, in that day, did not a little to quicken the imaginations and the desires of the conversers, themselves.

Such was the strange tradition which was believed, by not a few people, in Morris-county; and these facts show the point, in a slightly mischievous paragraph in the original edition of *The Morristown Ghost delineated*. "It is very conspicuous," says the writer, "that many of the people, in that County, are much attached to machinations and will spend much time in investigating curiosities. I don't say whether such a turn of mind is to be imputed to indigence or owing to the operation of the climate! this I submit to the candor of every person to determine within himself. It is obvious, to all who are acquainted with the County of Morris, that the phenomena and capricious notions of witchcraft have engaged the attention of many of its inhabitants, for a number of years; and the existence of witches is adopted by the generality of the people." The author then proceeds to relate several amusing facts, to show the truth of his assertion; for instance, he was told "that an old lady was churning; and, being much fatigued and unable to obtain butter, she, at last, concluded that the witches were in the churn, and immediately had recourse to experiments, which were that of heating several horse-shoes and putting them into the churn, alternately—she burnt the devil out and immediately obtained butter!"

To this funny thing, let me add another, belonging to the same period, which I had from the lips of a very intelligent man who described what he saw. When a young man, he was, one cold day, at the house of Deacon ———, in the vicinity of Morristown. The Deacon's wife was churning; but the butter would not come. "The witches are busy," said the good man: "bring me the iron wedge!" He put that useful instrument into the fire and, having heated it, thoroughly, he told him to take off the churn-lid, and he would fix the witches. In went the hot wedge, causing the refractory cream to boil and bubble, furiously. "That will bring her out," said the old man, complacently. Hardly had this ceremony been finished, when his own niece, a girl of sixteen, came in; and the Deacon addressed her, in a very stern manner: "I thought 'I would bring you out, quick! You have taken up the trade early; but I will follow you till you have got enough of it! I guess

"you have got the mark of the hot wedge on you. I warrant you have!" The poor girl was greatly frightened; and her aunt took her out of the sight of her indignant kinsman. As soon as she left the room, the Deacon said to my informant: "The wedge did the thing for her; and if you could only examine, you would find where it burnt her!"

At this point, I may relate a fact which I had from another informant, still living. Joseph Rogers, (a brother of Ransford Rogers, the hero of the "Morristown Ghost") married the sister of one, "Dan Howard," in after days, a noted pauper, more dreaded by children than any hobgoblin. Howard's father lived at Longwood, a secluded place, some five miles North-west from Rockaway. Like most people of their class, the whole family were very superstitious. One afternoon, toward sundown, Dan's mother told him to go and bring the cow. Knowing that his father and brother would be coming home, about dark, Dan took a bed-sheet under his arm, and, on reaching a lonely place in the road, he wrapt the sheet about him, and hid himself in a large hollow tree. When the old man and his son came opposite him, Dan gave a solemn groan, to arrest attention, which it did, effectually. Then he moved, slowly, out of his hiding-place. No sooner did they see the spectre than both gave a scream of terror, and ran for the house. Dan now wanted to stop the fun; and he accordingly gave chase, the white sheet fluttering and flying in the most spectral manner. He ran and screamed to his father, to stop; but this only added to the fright of the fugitives. After an exciting race, they reached home; and the old man fell, swooning, in at his own door, because he had seen and had been chased by a ghost! Dan made a clean breast of his share in the matter; and yet it showed what a grip this ghost-belief had on the convictions and imaginations of multitudes.

Not long since, the late Jacob Losey told me that, long after "The Morristown Ghost" was exposed, one of the principal actors in that affair was building a dam for the Dover Iron Works; and that, whilst thus engaged, he had the mystic horseshoes nailed up, in such positions, as not merely kept the witches from the persons of the workmen but, also, from disturbing and retarding their work! As for his house, which was in the vicinity of Morristown, the man would as soon have thought of doing without a fire-place or a roof, as without the well-tested means of safety from the mischievous sprites in whom he was so confident a believer.

Previous to the Revolutionary War, the search after iron-mines was extensively prosecuted. Robert Erskine, at Ringwood, the Manager of the extensive iron-works of "The

"London Company," as it was generally called, and John Jacob Faesch, of Mount Hope, near Rockaway, both paid liberal rewards for the discovery of new iron deposits. As in the history of modern gold-digging, several very fortunate hits were made; and this was the means of starting many in the search. Very naturally, the belief in witchcraft led some to wish they could secure this agency in their search after mines. Two men of this kind once happened at "Smith's Clove," in the vicinity of "Suffern's," on the Erie Railroad. They were "in pursuit of a man that could 'work miracles'—a peculiar art in leger-de-main, by which to dispel the hobgoblins and apparitions" which had charge of the hidden mines and buried treasures. At Smith's Clove, they "accidentally found" a schoolmaster, a native of Connecticut, whose name was RANSFORD ROGERS. He was a shrewd, artful man, whose smooth face and pious carriage were calculated to deceive others. He was "very fond of giving hints of his extensive 'knowledge in every art and science.' * * * He had a pretended copious knowledge in 'Chemistry, and could raise or dispel good or 'evil spirits.' It is not known whether he practised any ghostly evolutions for the benefit of his two dupes, at the Clove, as nothing is said on the point. Convinced that he was the man they wanted, these gentlemen 'solicited 'him to remove to Morristown,' which he did, as soon as possible. About three miles West of Morristown, on the main road to Mendham, was a school-house, in which Rogers taught, several months, greatly to the satisfaction of his patrons. He was very enterprising; and had the faculty of keeping his scholars excited in their studies. As an old gentleman told me, 'Rogers frequently held exhibitions of his 'school, in the barn of a Mr. Hodges. Declamations and dialogues formed the entertainment; and these were of a kind so rude that 'it was a wonder that they did not make the 'horses break their halters!' He began his 'school' in August, 1788. This was a place 'very suitable for one of his profession. The 'people were predisposed for his reception; and 'fond of marvellous exhibitions, which he was 'able to perform with surprising dexterity.' The secret reason of his removal to Morris-county was confided to only a few persons; but he soon found himself compelled to go forward, in the fulfilment of his promises. In order to do this, advantageously, he returned to Connecticut, ostensibly to get his family, but, really, to find an accomplice 'in order to carry 'on nocturnal performances, with the greatest 'secrecy.' This accomplice he found in another Yankee schoolmaster, named GOODENOUGH.

As you go westward, a little beyond the school-house in which Rogers taught, you see a road which leads from the main road, in a North-east direction, along the foot of the mountain. It passed through a region so lonely and out of the way, that it was called "*Solitude*," a name by which it is known to this day. In that region, lived a carpenter and farmer, a very worthy man, but of limited intelligence and a profound believer in witchcraft. "*Solitude*" was destined to be famous, as a favorite resort of "The Morristown Ghost."

As you leave Morristown, by the Bridge-street-road, northward, just in the edge of the town, a few rods East of the main-road, on the side-hill, you see the residence of Colonel B—H—, who was a conspicuous character, in Morris-county, during the Revolutionary War. His father, B—H—, and his brother, J—, were both physicians—not very learned ones, but having considerable practice. The brother resided about four miles North of Morristown, at Littleton, where a Mr. Elmer lived, until recently. Colonel H— was an enthusiastic patriot; and fought like a lion at the second Battle of Springfield. He once had charge of the Magazine, in Morristown, and prepared cartridges for the Army. He was a tanner and currier; and, by dint of industry and economy, had secured a valuable farm, which was on either side of the road, leaving from Morristown to Speedwell. He was greatly esteemed in the community, for his generosity, public spirit, and good character; but he had this one weakness, the result rather of education and bad associations than of natural superstition—from infancy, he had been trained to believe in all the fooleries of witchcraft. In this respect, his brother J— was like him. But for this folly, both were strong men; and, in spite of this, they wielded a strong influence in the community. These brothers were among the earliest dupes of Rogers; and the Colonel, the one first mentioned, not merely became the Treasurer of the Association, but one of the heaviest losers by the fraud.

South-east from Morristown, was another very excellent man, one B—L—, a Justice of the Peace, but trained to the weakness which betrayed so many worthy persons into the power of designing rogues. About half way from Morristown to Speedwell, on the stream, was another dupe, one D—C—, the owner of a grist-mill. In Hanover township, one S—, a man of some means, bore a leading part in the ridiculous affair. He once spent a whole evening with Aaron Kitchel, one of the strongest men in the County—a member of Congress, afterward—endeavoring to get him to join "The Spirit Batch," as it was pop-

ularly called. With the greatest secrecy, he talked; but Kitchel was not to be duped. Colonel H—— tried to convert Abraham Kitchel, a brother of Aaron; but he "gave H—— "a book, telling him to read that, and it would "convince him that it was all a hoax"! In the vicinity of Dover, was Squire B—— L——, a son-in-law of Doctor J—— H——, who came into the measure quite reluctantly and with no faith, whatever; but, tradition says, he had shrewdness enough to come out of it richer than he went in.

In September, 1788, Rogers was ready for operations; and his first attempt was "to exhibit his art in raising and expelling apparitions, as he had engaged," the final result of which was "to obtain a supposed hidden treasure, that lies dormant in the earth at School-cy's-mountain. This capricious notion had been of long standing, and was, then, the predominant opinion among the greatest part of Morristown, as they said there had been repeated efforts made to obtain the treasure, but all had proved abortive: for whenever they attempted to break ground, there would many hobgoblins and apparitions appear, which, in a short time, obliged them to evacuate the place."

The first meeting of "The Spirit Batch," is said to have been held at L——'s house, in Solitude; and eight men were present. The whole affair was conducted with "the greatest secrecy." Roger impressed the whole party with a sense of his piety by having the meeting conducted on religious principles. Several prayers were offered; and then he "communicated to them the solemnity of the business and the intricacy of the undertaking, informing them there was an immense sum deposited somewhere on School-cy's-mountain; that there had been several persons murdered and buried with the money, in order to retain it in the earth: that those spirits must be raised and conversed with, before the money could be obtained; and that he could, by his art and power, raise these apparitions, and the whole company might hear him converse with them, and satisfy themselves that there was no deception." My smoke-colored pamphlet does not say that these eight worthy men "saw the elephant," that night; but, from other sources, I learn they *heard* him, for, whilst they were listening to Rogers, suddenly, there was a loud thumping noise, on the roof and sides of the house, and an unearthly voice spoke out, by the window, and said, "PRESS FORWARD." The listeners felt themselves to be on "enchanted ground;" and, with terror not unmingled with satisfaction, they yielded their full confidence to Rogers. To help the matter, some one of the company, supposed to be L——, one dark

night, soon afterward, was terrified by seeing "a sheeted ghost" gliding along, without touching the earth. There was no mistake in the matter; and, half dead with fright, he fled to the house, and, at the earliest moment, confirmed the faith of his companions by telling them what he had seen. And so the fraud was fairly begun.

Meetings were occasionally held, with the utmost secrecy; and "Rogers informed them that he should have interviews with the spirits; and, as the apparitions knew all things, they must be careful to walk circumspectly and refrain from all immorality, or they would stimulate the spirits to withhold, from them, the treasures." The unwritten tradition is that these counsels were emphasized by furious rappings on the house and, occasionally, by the sudden appearance of the ghost, in some lonely spot, on some dark night. "These gentlemen," says my old pamphleteer, "now, under apprehension of vast riches, began to propagate their intentions to particular friends; and there was such a prospect of being rich, that many were anxious to become members; and additions were made to it, daily, of such as expected great riches. The company convened almost every evening, until their number increased to about fifty." These meetings were religious—as one of my informants expressed it, "as religious as the Old Boy himself"—and one significant fact I have, from good authority, that the best *apple whiskey* was provided before the services began, which, no doubt, aided the dupes to see sights and to be overcome with *spiritual* manifestations. In fact, there is a story about this, too good to be omitted. At the earnest solicitation of Colonel H——, A—— K—— was induced to attend one of these mysterious prayer-meetings, when he would see enough to give him faith: but the dull-headed spectator, when his friend, B——, produced a paper, on which was the figure of "a hand drawn by the ghost himself," declared that "any boy, of ordinary parts, or any old woman, could draw one as good!" After the meeting, Rogers, who was not present, asked whether this man, K——, had joined them; and, when told that he had not, he asked "Did you treat him?" "Yes, before he left." "There's the mistake," said Rogers, "you ought to have treated him when he first came! so that, whilst the prayers were going on, the *spirits* might have been at work in him, to raise his ideas!" A—— K—— never got into "The Spirit Batch." From all I can learn, it is evident that Rogers was compelled to have more than one assistant; and tradition says he found these in the persons of two Yankee school-masters, one of them called Goodenough, the other's name I have never heard. The ancient chronicler says that "Rogers

"and his connections had recourse to several experiments, in compounding various substances, that, being thrown into the air, would break with such appearances as to indicate to the beholders the result of supernatural power. He had compositions of various kinds: some, by being buried in the earth, for so many hours, would break and cause a great explosion, which appeared dismal, in the night, and would cause great timidity. The company were all anxious to proceed, and were much elevated with such uncommon curiosities. A night was appointed for the whole company to convene; and it happened to be a most severe stormy night; but every man was punctual in his attendance. Some rode eight, some twelve miles, when the inclemency of the weather was sufficient to extinguish health. At this interview, they were all much astonished with an unexpected interview with the spirit," who bade them be very regular and moral, and very submissive to Rogers, "and then be careful to keep within the circles previously drawn by him, or they would provoke the spirits to that degree that they would finally extirpate them from the place."

At this time, their ghostly visitant told them to meet "such a night, at a certain place, about half a mile from any house, in a field, retired from traveling and noise." This was in Solitude; and there is a very curious tradition, which has not been recorded before. It is said, by persons recently living, that the field in which "The Spirit Bitch" were directed to meet, was a buckwheat lot; and that, one morning, before the great meeting was to take place, "the owner found his buckwheat stubble shaped into a great variety of paths, circular, elliptical, square, serpentine, and other fanciful shapes. It had all been done in one night; and, when the dupes saw it, as they soon did, it was their opinion that a thousand men could not have done that work, in one night. Nothing was more certain than that the spirits had done it! So ready were they to attribute to supernatural agency, some rude work which Rogers and his smart Yankees had done with no other inconvenience than a little fatigue!" I have no doubt this was the manner in which the circles were drawn for the night interviews with the Ghosts.

My old pamphlet must be allowed to tell the story of that night. "The night being now come, they all, with joy, fear, and trembling, convened at the appointed house, about half a mile from the field. This was environed, on the North and West, by a thick wood. The circles and angles being drawn the preceding day, they all proceeded from the house, about ten o'clock in the evening, with peculiar

silence and decorum, and entered the circles, with the greatest solemnity, being fully sensible that they were surrounded by apparitions and hobgoblins. Upon one part of the circle, were erected four posts, in order to spread a cloth and form a tent, where Rogers could preside, as governor of the ghostly procession. The number that entered these circles was about forty. This number was walking, alternately, during the whole procession. It is not to be wondered at, if people were timorous in this place; for the candles, illumining one part of the circle, caused a ghastly, melancholy, direful gloom, towards the woods, for it was a dark night. Every person must suppose that this is a suitable place for the pretended ghosts to make their appearance and establish the faith of their disciples, in hobgoblins, apparitions, witchcraft, and the devil. After they had been rotating, within the circles, for a considerable time, with great decorum, they were instantaneously shocked with the most impetuous explosion from the earth, at a small distance from them. This substance was previously compounded, and secreted in that place, a few hours before. The flames, rising to a considerable height, illuminated the circumambient atmosphere, and presented many dreadful objects from the supposed haunted grove, which was instantaneously involved in obscurity. Immediately after, the pretended ghosts made their appearance, with a *ho!ious* groan. They remained invisible to the company, but conversed with Rogers. This was in November, 1788. The spirits informed them that they had possession of vast treasure, and could not give them up, unless they proceeded regularly and without variance; and, as fortune had discriminated them to receive the treasure, each of them must deliver to the spirits twelve pounds, for the money could not be given up, by the spirits, until that sum was given to them. They must also acknowledge Rogers as their conductor, and adhere to his precepts; and, as they knew all things, they would detect the man that attempted to defraud his neighbor."

The ghosts wore masks, which disguised both their faces and voices, effectually; and, during their conversation with Rogers, the credulous "forty" were on their knees. Several times, the spirits seemed raging to destroy them; but the incantations of Rogers quieted them. That interview lasted until three o'clock in the "morning," when the ghosts and the men slunk away, to uneasy slumber, both parties stimulated by "the love of money."

My old pamphlet says that the ghosts required the money to be "silver and gold," as the paper currency was not worth much; but, I find a well-authenticated tradition, which properly belongs

here. When Rogers was arrested, Moses Tuttle, of Mount Pleasant, a very shrewd magistrate, assisted to examine some witnesses; and the fact was proved, that "The Morristown Ghost" obtained a considerable amount of paper-money, in this way. Rogers told his followers they must collect and burn their paper-money, in return for which sacrifice they should receive a hundred fold, in precious metals. The business was conducted, in this way: the whole company knelt within the mystic circle, and engaged in prayer. Then, each one took from his pocket the bills he had, and gave them to Rogers, who, with due incantations, proceeded to deposit the sum (which was quite large) at the foot of a tree, whence it was taken by the sheeted ghost, whose presence was evident from the sulphurous smell which pervaded the air.

The display made in the open field, at night, as already related, left a great impression on the minds of the witnesses, "who all returned from the field, wondering at the miraculous things that happened, being fully persuaded of the existence of hobgoblins and apparitions. By this time, they could revere Rogers, and thought him something more than human." The feelings of some of them were well described by one of them, when asked, by a Justice of the Peace, what he prayed for, during those meetings. He replied, "I was so scared, that I prayed the Lord to kill the Devil!"

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

III.—EARLY RECORDS OF TRINITY CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, NOW FIRST PRINTED.

[The document here published contains the Minutes of the Vestry of Trinity Church, for the first twenty years after its incorporation—from the twenty-eighth of June 1697, to the first of July, 1717. It is evidently the original draught of records designed to be engrossed.

Whether they are extant and complete in any other shape, the writer is not informed. He discovered these Minutes amongst a mass of papers kindly placed in his hands by Dr. JOHN CLARKESON JAY, of Rye, N. Y., by whose kind permission, they are communicated for publication in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

The manuscript, when collated, was found to cover one hundred and sixty-five pages of foolscap paper; not numbered, but consecutive, and almost without a break. Some of the sheets are stitched together in thin books, whilst others are detached. The numerous erasures, and insertions of words and sentences, as well as the orders taken for the transcription of the Minutes, show that this was the rough draught of proceedings, to be copied into the Vestry Register. As such, it doubtless remained in the hands of the Clerk, as a paper of no particular value.

The manuscripts among which these Minutes were found

have descended to their present owner from his illustrious grandfather, JOHN JAY; but nothing more is known of their history. They are now given to the public, as a curious relic of the past, preserving the names of many of the ancient inhabitants of New York, and supplying some interesting details, relative to the city, as well as to the venerable Corporation whose early transactions are narrated.

RYE, N. Y.

CHARLES W. BAIRD

[MINUTES.]

June y^e 28th 1697

at a meeting of y^e manag^{rs} & members of Trinity Church in y^e City of New York present

W^m Merritt
Cap^t W^m Morris
John Crooke
Tho Barronghs
Capt Lawrence Reed
Nathaniell Maston
Tho : Clarke

Maj^r W^m Merritt [and] M^r Thomas Clarke Cap^t W^m Morris make return y^t according to ord^r they have spent a day in getting Subscription & in collecting money for use of Trinity church— Cap^t Tudor absent in the service—

Overseers for y^e Present Week

June y ^e 28 th	Cap ^t Will Morris
Tuesday 29 th	Cap ^t Thomas Clarke
Wensday 30 th	Cap ^t Eben : Willson
Thursday Ju : 1 st	M ^r Sam ^l Burte
Fryday— 2 ^d	M ^r James Evetts
Saturday 3 ^d	M ^r Nath Marston
Munday 4 th	M ^r Mich Hawdon
Tuesday 5 th	M ^r John Crooke

Ordered that Capt. Lawrence Reade M^r Sam^l Burte M^r John Crooke & M^r Thomas Barronghs doe Collect the Arrearages of Subscriptions for the Carrying on of Trinity Church & make their Return on Munday Next.

Order'd that a Place be Cutt in the wall of the Church to [putt] Place his Excell^y Arms in behind the Place where they Now Stand. & that Cap^t Clarke Cap^t Morris & the Mayor doe take Care to See the Same Effected.

City of New Yorke } At A Meeting of y^e [Managers of y^e Church build] Church Wardens & Vestry men of y^e : English Protestant Church for building of Trinity Church on Wensday the 30th day of June 1697

Present

Will Merrett Esq^r
M^r James [Evetts] Emott
Cap^t Will Morris
M^r David Jameson
Cap^t John Merrett
M^r Sam^l Burte
M^r W^m Huddleston
M^r Gab^l Ludlow

Mr Thomas Burroughs
[*Capt Thomas Clarke*]
Mr Nath : Morston
Mr Mich Howdon
Will Sharpas
Thomas Wenham
Robt Lurting
Wm Janeway

Thomas Clarke
Sam^l Burt
John Crooke
David Jameson
Will Huddleston
Mich: Howdon
Thomas Burroughs
Gab: Ludlow
Will Sharpas
John Tudor

Vestry
men]

Resolved that the Minutes of the [*future*] this board for the future be Entered In the Name of the Church Wardens & Vestry men of the English Protestant Church Incorporated by the Name of Trinity Church Parish of the City of New Yorke in America & that y^e Address [*Ordered to be drawn ye 2 to be*] Ordered to be drawn y^e 21st Instant to Return his Excell^y the due Acknowledgm^{ts} of this board for his Excell^y Many Generous Gifts &c : doe Run in the same Stile

The following Address was Read & Approved & Ordered to be Signed by the whole board.

[*Blank in these Minutes.*]

Ordered that this board doe meet to morrow morning att 8 A Clock [*in the foren Morning*] att Cap^t Thomas Wenham's house in Order to waite on his Excell^y with the following Address

[*Blank in these Minutes.*]

[*Citty of N: Yorke*] ^{ss} Att A Meeting of the Church Wardens & Vestry men on Saturday the 17th day of July 1697

Present Thomas Wenham Church Warden

Will Merrett Esqr

James Emott

Ebner Willson

Will Morris

Thomas Clarke

Sam^l Burt

John Crooke

David Jameson

Wm Huddleston

Mich: Howdon

Thomas Burroughs

Gab Ludlow

Will Sharpas

Vestry men

Vestry
men]

To his Excellency Benjamin Fletcher.

[*Blank page and a half.*]

[*Citty of N: Yorke*] ^{ss} Att A Meeting of the Church Wardens & Vestry men on Saturday the 17th day of July 1697

Present Mr Thomas Wenham Church Warden

Will Merrett Esqr

James Emott

Eben: Willson

Will Morris

Vestry men

It is ordered Mr Crook & Mr Burrows & Mr Burt Shall pay foueteene pounds fiveteene Shillings & Ninepence w^{ch} they have gathered in of Subscriptions to Mr Wilson in order to pay for Stones & workemen &c

Ordered Mr Torthill pay Eleaven pounds fiveteen Shillings [*& Six pence*] to Mr Wilson aforesaid for y^e use aforesaid

Ordered y^e all persons y^e have any mony in their hands Shall pay y^e Same to Mr Wilson

Ordered y^e Mr Mayor Mr Burt Mr Lurting Mr Ludlow, Mr Clark, Mr Morris, doe call in all papers, relating to the Church, and doe Settle, the acco^{ts} that they, meett, on monday, nextt, att three the Clock, and, from time to time untill the, acco^{ts} be finished, . . . to, meett att the house of Mr Mayor.

Ordered Mr Tudor, Mr Huddleston Mr Willson [*Capt*] Michall Harding, doe, goe a boutt, to gett in what, Subscription^t the can; and to, . . . gett whatt Subscriptions mony, they can, and doe make return to this board, . . .

ordered Mr Clark doe give them a List, . . .

Ordered thatt Captt Tudor, & Mr Willson, . . . doe, receive the, Collectiones, in Church, for the nextt month

Ordered Mr Mayor, Mr Totthill doe, provid, an Engine to, . . . gett up Stones, to the Steple to take Mr Evertt to Assistt them

[*Citty of N: Yorke*] ^{ss} Att A Meeting of the Church Wardens & Vestry Men on Saturday the 31st day of July 1697

Present [Will Merrett Esqrs]

Cap^t Thomas Wenham

Robt Lurting

Church Wardens

Will Merrett Esqr

Cap^t Eben Willson

Mr James Evetts

Thomas Burroughs

Will Huddleston

Gab^l Ludlow

Will Sharpas

Vestry men

Overseers Appointed for y^e days following

July y^e 31st

Aug^t y^e 2^d

Munday-

Thomas Burroughs

Tuesday	3 ^d	William Huddleston
Wednesday	4 th	John Merrett
Thursday	5 th	Will Janeway
Fryday	6 th	Rob ^t Lurting
Saturday	7	Thomas Wenham

Munday	9 th	Coll Caleb Heathcote
Tuesday	10 th	Will Merrett Esq ^r
Wednesday	11 th	John Tuder
Thursday	12 th	James Emott
Fryday	13 th	Will Morris
Saturday	14 th	Thomas Clarke [ab]

Munday Aug ^t	15 th	Eben: Willson
Tuesday	16 th	Sam ^l Burte
Wednesday	17	James Evetts
Thursday	18	Nath Marston
Fryday	19	Mich Hawdon
Saturday	20	John Croke

Munday	22 ^d	Will Sharpas
Tuesday	23 ^d	Gab ^l Ludlow

Ordered y^e M^r James Evets take care to Speake for timber for y^e Second floure of y^e Steeple

Ordered y^e 2 Church-wardens take care for Scaffold poles

Ordered y^e noe Caremen Shall [not] after notice given Digg or Carry away any ground or Earth from behind y^e English Church & burying ground

Citty of N^w Yorke } Att A Meeting of y^e Church
Wardens & Vestry men on
Munday the 16th day of Aug^t
1697

Present

Cap ^t Thomas Wenham	Church Wardens
M ^r Rob ^t Lurting	
Will Merrett Esq ^r	Mich Hawdon
Eben Willson	Thomas Burroughs
James Emott	Nath Marston
James Evetts	Will Morris
John Croke	Will Janeway
	Will Sharpas

New Subscriptions for y^e: Carrying on of Trinity Church

M^r James Emott four Pistolls A Voluntary Gift
M^r Benjamin Aske 1^l-19^s-0 free Gift discount
Cap^t Thomas Wenham five pounds free Gift
M^r Rob^t Lurting—three pounds free Gift
Will Merrett Esq^r five pounds free Gift
M^r James Evetts one pound free Gift
M^r Michael Hawdon three pounds free Gift
M^r Nathaniel Marston one pound free Gift
M^r Thomas Burroughs—two pounds free Gift
M^r William Janeway three pounds free Gift
Capt William Morris two pounds free Gift
M^r William Huddleston two pounds tenn Shillings
M^r Gabriell Ludlow two pounds free Gift

M^r John Croke two pounds free Gift
Cap^t Ebenezer Willson two pounds free Gift
William Sharpas one pound free Gift
Cap^t Jeremiah Tothill

1697 Overseers for y^e: week Ensueing

August 16 th	Mun :	Nath Marston
17	Tues :	Mich: Hawdon
18	Wens :	John Croke
19	Thurs :	Rob ^t Lurting for Will Sharpas
20	fry :	Gab ^l Ludlow
21 th	—	Sam ^l Burte
23 ^d	—	Thomas Burroughs

Ordered that Capt Tothill & M^r Croke doe take Care to gett a Kill of Stone Lime & thirty Carte loade of Oyster Shell Lime with all Expedition

Ordered that Capt W^m Morris M^r Mayor Mr Burroughs & M^r Ludlow doe goe About with the list to gett what New Subscriptions they Can for the better Carrying on of y^e [Church] steeple for the week Ensueing & also to Collect what Subscriptions they Can that are in Arrears.

Order'd that what New Subscriptions are Given for y^e: Carrying on of Trinity Church Steeple be paid by the Severall Collectors thereof Appointed by this board to Cap^t Ebenezer Willson & that he Acc^t for the Same

Coll Peter Schuyler having Subscribed [Six] five pounds to the Church to be paid in boards itt is Ordered that Cap^t Thomas Wenham doe write to him to Send the Same in Such boards as M^r Evetts Shall Direct

M^r Thomas Burroughs & M^r W^m Janeway are Appointed to Collect y^e: Contributions of y^e: Church Congregation for y^e: fourth Sabbath days following

Order'd that y^e: Wall of the Steeple be Raised twenty foot from y^e: first floor before the beams of the Second floor be laid

Citty of N^w Yorke } Att A Meeting of the Church
Wardens & Vestry men on
Munday y^e: 23^d day of Aug^t.
Anno Dom 1697

Present	Thomas Wenham	Church Wardens
	Robert Lurting	
	Will Merrett Esq ^r	
	Thomas Clarke	
	Gab ^l Ludlow	
	Sam ^l Burte	
	Mich Hawdon	
	[Cornelius Lodge]	
	Will Morris	

Will Sharpas	} Vestrymen
Thomas Burroughs	
Will Janeway	
John Crooke	
Nath: Marston	
Eben: Willson	

Overseers of y^e Church building Ap-
pointed for the week following.

Tuesday	24 th	W ^m Huddleston
W	25 th	John Merrett
Th:	26 th	W ^m Janeway
Fry:	27 th	Rob ^t Lurting
Sat:	28 th	Thomas Wenham
Munday	30 th	Coll Heathcote

Order'd that M^r Sam^l Burt doe goe Down to Huntington wth all Convenient Expedition & Purchase all the Oyster Shell Lime that he Can gett there, att not to Exceed the Rate of 8 or 9^s p^r Loade [*or Cheaper*] for the use of the Church & that his Expences in travelling & horse hire be defrayed out of the Publick Stock he desiring Nothing for his time or trouble

Order'd that Capt Thomas Clarke Capt John Tudor M^r Michael Hawdon & M^r Nath Marston doe goe about with the List the following week to gett what New Subscriptions they Can for y^e better Carrying on of Trinity Church Steeple & also to Collect the Arrearages of y^e former Subscriptions

Order'd that Every Munday Night be Paid Night & that y^e Church Wardens & Vestry men doe meet Every Munday att five A Clock in the Afternoon to pay of the Workemen & Other things that may be Convenient for y^e well Carrying on of the Church building &c:

At a meeting of y^e Church wardens & vestry men one munday Augⁱ y^e 6th 1697

W ^m Merritt	}
Cap ^t Willson	
M ^r Jamison	
James Evetts	
Tho: Clarke	
Natt: Maston	

Order'd y^t there bee a petition drawn ffor y^e mony y^t was collected for y^e Slaues in Sally and in case it was nott disposed for y^t use then to bee disposed ffor other pious uses as his Exelencies & counsell should think fitt and y^e same to be delived to his Exelencie by m^r May^r & Cap^t Tho: Winham

Ordered y^t Cap^t Thomas Winham m^r Crook Cap^t John Tudor Mich^l Hardon Sam Burt be a Com-

mitte to gett Subscriptions & to collect what remain uncollected for use of Trinitie Church

Att A meeting of the Church wardens and vestry men on Munday the 14th of Sep^r 97

Present	Tho Wenham	} Church warden's
	Rob ^t Lurting	

W ^m Merrit Esq ^r	}	W ^m Huddleston
Tho Clarke		Jn ^o Tudor
Ebenez Willson		Mich Howden
Tho Burrows		Nath Marston
James Evetts		W ^m Janeway

Order'd

That Upon M^r John Hutchins Application to this Board that his Daughter Elizabeth may be Inter'd in y^e Church; that y^e ground in ye [*Middle*] North Jsle be Broke for y^e Same;

Order'd That M^r Rob^t Lurting & M^r Mich Howdan doe Collect y^e Contribution money in y^e Church for y^e Ensueing Month

Order'd; That M^r Tho Wenham Jn^o Tudor Jn^o Crooke Mich Howdan & Sam^l Burt doe gather in y^e Subscription money y^e following Weeke & gett what New Subscriptions they Cann.

Munday
Sep^r: 20th: 97

At A meeting of y^e Church-
wardens & Vestrymen of
Trinity Church y^e 20th 7^{br} 97

Present	M ^r Tho Wenham	} Churchwarden's
	M ^r Rob ^t Lurting	
	W ^m Merrit Esq ^r	} Vestry Men
	Cap ^t W ^m Morris	
	M ^r Sam Burt	
	M ^r Tho Burrows	
	M ^r W ^m Sharpas	
	Cap ^t Ebenez Willson	
	M ^r Nath Masston	
	M ^r James Evetts	
	W ^m Janeway	
	M ^r Tho Clarke	

Order'd

That M^r Thomas Wenham Pay into Cap^t Willson twenty Five pound's w^{ch} was Sent by his Excellency the Governoure, to y^e Church—

That M^r Tho Clarke M^r Rob^t Lurting M^r Tho: Wenham & W^m Janeway doe Call upon Coll Bayard Coll [*Cortland*] Heathcote, Cap^t Brant Schuyler & M^r Miles Forster for y^e money *given* Lent by Severall off y^e Vestry Menn till y^e ffund off Money Came in Granted by y^e Assembly for M^r W^m Nicholls going to England it be the desire of this Board that y^e Same [*be*] be order'd for y^e Use of Trinity Church

Order'd y^e Person und^rmentioend doe Attend y^e Church worke this Week as followeth

Wensday 7^{br} 22^d Cap^t Tho Clarke

ord

that y^e former Collector's be Continued for y^e getting in y^e Contributions

Thirsday Eben Willson
Fryday Sam Burt
Saturday [James Brett]
Mich^l Harding
Munday Nath Marston

Att A Meeting of the [Mans]
Church Wardens & Vestry
men on Munday the 27th
day of Sept^r 1697

Present Thomas Wenham Church Wardens

Will Merrett Esq
James Evetts
Nathaniel Marston
Thomas Burroughs

Will Morris
Will Janeway
Will Sharpas

Overseers of the worke for y^e : week following

Tuesday Sept^r 28th Gab^l Ludlow
Wensday — 29th Thomas Burroughs
Thursday — 30th Will Huddleston
Fryday October 1st John Merrett
Saturday — 2^d [John Tuder] Will Janeway
Munday — 4th Robert Larting

Ordered that Mr Mayor Mr Burroughs Cap^t
Willson and Mr Ludlow doe goe
About this following week to Gett
what New Subscriptions they Can
for the better Carrying on of Trin-
ity Church building & also to Col-
lect the Arrearages of the former
Subscriptions.

Citty of } ss Att A Meeting of y^e : Man-
N: Yorke } agers of the Church build-
ing on Munday the 4th day
of Octobr 1697

Present Thomas Wenham Church Warden
William Merrett Esq^r
William Morris
Ebenezer Willson
Michael Hawdon
William Janeway
Will Sharpas
Thomas Clarke
Mich Howdon

Order'd the Persons hereafter
Named be Overseers of the Church
building for y^e [Year] Week En-
sueing (Vizt

Octobr [4th Munday Thomas Wenham
5th Tuesday Ebenezer Willson Coll
Heathcote

6th Wensday]
Octobr 5th Tuesday Thomas Wenham
6th Wensday Coll Heathcote
7th Thursday W^m Merrett
8th Fryday John Tuder Sen^r
9th Saturday James Emott

11th Munday W^m Morris

Ordered. the Persones hereafter.
named . . be. Overseers. of the
Church Building for the Church
building—for the week Ensueing
Octobr. 12 . . 97

12 Tuesday . . . Thomas Clark . . .
13 Wendsday . . Cap^t Willson . . .
Thursday . . Nath Maston
Fryday . . Sam: Burtt. . .
Satterday . . Mich Hawdon
Monday . . John Crooke . . .

Octobr 12th . . .

Ordered. thatt . . Cap^t. W^m . . Morris. and
Thomas Wenham. doe Collect. in the
Church. . the Ensueing month—

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

IV.—TOBACCO AND THE CLERGY, IN VIRGINIA COLONY.

BY REV. E. H. GILLET, D.D., PROFESSOR IN
THE UNIVERSITY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

In the large quarto volume of *Papers relating to the History of the Church in Virginia*, edited by William Stevens Perry, D.D., 1870, will be found several letters of a correspondence between Virginia Clergymen and the Bishop of London. The leading topic in this correspondence is the course pursued by the legislature of the Colony, in determining the amount, in money, which should be paid in commutation for the Tobacco in which the salaries of the Clergy had, for some time previous, been paid. Of this enforced commutation, the Clergy complained; and their complaint was forwarded to the Bishop of London, through the Lords Commissioners, who, in their Report on the subject, condemned, as unjust, the obnoxious legislation of the Colony, and advised its disallowance by the King.

The Bishop of London, in his letter of reply to the Lords Commissioners, took the same ground, substantially, with them. He contended that legal provision for the support of the Clergy had been made by the Act of 1749, by which they were to be paid in Tobacco. This Act had been ratified by the King; and the attempt to set it aside was evidently unjust, as well as illegal, since it was virtually a repeal, by Colonial authority, of what had been done by the Colony, before, and been sanctioned by the King.

This letter of the Bishop of London found its way across the ocean, and created an excitement in Virginia. The letter of the Rev. Mr. Robinson, given in the *Papers*, indicates the

opposition which it had to encounter. Mr. Robinson, himself, is severe in his condemnation of the Act for commutation. "By this 'Act,' he says, "the condition of the Clergy "is rendered most distressful, various, and uncertain, and deprives us of that maintenance "which was enacted for us by his Majesty in "the year 1748."

In the same letter, Mr. Robinson states that he forwards to his Lordship "two pamphlets, "both printed here, which sufficiently show to "what a pitch of insolence many are arrived at, "not only against our most worthy Diocesan "and the Clergy, but likewise against his Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council."

One of these pamphlets, from which Mr. Robinson makes several extracts, was *A Letter from Hon. Richard Bland*, a patriotic Virginian; for several years, a leading member of the House of Burgesses; and, in 1768, a member of the Committee appointed to remonstrate with Parliament on the subject of taxation. Mr. Wirt speaks of him as "one of the most "enlightened men in the Colony: a man of "finished education, and of the most unbending habits of application." He mentions the fact that he was known as the Virginia antiquary, so familiar was he with what pertained to the history of the Colony.

The author of the other pamphlet is not named in the correspondence, nor are any extracts given from it in the *Papers*. It would seem to be unknown to the Editor of the *Papers*, at least there is no notice of it nor any account of its scope, except the general mention in Robinson's letters, etc.

The pamphlet in question is entitled a *LETTER to the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord-B— —p of L— —n. Occasioned by a Letter of his Lordship to the Lords of Trade, on the Subject of the Act of Assembly passed in the year 1758, entitled, An Act to enable the Inhabitants of this Colony to discharge their public dues &c. in money for the ensuing year. From VIRGINIA*. It gives neither name of writer, nor printer, nor date. The letter merely indicates "Virginia, December — 1759;" and, in connection with errata, the author speaks of his "great distance from the Press." Internal evidence and facts of contemporaneous history would seem to indicate that the pamphlet was from the pen of Hon. Peyton Randolph, as early as 1756, Attorney-general of the Colony, to whom it would naturally fall to defend the policy to which the Governor and the House of Burgesses alike stood committed. Whether this surmise is well-founded or not, it is evident that the author of the pamphlet was alike able and fearless; and the applause, with

which we are told it was received, will scarcely surprise us.

The pamphlet takes up the Letter of the Bishop of London, paragraph by paragraph, and deals with his Lordship very unceremoniously. With a full knowledge of all the facts, and with the patriotic zeal of a true Virginian, the author has evidently little respect for a Clergy who seemed to him more anxious to secure their Tobacco than to promote the spiritual well-being of their Parishes. The pamphlet is an octavo of fifty-six pages; and we must content ourselves with extracts illustrative of its spirit.

The author, in the following passage, first quotes the introductory paragraph of the Bishop of London's letter.

"FULHAM, June 14th, 1759.

"MY LORDS,

"I have considered the Act from *Virginia*, "referred to me: It seems to be the Work of "Men, conscious to themselves that they were "doing wrong; for, though it is well known "that the Intention of the Act is to Abridge "the Maintenance of the Clergy, yet the Framers of the Act have studiously avoided naming them, or properly describing them, "throughout the Act; so that it may be "doubted, in a legal Construction, whether "they are included or not. But, to take the "Act as they meant it, and as every Body understands it."

Upon this, addressing himself directly to the Bishop, he says:

"By this, which I call your Lordship's first "Paragraph, you have given a pretty good "Specimen of the Temper with which you "were disposed to treat the Act under Consideration, and I am much mistaken, if it will "not appear, that your Passion for Abuse, "through the whole, has greatly exceeded the "Bounds of your Reason; as your Lordship "admits, that the Framers of the Act meant to "include the Clergy, and that every Body understands that they are included; such a "general Consent in Opinion can only arise "from the Propriety of the Words that do "include them: How then can it be a doubt "that they are included in a legal Construction, because not named, or properly described? Can the legal Construction of any "words whatever, differ from the universal "Construction of these Words? Where then "is the *Charity* of the *Christian*, or the *Candour* of the *Bishop*, in that malevolent reflexion, which your Lordship has thrown out? A "Reflexion, that even common Sense cannot admit of; I mean the Consciousness of doing

"wrong in the Framers of the Act, which
 "made them studious to avoid naming the
 "Clergy in it. Instead of the *Act*, with which
 "you would insinuate they had proceeded, it
 "would have been much more just, to have
 "charged them with gross Stupidity, for if it is
 "necessary that the Clergy should be named, or
 "particularly described, to subject them to the
 "purposes of any Act: Not to name them,
 "&c. unless by accidental omission, must needs
 "be egregiously weak, and foolish, in those
 "who intended to include them within the
 "Designs of such Act. But, my Lord, it is
 "just as you, and every body, understands it;
 "they are included, and the Words that take
 "them in must necessarily be a very proper De-
 "scription of them, or it would be impossible
 "that every Body should agree that they are
 "included; and indeed not a little unreason-
 "able that they should complain, and your
 "Lordship espouse their murmurs."—*Pages 4, 5.*

With the assertion of the Bishop that the
 later Act was virtually a repeal of that which
 the King had sanctioned, the writer of the
 pamphlet takes issue:

"But now, my Lord, what if I assert that
 "this Act of Assembly does not suspend the
 "Operation of the former, which had the
 "Royal Assent? And it will require no very
 "logical Turn to prove it, but, on the con-
 "trary that it was the only rational Method
 "that could be fallen upon, to make the
 "Royal Act of any Effect, as to its evident
 "Purposes: Led by the fair Hand of Truth,
 "we may suppose that the Act which settled
 "the Clergymen's Salaries (which is that you
 "have all along contended for, as having
 "received the Royal Assent) had in View, as
 "well the possibility of *paying* those Salaries,
 "as the *establishing* them, from their being
 "settled in Tobacco, the Staple of the Coun-
 "try; now, as the Growth of this Commodity
 "depends on the Seasonableness of Weather,
 "and as it is known to be subject to as
 "many destructive Insects, perhaps, as ever
 "*Egypt* complained of; whenever, from a
 "general Calamity, the Crop is universally
 "short (as it was when the Act under your
 "consideration was passed) can the Payment
 "of these Salaries be made in Tobacco, ac-
 "cording to the Direction of the Royal Act?
 "Is it not rather impossible that they should
 "be so paid? Must there not, therefore, to
 "preserve the Intention of *paying* the Salaries,
 "be some Compensation settled in Lien there-
 "of? And what more proper than that of mon-
 "ey? Is it not necessary that the Rate of this
 "Compensation should be fixed, by some kind
 "of publick Authority? Or would it be more

"just that the Collectors of the Taxes, or
 "that even the Clergy themselves, should be
 "left to their own pleasure of exacting over
 "the whole Community? Would not this
 "have introduced a vast Multiplicity of Law-
 "suits, or Distresses of Goods? But where
 "would have been the Buyers, but amongst
 "the very few lucky ones? And would not
 "these have bid sparingly, for the Sake of
 "great Bargains, as they are called? Where
 "then would the Evil have ended, but in the
 "ruin of Thousands? For whatever Method
 "the Clergy should have fallen upon, that
 "must have been a good direction to all
 "other publick and private Creditors: If
 "then *Reason* points out that the Rate of
 "Compensation should be settled, what Au-
 "thority can there be so effectual, or more
 "probably just, than the whole *legislative*
 "*Body of the Country*? But this your Lord-
 "ship has been pleased to cast a Flear at, in
 "another part of your Letter; however, I
 "believe, when it comes in its turn, I shall
 "be able to make it very difficult for any
 "but the partial Reasoner to join with you.
 "Thus, my Lord, though you may dispute
 "the Conclusion, drawn from the above State
 "of Things, *viz.* that this Act does not sus-
 "pend the *Operation* of the Royal Act, I am
 "persuaded the unbiassed will think that it
 "does not, as it was the only Aid that could
 "be given to it, to have effected any tolerable
 "Maintenance for the Clergy; for, let their
 "Right be whatever your Lordship shall
 "think proper to declare it, where it was not
 "to be had, Extremities, be they ever so legal
 "or justifiable, could never have procured the
 "End proposed; and it is undeniable that
 "the Situation of the Country was such."—
Pages 10, 11.

The Bishop had evidently attempted to
 identify the recent notorious spread of "dis-
 "sent," in Virginia, with the obnoxious leg-
 "islation respecting the amount of commuta-
 "tion for Tobacco. On this point, the author
 says, "Now, my Lord, since you have taken
 "Notice of some Dissentions from the Church
 "of *England* in this Colony, I will endeavour
 "to assign a more plausible Reason for them
 "than what you seem to point generally at:
 "By hinting at some Disrespect, and ill Usage
 "to the Clergy, immediately after you had ob-
 "served that within a few years past the Coun-
 "try were all members of the Church of
 "*England*, you not only leave Room for every
 "Body to conclude that there were now dis-
 "senter amongst us, but also that the Dis-
 "respect to the Clergy, is to be imputed to
 "that Dissention; but, my Lord, I am very

"unlucky in my Observations, for I am so far from thinking that the Disrespect to the Clergy proceeded from Dissention in Religion, that I cannot avoid saying that it was the Disrespect to some few of the Clergy that occasioned the Dis-ention; and really this seems to be the general Complexion of most Dissentions, in the first Stages of them: The Ministers of Religion beget Divisions, either by leaving the first Purposes of it in their Lives and Practice, or by clouding it over with mysterious Interpretations; but this is not the Point I now propose to Reason upon.

"It was much about the year 1748 when these Dissentions began to gain Ground, and it was near the same time that the Country lost the Rev. Mr. *James Blair*, who had for a long While exercised the Office of Commissary amongst us; now, although I would be always cautious of Panegyrick, for fear of rising too high, I must say that that Gentleman discovered, by his Behaviour, that he was the best qualified for the true Intention of that Office of any that have, or perhaps will, succeed him. He knew the Necessity of Connection between the Religious and the Civil Society, and, by being a perfect Master of the true Principles of both, it may be concluded from his particular Conduct, that he always foresaw that the Civil would never withdraw from the Influence of the Religious (whose connecting purpose seems to be that of remedying the imperfections of the Civil) unless compelled to it, by Steps that would introduce unequal distributions of Justice, according to the common Notions of it; for, my Lord, although he cannot but be acquainted that it was usual for Ecclesiastical Courts at Home to take Cognizance of the Misconduct of the Clergy, yet he chose rather to suffer the Method of such Enquiries to remain as (perhaps the Infancy of the Country had at first settled it) with the Governour and Council: So that, on due Proof of *Immorality* or *Irreligion*, in any of the Order, it was always recommended to him, by that Board, to require the Removal of such Minister out of the Parish; which, in effect, amounted to a Deprivation, though perhaps not according to the Forms of Law. This, naturally, produced these two good Effects: Those of the Clergy who had fled to the Calling, as the dernier resort for a Livelihood (and some such will creep in, in Spight of the utmost Episcopal Caution finding that their Behaviour would be subject to an Enquiry, according to the common Rules of Justice, and that their Judges could

"not, from any kind of *functional* Convention, willingly resolve Acts of *Lewdness* and *Debauchery* into Flights of innocent *Gallantry*; either accommodated their Behaviour to the known Practice of Morality, and Decency in Office, or became really men of pious Dispositions, embracing the Opportunities that offered of doing Good in their Parishes; the People who are ever strongly acted on by Example, observing such a strict Harmony between Life and Doctrine, from the Amiability of the one, were satisfied of the Truth of the other. In these Days, my Lord, which I had almost said are now over, Sectaries made some Efforts; but, like Exotics in an improper Clime, they withered as soon as the first Motions of *Curiosity* in the Hearers were satisfied.

"But the Gentleman who succeeded Mr. *Blair* did not reason thus, and erected a kind of Spiritual Court. Now, my Lord, although I do not dispute the Legality of such a Court, and allow that it has something in its institution of the true *British* Principle, that of trying every Man by his Peers; yet if we consider how unwilling Men of the same function are to condemn one another, and, on the contrary, what Lengths they will run, and what Hazards they will encounter, to support each other, (of which your Lordship's *Letter* is a very signal Proof, if *Reputation* is any thing, in the composition of so great a Character) we cannot but own that it is a Court the most improper of any to determine with regard to the Conduct of a Minister, and one instance of such affectionate Lenity is enough to destroy both the good purposes above mentioned; for Men of a depraved Turn will, depending on the Tenderness of such Judges, presently shake off every Restraint: And when the People once discover, that he who preaches *Thou shalt not*, &c., is himself a Violator of those very Commands uncensured, they then grow indifferent as to the Mode of his Religion, and are easily led away by any Wind of Doctrine that shall occasionally start up, and blow; and this, my Lord, will be found to be the real Cause of the present Growth of Dissention amongst us; and I cannot help observing, that whilst *Faith* and *Works* went Hand in Hand, in Instances of pastoral Care, even *Whitfield* did but hum, buzz, and die away like the Insect of the Day; but, when these separated, and Faith had nothing to distinguish it from the *Emp-tiness of Sound* in the Preacher, a *Davies* was then able to collect his Admirers."—*Pages 16, 19.*

The controversy between the Clergy and the

Colonial authorities and patriots, with reference to the mode of paying the salaries of the Clergy, continued for several years. Lawsuits followed lawsuits, each Clergyman, for himself, endeavoring to secure, from Courts and Juries, what he considered his rights. The question was, by no means, settled when the Stamp Act of the British Parliament was made a new grievance; and those patriots who had once only the Clergy to denounce or oppose, now found themselves confronted by what they regarded as still more obnoxious and tyrannical than merely clerical claims.

In illustration of this, we cite from the *Papers*, a passage which has the merit of sketching the course of the celebrated Patrick Henry, almost at the outset of his career as a lawyer. It is in immediate connection with the case of a Clergyman claiming his Tobacco, reported under date 1765: "Mr. Maury brought his cause in a County Court. The Court adjudged the Act in question to be no law, but an ignorant Jury were afterwards, in opposition to the best evidence that Mr. Maury ought to have received about three times as much in value as the Act granted him, and without any counter evidence, persuaded to give him one penny damages. The method taken to bring over a weak jury thus to sap the foundations of property was as extraordinary as the property itself. The advocate advanced for this purpose that the Clergy were of no use but to promote what he called duties of imperfect obligation, that for their audacious behaviour in contesting at law the Act of a Governor and Assembly they deserved to be severely punished instead of receiving damages, that the King by disallowance of the Act had forfeited the allegiance of the people of Virginia, and that the jury were not obliged nor ought to give more than one penny damages. After the trial was over this Lawyer excused himself to the plaintiff by telling him that he had no ill will against him or wished to hurt him but that he had said what he did to make himself popular. He has succeeded in making himself popular in that part of the country where he lives. He has since been chosen a representative for one of the counties, in which character he has lately distinguished himself in the House of Burgesses on occasion of the arrival of an Act of Parliament for Stamp duties while the Assembly was sitting. He blazed out in a violent speech against the authority of Parliament and the King, comparing his Majesty to a Tarquin, a Cesar and a Charles the First, and not sparing insinuations that he wished another Cromwell would arise. He made a motion for several outrageous resolves, some

of which passed and were again erased as soon as his back was turned. Such was the behaviour in the lower House of Assembly that the Governor could not save appearances without dissolving them. They were accordingly dissolved and Mr. Henry, the hero of whom I have been writing, is gone quietly into the upper parts of the country to recommend himself to his constituents by spreading treason and enforcing firm resolutions against the authority of the British Parliament. This is at least the common report, the concluding resolve which he offered to the House and fell among the rejected ones, was that any person who should write or speak in favor of the Act of Parliament for laying on Stamp duties should be deemed an enemy to the Colony of Virginia, such notions have of liberty and property, as well as of authority, and such indeed have too many, of his party, which on occasion of the present Act of Parliament, have met an opportunity of breaking out too conspicuously to be any longer suppressed or denied."

It will thus be seen, in part, why it was that Virginia—from the outset, an Episcopalian Colony, in which the Church was united with the State, and supported by law—yet took a decided and leading part in resistance to the claims of the English Parliament. She had gone through a previous and preparatory agitation, which had brought questions of foreign dictation and royal sanction home to every fireside in the land; and it was in the Civil Courts that men like Henry were trained, by arguing against the injustice of the Church and the claims of the Clergy, to argue against the intolerance of the King and the Parliament.

HARLEM, N. Y.

E. H. G.

V.—JACOB LEISLER.

COMMUNICATED BY COLONEL T. BAILEY MYERS.

The following copy of a *Translate out of a Letter sent from New York to Amsterdam*, may be of interest, at this time, when attention has been recalled to the subject by the recent able discourse of the Hon. J. Romeyn Brodhead, before the Historical Society. It is unfortunate that the paper carries with it no evidence of authenticity in the names of the writer or of the party to whom it was addressed. It is, however, evidently genuine so far as relates to its date; and as it was written in troubled times, by the wife of one of the adherents of a man who had recently suffered as an outlaw, the suppression of the names may be attributed to prudence and a regard for personal safety. The apparent willingness of the Jacobites to leave the city and fort defenceless against the French, corresponds entirely with the supposed secret alliance between the two Crowns, at that period, and strengthens the idea, then entertained, by many, that the adherents of the fallen King

would attempt to take refuge in, and to hold, with the assistance of France, the Colonies, after losing the mother country, which, with the adjacent dominions of their ally and the protection of her fleets and Indian dependants, would not appear to have been an wholly impracticable scheme, and would have formed the germ of an Anglo-catholic Empire, in the West, far preferable to the wandering dependence which became the destiny of the Stuarts. To such a scheme Colonel Dongan (whose brother, the Earl of Limerick, was one of the few who had already shed his blood in defense of King James and who was, himself, his devoted adherent,) Sir Edmund Andross, and a large portion of the better class of people in the Colonies, long accustomed to the Jacobite rule, could not have been expected to have shown a greater opposition than the "Canon which could not be used," or "ye arms in ye ffort" which looked as if they had not been handled within this "hundred years."

Whether Leisler was the first republican in the history of our State, as many believe, and also her first patriot martyr, or only an ambitious adventurer and usurper, as others hold, he certainly was an earnest man, of prompt, decisive ways; and, while he held the power of the Government, the prospect of such counter-revolution was greatly lessened.

The paper which follows, belongs to a number of documents of unquestionable authenticity which recently came from England. It is but just to say that its unauthenticated position, as an authority, might lay it open to a charge, which could not now be disproved, that it had been manufactured, at the time, as an appeal for sympathy or for political effect, and as an indirect mode of bringing before the public the state of the Colony; but, even in that event, it has its value as suggesting enquiry and refutation.

The death of Governor Sloughter, as stated, is an authentic fact, which occurred fourteen days before the letter was written—according to Smith, on the twenty-third of July, 1691—but that of the member of the Council dying in Boston, probably alludes to Joseph Dudley, the senior member, who returned from Boston, after the Governor had died and Captain Ingoldsby,* who, like Leisler, was Captain of an Independent Company, had been sworn in as President of the Council and was acting in the position which Dudley was entitled to occupy, as temporary Governor of the Colony.

It is an instance of the complacency of the Judges of the day, to the Executive, that the important question on the

* As an instance of the want of historical accuracy as to dates, even by writers of an early period, Smith, writing in 1756, fixes that of Captain Richard Ingoldsby being sworn into office, as President of the Council, as the twenty-sixth of July, 1698, which is evidently intended for 1691; but "Major Richard Ingoldsby, Commander in Chief of the Province of New York and the Territories thereon depending in America," as he describes himself, dating at "Fort William Henry, on the 17 of February 1691," executed a certificate that Lewis Morris, as Administrator of his father, Colonel Lewis Morris, his predecessor in the Manor of Morrisania, had made oath before him to the Inventory, as appears by the paper, very clearly written and twice dated, in the possession of Henry W. Morris, Esq.,

trial of Leisler, as to whether he had acquired any authority to act as Lieutenant-governor, by the letter he had received from the Ministry addressed "To Francis Nicholson, Esq., or, in his absence, to such as, for the time being, take Care for preserving the Peace and Administering the Laws in their Majesty's Province of New York, in America," was submitted to the Governor and Council, of which last Bayard and Nichols, recently released from a harsh confinement, in the fort, to which Leisler had subjected them, were members; and their decision that he had not, would scarcely be now considered as conclusive, where a bias against the Prisoner was so apparent. While, however, the desire of the "grandee" party, from which the Council were taken, was unanimous for the death of Leisler and Milbourne, Smith, the historian, asserts that the Governor was averse to taking their lives; and that his signature to the Warrant could only be had, at a banquet, when he was under the effects of liquor. If this were so, may it not add to the probability that they were the victims of political jealousy rather than of violated law?

NEW YORK CITY.

T. B. M.

LOVING FRIEND

After Cordiall Salutacon I hope you are in health wth yo^r family, as for us I thank y^e great God for being in health also yett we are under a great trouble by reason of y^e present wicked governm^t for w^{ch} we may complain to God. If things go on after this rate there is no Living any Longer here for Christian Souls. I would have departed before this time but y^t they will not suffer anybody to go, wherefore my friendly desire is y^t you please to receive this money according to Letter of Attorney here Inclosed and Keep it wth you till farther order or untill we come in those parts, for as I have said already it is no Longer Living here because they endeavour to undoe all of us utterly who have sided with Leisler, it is not enough to them to have hanged Leisler and his son in Law until they were halhead & then wickedly to have butchered them for w^{ch} y^e whole Country mourns, but our Husbands & those y^t have sided wth him have been forced to fly & seven of them are clapt up in prison & are to be tried for their Lives. All this is only because we all have been so faithfull to King William & Queen Mary, God Knows y^e Endeavours of y^e men to Keep y^e Land and to reduce all to a good State, whereas formerly it was like unto a molehill for the peices of Canon could not be used & y^e arms in y^e ffort Look'd as if

of this City, the last hereditary Proprietor. He was, therefore, acting as Governor before the publication of Colonel Sloughter's Commission, which was made, according to Smith, on the nineteenth of March, 1691, and dating from a fort, at that time, in possession of Leisler, according to the same authority; whereas in the Chronological list Governor Ingoldsby is put down as acting in 1692. The difference between the old and new style may throw light on the middle.

they had not been handled within this hundred years, & y^e gunpowder was wett Insomuch that all was out of order just as if there was no Enemy to be Expected tho' Every day we heard of y^e damage y^e french did, and when y^e news came here y^e prince William was arrived in England, to maintaine y^e Protestant Religion the dutchman who brought it was threatened by y^e then governor who put his sword upon his breast to run him through if he would not be silent of it. Hence you may guess what they intended for us; since our dear Leisler wth his Son (& all who mourne yett in sorrow) have done Such a notable Service for y^e country and y^e King for I dont belief y^e he had a more faithfull people in England, as we have been here, tho we are so sadly rewarded. But it is for o^r Sins Sake y^t God inflictis this upon us, but of y^e King & Queen we have not deserved that such wicked Judges should be sent over to us, who hear y^e one and put y^e other to death without having heard his defense, nay tho Leislars wife & children in the most abject posture did prostrate themselves at y^e governors feet & begg^d of him y^t he would hear their Husband & father but half an hour speak since he had heard none but his adversary's & Ennemies, & if y^t time was too long y^t he might give him audience but one minute yett all this was in Vaine, he must be hurried to the Execution wth out being heard & thus they died gloriously as two Martyrs Insomuch y^t we are assured y^t their Souls rest in y^e Lord, but as for Slaughter y^e governor who would not hear him one minute Speak he has not had one moment of time to Confess his Sins for that great Judge when death approached for he fell headlong & died and we hear also of another of y^e Bloody Councill who went for Boston where he died suddenly, tho of this last we have no full certainty. It is impossible to relate Every thing for y^e sad Condition we are in would require a whole Book. But God who is a righteous Judge & to whom we committ our Cause will bring everything to Light, & may oppress us for a time but will at Length relieve us, our hope is alone grounded on him. If we must have y^e name of Rebels here, & if our Dutchnacon must suffer so much we muste confess before God y^t we have deserved it by our [Page 2] sins. Butt yett we will embrace him wth y^e armes of faith & pray that he will deliver us, he is a righteous god & a merciful father who after this name will give us a better name, if it be not here it will be hereafter so I recommend you to almighty God. my husband & mother Salute you.

Your heartly affectionate friend
IN NEW YORK y^e 6th of Aug 1691. N. N.

VI.—“THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS” OF VERMONT.

MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THEIR CONVENTIONS.

NOW FIRST PRINTED, WITHOUT MUTILATION, ALTERATION, OR INTERPOLATION, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

[The early history of Vermont, whether portrayed in knowledge, romance or in what is claimed to be veritable “history,” has been the fruitful theme of much that is fictitious and entirely repugnant to the truth; and there has been and, we regret to say, there still is, among those, in Vermont, who profess to know and write of the character and doings of those who preceded them, in the settlement of that territory and the establishment of the State thereon, a disposition to conceal, if not to positively misrepresent, the evident truth of these subjects.

It is very well known to all who pretend to know or to care for the truth, in history, that the territory of what is now the State of Vermont was, until after the establishment of the independence of the thirteen Colonies, in 1783 a portion of the territory of, successively, the Colony and State of New York: and it is also known to all such that the jurisdiction of the authorities of that Colony and State were just as well-founded and, until 1735, as little disputed as was their jurisdiction over Manhattan-island or the Mohawk-flats. It is also known to all such, that, in conjunction with or consequent on the intrigues, usurpations, and illegal practises of some, in authority, in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, a portion of the inhabitants of that territory rose, in insurrection, against the authority of the Colony and State to which they owed obedience; and that, for a number of years, taking advantage of the troubles produced by the Revolution and the War, they openly defied the authority of New York, maltreated those of their neighbors who were law-abiding and orderly in their conduct, and assumed to exercise all the authority and claim all the privileges of an independent State.

In 1869, the Vermont Historical Society published what purported to be, *but were not*, the unpublished Minutes of the several Conventions of these insurgents; and the Committee of that Society further diminished the value of what had previously been regarded as the record of the doings of those Conventions, by *altering*, and *adding to*, and *curtailing* that supposed record, with no other warrant or authority, real or imaginary, than its own sweet will. The inaccurate record, rendered still more inaccurate through the impertinence of that Committee, which the Society thus circulated, was promptly condemned by THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, in January, 1871, and as promptly “vindicated” by ex-Governor Hall, in pamphlet form and in the Magazine for July, 1871: and, although that “vindication” was duly responded to by Henry B. Dawson, over his own signature, we do not consider it to be inappropriate in us, while we expose the falsehood, also to present the truth. We have pleasure, therefore, in presenting, for the information of those who shall prefer the genuine article, a strictly accurate copy of the Minutes of the first of those Conventions whose Minutes have been preserved, as they appear on the original Manuscript; and we shall continue the series, month by month, until we shall have published the whole of them.

Whether Governor Hall shall unite with them or not, we are sure that honest students of Vermont's early history will thank us for thus rescuing one very important portion of the authorities on which that early history must necessarily rest, from the hands of those, in Vermont, who have been, hitherto, too willing to mutilate and corrupt them.—
EDITOR]

[MINUTES.]

WARRANT

Arlington 20th Dec^r 1775

Whereas there has been several Warrants, or Notifications sent up the Country for a General Meeting on the N. Hampshire Grants to be held at M^r Cephas Kent's in Dorset on the first Wednesday of January next, and as it was thought Very Necessary that Col^o Seth Warner with others should Attend the S^d Meeting, and their business being such that they Could not attend at that time.

This is therefore to Warn the inhabitants on the said N. Hampshire Grants West of the Range of Green Mountains to Meet to gether by their Delegates from Each Town, at the House of M^r Cephas Kent's in said Dorset on the Sixteenth day of January next at Nine oClock in the Morning, then and there to Act on the Following Articles (VIZ^o)

- 1st to Choose a Moderator, or Chairman for said Meeting.
- 2^d to Choose Clerks for said Meeting.
- 3^d to see if the Law of New York shall have free Circulation where it doth not infringe on our properties, or Title of Lands, or Riots (so Called) in defence of the Same.
- 4th to see if the said Convention will Come into some proper regulations, or take some method to Surpress all Schismattick Mobbs that have, or may Arrise on Said Grants.
- 5th to See if they will Choose an Agent, or Agents to send to the Continental Congress.
- 6th to see whether the Convention will Consent to Associate with N. York, or by themselves in the Cause of America.

	Moses Robinson	} Committee
	Samuel Robinson	
	Seth Warner	
By Order of	Jeremiah Clark	
	Martin Powell	
	Daniel Smith	
	Jonathan Willard	

N. Hampshire } Dorset January 16th 1776—
Grants }

At a Meeting of the Representatives of the several Towns in the N Hampshire Grants, the West side the range of Green Mountains, held this day, at the House of M^r Cephas

Kent's Innholder in said Dorset; Proceeded as followeth viz.

- 1st Made Choice of Cap^t Joseph Woodward Chairman.
- 2^d made Choice of Doct^r Jonas Fay Clerk.
- 3^d made Choice of Col^o Moses Robinson, Mess^{rs} Samuel M^c Coon & oliver Evits, Assistant Clerks.
- 4th made Choice of Mess^{rs} Thomas Ashley, William Marsh, Heman Allen, Able Moulton, Moses Robinson, John M^c Lane, Gamaliel Painter, James Hard and Joseph Bowker a Committee to examine, and report their Opinion to the Convention, relative to the third Article in the Warrant.

Adjourned to 3 oClock P M.—Met at time and place.—Voted to make an Addition of four Persons to the Above Committee.—Voted to reconsider the two last Votes, and to discourse the matter for which they were appointed in publick Meeting.—Voted that the paper with a number of Signers exhibited to this Convention relative to Cap^t Bowker's Charecter, be ordered to lay on the Table, till further Order.

Voted that two persons from each Town in the Grants (who are present,) be Allowed to vote in this Meeting, and no more.

Adjourned to 8 oClock tomorow Morning.

January 17th 1776 Met at time and place.

Made Choice of Cap^t Heman Allen, Cap^t Joseph Bowker, Col^o Moses Robinson, Iohn M^c Lane and Col^o Timothy Brownson as a Committee to report their Opinion relative to the number of Committee men each Town in the grants Shall be Allowed

Report of the foregoing Sub-Committee
Your Committee beg leave to report as their Opinion, that the several Town's in the Grants hereafter named, be Allowed the number of Members set against the name of each Town, and that each Other inhabited Town in the said Grants be Allowed, one, or More, or less Votes in proportion to the number such Deputed Member, or Members shall represent.

Towns names	N ^o Votes Allowed
Pownall	4.
Bennington	7.
Shaftsbury	4.
Arlington	3.
Sunderland	2.
Manchester	4.
Dorset	2.
Dunbee	3.
Tinmouth	2.

Towns Names	N ^o Votes All ^d
Clarindon	4.
Rutland	3.
Pittsford	2.
Rupert	2.
Pawlet	1.
Wells	1.
Poultney	2
Castleton	2.
Neshobee	1

Joseph Bowker } Chairman of
 } Sub. Committee

a True Copy Examined
By Jonas Fay Clerk

The Above report being Read, was Voted
and Accepted Nem. Con.

Voted to represent the particular Case of
the inhabitants of the N Hampshire Grants
to the honorable the Continental Congress by
Remonstrance and petition.

Voted that L^t James Breakenridge, Cap^t
Heman Allen and Doct^r Jonas Fay be and
they are hereby Appointed to prefer said
Petition.

Voted that Doct^r Jonas Fay, Col^o W^m
Marsh & M^r Thomas Rowley be a Commit-
tee with the Above Delegates to prepare the
s^t Remonstrance and Petition.

Voted Nem. Con. to pay the Above agents
their Reasonable Cost's for their Services on
their return and exhibiting their Accounts.

Voted Mess^{rs} Simeon Hatheway, Elijah
Dewey and James Breakenridge, or either
two of them be, and are hereby Appointed
a Committee with power to Warn a General
Meeting of the Committees on the Grants,
when they shall Judge Necessary from
Southern intelligence.

And that Col^o John Strong, Zadock Aver-
est and Asahel Ward be a like Committee
with like power of Warning such General
Meeting of Committees in the Grants, when
they shall judge Necessary from Northern
intelligence.

Voted that the Several Committee's of
Corispondence continue their Duty as Usual.

Lastly Voted to Dissolve this Meeting

P^r Joseph Woodward Chairman

Errors excepted

True Copy examined

P^r Jonas Fay Clerk

Cash Received for the purpose of Defrey-
ing the Charges of the Delegates Appointed
to Attend Congress

L M
Poultney 0..6..4

Pittsford 0.. 6..0
Rupert 0..10..1

£1.. 2..5

receiv'd P^r

Jonas Fay Clerk

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VII.—LETTER FROM JOHN GOOCH, 1776.

COMMUNICATED BY JEREMIAH COLBURN, Esq.

NEW JERSEY, FORT CONSTITUTION,
Sept. 23, 1776.

SIR,

the many favors Recived from you will
ever hold a gratfull plase in my heart, and I flat-
ter myself a Letter will not prove disagreeable,
as I look on myself obliged in gratitude to let
you hear from me. as I know you must be anxti-
ous for the certainty of events of which you can
have at that distance but a confused account, as
I was on the Spot will indeaver to give you as
concise and Just account as possible; on the 15th
Inst't. we evacuated New York & took all Stores
of every kind out of the City, and took Posses-
sion of a hight on our Right Flank ab't half a
mile Distance with about 3000 men, a Party
from our Brigade of 150 men who turnd out as
Volanteers under the command of Lieut. Col^o
Crary of the Regmt. I belong to—were ordered
out if possible to dispossess them, in about 20
minits the Engagement began with as terrible a
fire as ever I heard, when orders came for the
whole Brigade imediately to march to support
the first detachment; the Brigade consisted of
ab't. 900 men, we immediately form'd in front of
the Enimy and march'd up in good order
through their fire, which was incessant till within
70 yards. when we Engaged them in that Situa-
tion, we Engaged them for one hour & eight min-
its, when the Enimy Broke & Ran, we persued
them to the next hights, when we were ordered to
Retreat, Our lose does not exceed in kill'd and
wounded twenty five men, the lose of the Enimy
was very considerable but cannot be ascertained,
as we observed them to carry off their dead and
wounded the whole time of the Engagement,
they left a Number of kill'd and wounded on
the Field of Battle & a great number of small
armes, the greate superiority of numbers and
every other advantage the Enimy had, when con-
sidered, makes the Victory Glorious, and tho'
but over a part of their Army, yet the conse-
quences of it are attended with advantages very
great, as they imediately quited the hights all
round us and have not been troublesome since,
our people behaved with the greatest Spirit, and
the New England men have gained the first Law-

called by this Deponent and others about said works "The Chancellor's Centre of Foolish "Notion." That the aforesaid Nicholas J. Rosevelt did from the commencement of this Building of said Boat express his decided disapprobation of the mode of Combination proposed by the said Chancellor, and did suggest, propose, and repeatedly solicit, the said Chancellor Livingston, to permit them to place wheels over the sides of said Boat, in a manner precisely similar to the Steamboats now in general use and operation, and that this deponent did frequently urge and request the said Chancellor Livingston to adopt the mode proposed and suggested by the said Nicholas as aforesaid, all which the said Chancellor to the said Nicholas, to this Deponent and others did absolutely, obstinately and pertinaciously refuse, asserting positively, that he would adhere to his own proposed mode of combination, and would not alter it, although the proportions and size of Engine necessary to insure success in propelling said Boat with a Steam Engine, by adopting vertically wheels (or in other words putting wheels over the sides of said Boat) were stated to him, which said size and proportions, as so stated, were the same, as well with, as without, the position of the wheels over the sides that was used in the first Boat navigated with success for Livingston and Fulton on the North River, and that it was owing to the positive and obstinate refusal of the said Chancellor Livingston to permit wheels to be put over the sides to propel the boat by, that Steamboats were not put in as perfect and complete operation at that time; to wit, in the year 1798, on the Passaic River aforesaid, as they have at any time since in the United States, either by the aforesaid Chancellor Livingston, by Robert Fulton, or by any other person whatsoever; That notwithstanding the said absurd pertinacity of the said Chancellor Livingston as aforesaid, The Boat was propelled through the water by the Steam Engine at a velocity with and against the ordinary current of the River, of four miles an hour, and that had the Combination so strongly recommended of putting the wheels over the sides been adopted this Deponent is convinced that the same Engine would have propelled said Boat with, and against the ordinary current of said River an average velocity of seven miles an hour. That this Deponent after leaving the Passaic aforesaid, having set up and established the making of Steam Engines of all sizes and varieties, In the City of Philadelphia he was applied to by a certain Robert Fulton to make a Steam Engine of which the said Robert did to this Deponent give a plan or drawing. That this De-

ponent made said Engine agreeably to the order and plan of the said Robert as aforesaid and that said plan and the conversations of this Deponent had with the said Robert Fulton convinced this Deponent, that the said Robert Fulton at the time knew but little about Steam Engines, and was wholly or almost wholly ignorant of the true principles and proportions necessary to make them good and efficient, and that the Deponent did before the said Robert Fulton began to build the first Steamboat on the North River, generally called the North River Steamboat, inform him the said Robert of the plan proposed of putting the wheels over the sides, stated to him the total inefficiency of the Councillors former plan, and strongly recommended to the said Robert to adopt the plan of vertically wheels, which he the said Robert again agreed to do, and by doing produced useful Steamboats.

The Original signed } Dated Nov. 24th
Witness WM. D. DELONY } 1814.
Justice }

IX. — "VERMONT CONTROVERSY."

A SERIES OF UNPUBLISHED PAPERS, CONCERNING THE RELATIONS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE AND THE EARLY VERMONTESE, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

[There is, in the office of the Secretary of State of New Hampshire, at Concord, a volume of manuscripts, bearing the title *Vermont Controversy*, which contains papers, illustrative of the early history of Vermont, of the highest importance to those who shall endeavor to ascertain the exact truth of the beginnings of that Commonwealth.

The publication of the contents of that volume has been frequently urged on the authorities of New Hampshire, but without success; and our valued friend, Captain W. F. Goodwin, U. S. A., a resident of Concord, more than two years ago, attempted to arouse the attention of those, in Vermont, who profess to be interested in the early history of that State, to the hidden treasures contained in that old volume. For that purpose, he communicated an elaborate description of the contents of the volume, to two of the leading journals of that State; and he also copied, with his own hand, the entire series of papers which compose the collection referred to, and communicated them to *The [Burlington] Daily Free Press*, for publication in that justly influential paper.

For reasons which were undoubtedly satisfactory to the Editors of the *Free Press*, however, only a very small portion of the series was allowed to see daylight, through the columns of that paper; and from these, because of the difficulty in procuring copies of the papers containing them, little advantage is to be expected, by those who prefer to read, for themselves, the authorities on which History necessarily rests. We have concluded, therefore, with Captain Goodwin's assistance—and he is always ready to extend that assistance to every one who honestly seeks

t—to present, in] THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, the *entire contents* of that very important volume; and we assure ourself that we shall share with Captain Goodwin the thanks of *honest* students of the history of Vermont, everywhere, for thus raising another fold of the veil which, hitherto, has concealed from the wide world too much of the nastiness from which arose, originally, what, in its greater comeliness, is now “The State of Vermont.” We shall so dispose of the material thus communicated by Captain Goodwin, that portions of it will appear in each succeeding number of the Magazine, during the present year: we shall also so arrange it that we shall complete the series with the December number.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

[I.—Governor Wentworth's Proclamation, defining his pretensions to occupy lands Westward of the Connecticut river.]]

By His Excellency

BENNING^W WENTWORTH, Esq;:

Captain-General, Governour and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Province in New Hampshire, in New-England, &c.

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS His Honor CADWALLADER COLDEN, Esq; Lieutenant Governor, and Commander in Chief of His MAJESTY's Province of New-York, hath lately issued a Proclamation, of a very extraordinary Nature, setting forth, that King CHARLES the Second, on the 12th Day of March, 1663-4, and the 29th June 1674, did by his several Letters Patent of those Dates, grant in Fee to His Brother the Duke of York, among other Things, all the Land from the West Side of Connecticut River to the East Side of Delaware Bay: And therein also sets forth, or describes the Bounds of New-Hampshire; in which Description there is a very material Mistake—besides there is omitted the Fact, on which the Description of New-Hampshire depended, viz. His Majesty's Determination of the Northern, and Western Boundaries of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in 1739: And Nothing can be more evident, than that New-Hampshire may legally extend her Western Boundary as far as the Massachusetts Claim reaches, and she claims no more;—But New-York pretends to claim even to the Banks of Connecticut River, although she never laid out and settled one Town in that Part of His Majesty's Lands, since she existed as a Government.

WHEN New-York Government extends her Eastern Boundary, to the Banks of Connecticut River, between New-York and the Colony of Connecticut; and to the Banks of said River, between New-York and the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, it would have been full early for New-York to declare that the Govern-

ment of New-Hampshire was fully apprized of the Right of New-York, under the before recited Letters Patent to the Duke of York.

In Virtue of the final Determination of the Boundary Lines settled by His late Majesty between this Government, and the Massachusetts Bay, all the Lands capable of Settlements, have been erected into Townships, agreeable to His Majesty's Commands, and a considerable Revenue is daily arising to the Crown, unless interrupted and impaired by His Honor's Proclamation, which New-Hampshire will not be answerable for.

At present the Boundaries of New-York, to the Northward, are unknown, and as soon as it shall be His Majesty's Pleasure to determine them, New-Hampshire will pay a ready and cheerful Obedience thereunto; not doubting but that all Grants made by New-Hampshire, that are fulfilled by the Grantees, will be confirmed to them, if it should be His Majesty's Pleasure to alter the Jurisdiction.

For Political Reasons, the Claim to Jurisdiction by New-York, might have been deferred, as well as the strict Injunction on the civil Power, to exercise Jurisdiction in their respective Functions, as far as the Eastern Banks of Connecticut River.

The said Proclamation carrying an Air of Government in it, may possibly affect and retard the Settlement of His Majesty's Lands, granted by this Government: For preventing an Injury to the Crown of this Kind, and to remove all Doubts that may arise to Persons holding the King's Grants, they may be assured that the Patent to the Duke of York is obsolete, and cannot convey any certain Boundary to New-York, that can be claimed as a Boundary, as plainly appears by the several boundary Lines of the Jerseys, on the West, and the Colony of Connecticut on the East, which are set forth in the Proclamation, as Part only of the Land included in the said Patent to the Duke of York.

To the End therefore, that the Grantees now settled, and settling on those Lands, under his late, and present Majesty's Charters, may not be intimidated, or any Way hindered or obstructed in the Improvement of the Lands so granted; as well as to ascertain the Right, and maintain the Jurisdiction of His Majesty's Government of New-Hampshire, as far Westward as to include the Grants made; I have thought fit, by and with the Advice of His Majesty's Council, to issue this Proclamation, hereby encouraging the general Grantees, claiming under this Government, to be industrious in clearing and cultivating their Lands, agreeable to their respective Grants.

And I do hereby require and command all

civil Officers, within this Province, of what Quality soever, as well those that are not, as those that are Inhabitants on the said Lands, to continue and be diligent in exercising Jurisdiction in their respective Offices, as far Westward as Grants of Land have been made by this Government; and to deal with any Person or Persons, that may presume to interrupt the Inhabitants or Settlers on said Lands, as to Law and Justice doth appertain, the pretended Right of Jurisdiction mentioned in the aforesaid Proclamation, notwithstanding.

GIVEN at the Council-Chamber in Portsmouth, the 13th, Day of March, 1764, and in the fourth Year of His MAJESTY'S Reign.

B. WENTWORTH.

By His EXCELLENCY'S Command,
with Advice of COUNCIL.

T. ATKINSON jun. Secretary,

GOD save the King.

PORTSMOUTH: Printed by DANIEL FOWLE, Printer to His Excellency the GOVERNOUR and COUNCIL.

[2.—*Letter from Lieutenant-governor Colden advising the Governor of New Hampshire of the suspension of prosecutions of trespassers, on lands within Vermont, by the authorities in New York.*]

NEW YORK May 13th 1765

Sr

I have the Favour of yours of the 26th of last month soon after I received his Majesty's order in Council for determining the Boundary between this Province & new Hampshire

I gave Derpection to the attorney General to forbear any farther Prosecutions you mentioned in Your Letter of which I doubt not you have recd an ansr from them before this Time — It gives me Pleasure to have done a thing so agreeable to you before your Desire was made known to me

I am with great Truth & regard

Your most obedient humble Servt
CADWALLADER COLDEN

His Excellency

BENNING WENTWORTH Esq

Copy

recd 22d May 1765.

[3.—*Memorial of John Wendell, in behalf of Grantees of Governor Wentworth, in Vermont praying the assistance of the Colonial authorities of New Hampshire, in their efforts to secure a reversal of the King's Order, confining New Hampshire to the Eastward of Connecticut river.*]

Province of }

New Hampshire } To His Excellency John Went

worth Esq^r Captain General, Governor & Commander in Chief in and over His Majestys Province of New Hampshire & Vice Admiral of y^e Same,

To the Hon^{ble} His Majesty's Council and House of Representatives in General Assembly convened this 18th day of Oct^r 1768 by Adjournment,

The Memorial of John Wendell of Portsmouth in the Province aforesaid Esq^r unto your Excellency & Honours humbly Shews:—

That your memorialist being appointed the Agent of a Committee, chosen by the Voices of more than one Thousand Grantees, claiming Lands on the western Side of Connecticut River, under the Grants of Benning Wentworth Esq^r late Governour of this Province, which have since been taken away, and annexed to the Province of New York: by Virtue of which Appointment, he is impowred to Act, Transact and do, any Thing whereby the Interest of his Constituents and their Principals may be advanced, as also to correspond with their other Agents Mess^{rs} Sam^l Johnston & Sam^l Robinson Esquires who have preferred a Petition to his Majesty in Council in Behalf of the said Grantees, praying to be reannexed to this Government, and to set forth other heavy Grievances, under which the s^d Grantees then laboured, and which still continue:—

During a Correspondence which y^r memorialist has had with the said Johnston, some Anecdotes have dropt from his Pen, which Your memorialist is desired to communicate, as worthily the Notice and Attention of the whole Legislature of this Prov^{ce} but as the said Johnston has strictly enjoined it upon him, not to divulge this Intelligence he has received, or give Extracts of his Letters only to such, whose Prudence & Secrecy may be absolutely relied upon, Your memorialist has hitherto postponed this Communication; And now placing an unlimited Confidence, on the Prudence of the Hon^{ble} Court, he takes the Liberty to lay an attested Extract of said Johnstons Letter before them, from which may be deduced; that if the Legislature of this Province would join with said Grantees in their Application to his Majesty in Council, the One for the Jurisdiction and the Other for the Property of said Lands, there is a great Probability of Success to both

Your Memorialist does not presume to dictate any particular Measures whereby this valuable & much desired Acquisition may be obtained, but leaves to the Consideration of this Hon^{ble} Court, the Nature & Substance of this Memorial, as it is Y^r Memorialists only Intention & highest Ambition, that the Grantees in Particular, and the Province in General may reap an ad

vantage that may result from this Discovery and y^r Memorialist as in Duty bound shall ever pray —

JOHN WENDELL

[*Extract of Letter from the Agent of Grantees, in London, referred to in Mr. Wendell's Memorial and appended thereto.*]

London March 31 1768 extract from Mr S: Johnston Esqrs Letter of that Date to John Wendell

"I am really surprised at the Supineness of the Proprietors and even of your Province in this matter; had it been pursued with Spirit immediately upon the Alteration of the Jurisdiction & before any Grants had been made by New York, it is very plain to me, that the Prop^{rs} might very easily have secured their Lands, tho the Province had not recovered its Jurisdiction, and even the Latter I think was very probable.

"Many things which have since happened have increased the Difficulty, but I should by no means even now despair of it, if the Cause was supported as it ought to be by the joint Aid and Application of all the Proprietors and the Province the one for the Property and the other for the Jurisdiction of the Lands: the real Poverty of those who joined Cap^t Robinson (tho they did the best they could) rendered them unable to give the Cause the effectual Support which was (and is) necessary to give it proper Weight and render the Application to the Crown as regular and respectable as its Importance and the Unusual Course of Proceedings in Cases of this Kind justly required: Money has in fact been wanting to do Justice to this Cause, it comes here rather in Formā Pauperis which is an Appearance seldom made or much regarded in this Country, and is by no means an Eligible Light in which to place an affair of this kind."

A true Copy taken by me

JOHN WENDELL

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

X.—LETTER OF SIR BIBYE LAKE, BART., 1738.

COMMUNICATED BY JOHN WARD DEAN, ESQ., BOSTON.

The following letter is copied from the original, in the possession of J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston, whose mother was a granddaughter of the person addressed.

"Sir:

"Your Favour Dated Dec^r 4th came safe to my hands, and for which I think myself

"highly obliged to you, as it gives me an account of my Relations in your parts of whose welfare I wanted much to hear.

"You mention among the rest my Aunt Mather's death, for whose loss I am much concerned; however am glad to find she has left her Representatives in so good condition.

"As to my Father's Children, we are but two remaining, myself and Sister, who is now a Widow and lives in London. She married Mr W^m Griffith of Kevenamluch in Carnarvonshire, North Wales, a Gentleman of a very plentiful fortune and dyed about 24 Years ago, leaving no Children. I have four Children living, three Sons and one Daughter, who was lately married to M^r Jones of Stepney in Middlesex, the son of Cap^t Sam^l Jones. At present no other change has happened to our Family."

"I am sorry to inform you Colo^l Quincey, soon after his arrival here in England, was taken ill of the Small Pox and dyed, which deprived me of the happiness of his acquaintance, and of being of any service to a Gentleman of whom I received so worthy a character. My Sister and Family join with me in their respects and Humble Service to Yourself and the rest of our Relations in New England.

"I give you thanks for the kind offer of your service in my Affairs, but as M^r Watts will undertake the care of them, will not trouble you.

"I am S^r

"LONDON

"Y^r most Humble Serv^t

"March 30th 1738"

"BIBYE LAKE."

Sir Bibye Lake, the writer of the above letter, was a grandson of Thomas Lake, merchant, of Boston, Massachusetts. His "Aunt Mather," whose death he mentions, died the preceding May. She was a daughter of Thomas Lake, of Boston, and sister of Thomas Lake, born on the ninth of February, 1656-7, died on the twenty-second of May, 1711—the father of Sir Bibye. She was born on the twelfth of October, 1663; married, first, Rev. John Cotton of Hampton, New Hampshire; and second, Rev. Increase Mather, D.D., of Boston; and died at Brookline, Massachusetts, on the twenty-ninth of May, 1737, aged seventy-three. By her first husband, she had a daughter, Dorothy Cotton, born on the sixteenth of July, 1693; who married Rev. Nathaniel Gookin of Hampton, and was the mother of Rev. Nathaniel Gookin, to whom the letter is addressed. The latter was born on the sixth of February, 1713; graduated at Harvard-college, 1731; was ordained at North Hampton, New Hampshire, on the thirty-first of October, 1739; and died on the twenty-second of October, 1766.

It will be seen that he was a cousin-nephew of Sir Bibye Lake, the writer.

The Colonel Quincy referred to, was Edmund Quincy, who was born in 1681; graduated at Harvard-college in 1699; Judge of the Superior Court of Massachusetts; died at London, while he was Agent of the Province, in England, on the twenty-third of February, 1738; and was buried in Bunhill-Field, where the Province erected a monument to his memory,

BOSTON, MASS. JOHN WARD DEAN.

XI.—NOTABLE PLACES.

1.—THE GREEN DRAGON TAVERN, BOSTON.

By HON. NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, LATE MAYOR OF THAT CITY.*

But a few steps from Hanover-street, in that portion of Union-street which leads towards the site of the old mill-pond, in the city of Boston, formerly stood an ancient building of considerable notoriety, known in the olden time as THE GREEN DRAGON-TAVERN, and even until quite recently retaining this distinctive name. It was early a noted landmark, even in the first century of Boston's history; and, as time wore on, it became as famous as any private edifice—if such it could be called, considering the public uses to which it was frequently put—that could be found upon the peninsula. If its early occupancy and use brought it into notice, so also was new fame added to that which it had already acquired by the patriotic gatherings held within its sombre walls during the darkest days of the American Revolution, when Samuel Adams, James Otis, James Warren, Paul Revere, and other true Sons of Liberty, in their secret councils, planned the deliverance of their country from thralldom and the grievous oppressions of Great Britain.

This old relic of ancient times disappeared from its lot, near the close of the last year of the mayoralty of the elder Quincy; and its appearance is fast fading out of the remembrance of those who, in their early years, were well-acquainted with its most hidden recesses. The estate on which it stood now belongs to St. Andrew's Lodge of Freemasons; and its history can be traced back to the first settlement of the town. It is a portion of the three-quarters of an acre of marsh and upland, originally granted to James Johnson, a glover, who settled in Boston as early

as the year 1635, and who was distinguished, among his contemporary townsmen, as a Deacon of the Church and as Captain of the Artillery Company, in 1656—a Company which, by its age and ancient renown, has acquired the designation "The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company." The property is first mentioned, in 1643, in the *Book of Possessions* of the first settlers of the town, on the twentieth page, and is there described as "three-quarters of an acre of marsh & upland, bounded with the Cove on the North & the East, John Smith West, & John Davies South." "The Cove" is, elsewhere, in the volume quoted, called "The Cove or Mill-pond;" and the contiguous estate, on the South, which separated Mr. Johnson's estate from the street (now Hanover-street), was the original Grant made to John Davies, a joiner, consisting of a house and garden. Davies, on the twenty-eighth of June, 1645, conveyed his house and garden to John Trotman, whose wife, Katherine, as the Attorney of her husband, sold the same, on the same day, to Thomas Hawkins, of Boston, at that time a noted biscuit-baker, but subsequently an innholder; and on this lot was, a few years afterwards, built, "THE STAR INN," probably kept, in those early days, successively, by Mr. Hawkins and his good-wife Rebecca, John Howlet and his wife Susanna, and Andrew Neal and his wife Millicent. The Neals died in possession of the corner about 1709, having purchased of Howlet's widow, who bought it of Hawkins; and the estate passed from their heirs, by sale, to John Borland, who, in his turn, passed it down to Francis Borland, Esq.

After Mr. Hawkins had come in possession of the Davies lot, he became desirous of obtaining the Johnson lot also; and, subsequently, he purchased it of Mr. Johnson, through the intervention of his cordwainer, Thomas Marshall, on the tenth of October, 1662. Hawkins soon began keeping an inn upon his newly-acquired estate and, probably, put additional buildings on the lot, as he subsequently mortgaged it to Rev. Thomas Thacher, the future Pastor of the Old South-church (just establishing), on the sixth of December, 1667; and, on the twenty-ninth of May, 1671, Thacher, who had married the widow of Jacob Sheafe, the most opulent Bostonian of his day, assigned the Mortgage to Sampson Sheafe, Esq., who had married Elizabeth, one of the daughters of his wife. Mr. Hawkins put a second Mortgage on his estate, on the fifteenth of June, 1671, to secure money borrowed of Mr. Sheafe, and died in the latter part of the year 1671; and his widow, Rebecca (his second wife) relinquished her right of dower, on the sixteenth of January, 1673, the estates having been forfeited to Mr. Sheafe for non-fulfillment of

* This article, by permission of Doctor Shurtleff, is taken from his valuable work, entitled *A Topographical and Historical Description of Boston*; and we have pleasure, also, in thankfully acknowledging the favor of the use of his plate of the old building, which was not used in the illustration of that volume.

We hope to enjoy the pleasure of presenting other papers from the Doctor's pen, in forthcoming numbers of the Magazine.—EDITOR.

the payments. Some time previous to the fifteenth of June, 1676, the Green Dragon Tavern estate passed into the possession of William Stoughton, a man having excellent traits of character, although in a judicial capacity, which he held before his appointment as Lieutenant-governor of the Province, he was most wickedly intolerant, in the trials of the mis-called Witches; for which cruelty and barbarism, his gift of Stoughton Hall to Harvard-college will not, in the slightest degree, compensate.

Lieutenant-governor Stoughton, the son of Israel Stoughton, of Dorchester, was a person of considerable ability. He was educated at Harvard-college, graduating in 1650, and he passed some time in studying for the ministry, but relinquished the design of becoming a preacher, after having delivered the annual Election Sermon, in 1668, preferring the field of politics, to that of religion. In May, 1692, he entered upon the duties of Lieutenant-governor, having been appointed to the position, under the second Massachusetts Charter, establishing the Province, at the same time that Sir William Phips was commissioned as Governor. In November, 1694, on the return of Governor Phips to England, he became acting-Governor, performing the duties until the arrival of the Earl of Bellomont, in May, 1699; and succeeding him, in the same capacity, in July, 1700, and so continuing until the seventh of July, 1701, when he died at the age of about seventy years. He died possessed of a large landed property, in Boston, comprising, in part, the Green Dragon Tavern estate, the Star Inn estate, and the Old Blue Bell estate, where the father of Franklin resided, after the birth of the great Bostonian—the last-named estates being at the opposite corners of Hanover and Union-streets. He devised this property to his nieces—the Green Dragon Tavern and Franklin corners falling to Mehitable, the wife of Captain Thomas Cooper, the father of Rev. William Cooper, one of the early Pastors of Brattle-square-church. Mrs. Cooper was a very distinguished person. She was the daughter of James Minot, of Dorchester, by his wife, Hannah, the sister of Lieutenant-governor Stoughton, and was born in Dorchester, on the seventeenth of September, 1668. Captain Cooper, her husband, died at sea, in 1705; and she married, for her second husband, Peter Sargeant, Esq., he who built for his mansion-house the old Province-house. On the death of Mr. Sargeant, in 1714, she married her third husband, Simeon Stoddard, Esq., who died in 1730, leaving her, a third time, a widow, in her sixty-second year; and she died, a widow, on the twenty-third of September, 1738. At the time of Mr. Cooper's death, in 1705, the Green Dragon Tavern estate was valued at six hundred and fifty pounds.

On the eighteenth of August, 1743, about five years after the decease of Mrs. Stoddard, her son, Rev. William Cooper, sold the Green Dragon Tavern estate to Doctor William Douglass, not only a noted physician, but also the author of the very celebrated *Summary of New England history*.

Doctor William Douglass was born in Gifford, in the County of Haddington, a short distance from Edinburgh, Scotland, and died in Boston, on the twenty-first of October, 1752, aged, as nearly as can be ascertained, about sixty years. He came to Boston in 1716, but did not make a permanent settlement here until the year 1718. He first dwelt in Hanover-street, near Mr. Welstead's Meeting-house; but, at his decease, the house in Green Dragon-lane was styled his mansion-house, and was the only one on the estate not let by him to tenants. His father, George, was a portioner (distributor of tithes) in Gifford, near Edinburgh, and the factor of John, Marquis of Tweedale. His father's children were Cornelius, a surgeon and portioner, who had a son, Cornelius, a joiner, who removed to Boston, after the decease of Doctor William Douglass; Doctor William, the second child; George, who died in youth; and Catharine, who married a person named Kerr—sometimes written "Carr"—and who came to Boston with her nephew, and afterwards married a Mr. Robinson. Catharine Kerr, the sister, and Cornelius Douglass, the nephew, of Doctor William Douglass, shared his property, equally, by a division made on the twenty-seventh of September, 1754, and recorded with Suffolk Deeds, Liber 88, Folio 76. Doctor Douglass left about three thousand, one hundred, and eighty-five pounds. Over twenty dozen gloves were bought for his funeral.

In this noted old house, Doctor Douglass wrote his famous books; and in it, he died. By an agreement of his heirs, made the twenty-seventh of September, 1754, and recorded with the Suffolk Records, the old mansion-house fell to Catharine Kerr; and she, a widow, by Deed dated the thirty-first of March, 1764, conveyed it, for the consideration of four hundred and sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence to Moses Deshon and others, members of St. Andrew's Lodge of Freemasons. Since that date, the estate has been in the possession of the Lodge.

The old Tavern stood on the left side of the street, formerly called Green Dragon-lane, now the northerly portion of Union-street, leading from Hanover-street to the old Mill-pond, now filled up and built upon. It was built of brick, and, in its latter days, was painted of a dingy color. In front, it showed only two stories and an attic; but, in the rear, from the slope of the land and the peculiar shape of the roof, three

stories, with a basement, were perceptible. It covered a piece of land fifty feet in front and thirty-four in depth, and had connected with it a large stable and other out buildings. In recent times, the lower story was used as the common rooms of a tavern; while in the second, on the street front, was a large hall used for public as well as for Masonic purposes. The attic story afforded ample accommodations for sleeping apartments. The chimneys were substantially built in the side walls, and were of the style usually found in houses built at the close of the seventeenth century. The attic windows on the front part of the roof, and the walk railed in on the upper part, added much to the appearance and comfort of the building, which, in its best days, must have been commodious, and comfortably arranged.

The whole estate comprised a large lot of land, the main portion being situated back of Green Dragon lane with other estates in front, and extending, northerly, to the old Mill-pond. The extensive yard was much used by the boys who dwelt in the neighborhood, as a play ground; and here it was, undoubtedly, that the youthful Franklin first essayed his mechanical feat of building his stone wharf, alluded to, in his *Autobiography*. The old tavern-stable became, in its latter days, a well-known convenience, and served, many years, as a livery-stable, kept by men well-acquainted with their business.

In front of the building there projected from the wall an iron crane, upon which was crouched a Green Dragon. This peculiar mark of designation was very ancient, perhaps as old as the building itself. It was formed of thick sheet copper, and had a curled tail; and from its mouth projected a fearful looking tongue, the wonder of all the boys who dwelt in the neighborhood. When the building was taken down, this curious relic of the handiwork of the ancient mechanics of the town disappeared, and has never since been found, although most searching inquiries and diligent examinations for it have been made among workmen and in the collections of the dealers in old material. In 1854, a Committee of St. Andrew's Lodge was appointed to put in the new building, that stands upon the site of the old one, a memorial to commemorate the old house; and they inserted in the wall, on the first of November, 1855, a stone effigy, elaborately carved in sandstone, in a most skilful and artistic manner, by a workman in the employ of Mr. Thomas J. Bailey, of this city; and this magnificently sculptured emblem now proudly supplies the place of the old weather-beaten dragon which had, for nearly a century and a half, withstood the storms and tempests of the hard New England seasons, and outlived the violence of political mobs and the rudeness of

inimical soldiery, in the time of the war—a fit object to perpetuate, in some degree, the remembrance of the old hall in which the patriots of the American Revolution used to meet, and, also, to designate the Mason's Hall of by-gone days.

The old mansion-house must have been erected not far from the year 1680, when many substantial buildings of a similar kind were put up. In 1695, and, perhaps, earlier, it was used, as an inn, by Alexander Smith, who, and his widow, also, died as its occupants, in 1696. Hannah Bishop had a license, in October, 1696, for keeping a tavern in it; and she was succeeded by John Cary, a brewer, in October of 1697, who, certainly, was its occupant as late as 1705, although Samuel Tyley appears to have been the tenant of Lieutenant-governor Stoughton, at the time of his decease, in July, 1701. In 1734, Joseph Kidder, who came from The Three Cranes, in Charlestown, was its keeper. It would not be surprising if Thomas Milliken, a member of St. Andrew's Lodge, was, also, at some time, a landlord of the Green Dragon Tavern; for he was a victualler by occupation, and was mainly instrumental in its purchase for the Lodge, being Chairman of the Committee authorized, on the eleventh of January, 1764, to buy it. On the thirty-first of the month, of the same year, the Deed was passed by Mrs. Catherine Kerr to Moses Deshon and others; and, on the thirteenth of April, the Lodge held, for the first time, a monthly meeting in the hall. On the fourteenth of June, 1764, the hall was formally named "FREEMASON'S HALL;" and, from that time, for a long series of years, it was the regular place of meeting of the Lodge. It would be useless, were it even possible, to name the various persons who carried on this famous tavern; suffice it to say, that, at times, it was the most popular of the old houses of "entertainment for man and beast," in the town, and was noted for being a favorite hall for festive as well as political occasions. Undoubtedly, the famous "Tea-Party" of 1773 had its origin within the walls of this old mansion; for it is known that several of the most active spirits engaged in it were members of the Masonic Lodge that held its meetings there, monthly. A Lodge meeting, called for the thirtieth of November, 1773, being St. Andrew's Day, was closed without the transaction of business, in consequence of the fewness of the brethren present; and the followings words, in a distinct hand, were entered on the page with the record: "(N. B. Consign-ees of Tea took up the Brethren's time)." The meeting which was to have been held on the sixteenth of December—the day of the destruction of the tea—was also given up, for the same reason.

From the following document, signed by the

Lieutenant-governor, it appears that, in the Revolutionary War, the building was sometimes used for other purposes :

“ BOSTON, Feb. 24th, 1776.

“ TO THE REV^d DOCT^r CANER, COL. SNELLING,
“ MAJ. PADDOCK, CAP. GORE, & CAP. GAY.

“ GENTLEMEN—Having occasion for a large
“ commodious House for the Purpose of a Hos-
“ pital in which the poor—Infirm and Aged can
“ be lodged upon the Charity in which you are
“ appointed Stewards—and having the Consent
“ of the Proprietors in Town of the House Com-
“ monly called the Green Dragon to apply that to
“ this Purpose, you are hereby required to take
“ possession of said House and prepare it as a
“ Hospital for the Reception of such objects as
“ shall require immediate Relief, for which this
“ shall be your authority.

“ THOS. OLIVER.”

In October, 1828, as the travel from Charles-
town had much increased, and as the filling up
of the Mill-pond had given room for many
buildings and, therefore, required the widening
of Green Dragon-lane, the old building was
taken down, by order of the City authorities,
and a considerable part of its site taken for the
proposed widening; and, then, passed almost
from remembrance the appearance of one of the
most noted and interesting landmarks of the
early days of the town. On its site, and cover-
ing the whole estate, a large warehouse has been
erected by the Lodge, which is now, in 1870, oc-
cupied as a carriage depository.

XII.—LETTER FROM MATTHEW MAYHEW, 1689.

FROM THE MASSACHUSETTS ARCHIVES, (UNPUB-
LISHED) XXV., 10.

COMMUNICATED BY WM. B. TRASK, ESQ., OF
BOSTON, MASS.

MART. VINEYARD Sep^r 22^d : 89.

WORSHIPFUL S

I send the bearer post, to inform
that one hawkins, hath lately taken William
Lord in a Barque from Jamaica, this day, fol-
lowing a Vesle into—this port, being the Sabbath,
gave advantage, to raise such force to deter them
from Comeing so neer as to fetch out the Vesle :
of which wee thought meet to give Speedy
advise, that, at least Such as are designed, west-
ward, might know the daing^r the sd pirates are
in a sloop, belonging to M^r Peeter Coffin, & sd
barque being all needf^{ul} at p^rsent—am

Yor^s Worships humble
S^rvant

MATT. MAYHEW.

[NOTE BY MR. TRASK.]

No family of equal note with the Mayhews are to be found in the annals of Martha's Vineyard. There was Thomas, the Governor, and his son Thomas, the first Minister there : the three sons of Thomas the second, namely, Matthew, the writer of the preceding letter, Thomas, one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, & John, a successful preacher at the Vineyard; Experience, the clergyman, eldest son of John; Zechariah, the Missionary, and his brother the noted Rev. Jonathan, D.D., who settled in Boston, sons of Experience; another John and Jeremiah, grandsons of the first John; Joseph and Nathan; a second Matthew, grandson of the first physician, Senator and Judge; Doctor Allen Mayhew and William, a member of the Convention of 1789; besides others who have adorned the name, giving it a character in history for more than two centuries. Five successive generations of the family were preachers to the Indians.

“The family has been almost as much distinguished for longevity, as for talents. The first Thomas Mayhew died at the age of ninety; Experience, at the age of eighty-four; John, grandson of the first John, at the age of eighty-nine; and his brother Jeremiah, at the age of eighty-five; Dr. Matthew Mayhew, at the age of eighty-five; and Zechariah, at the age of eighty-nine.” To these may be added, William, who died at the age of ninety-two.

Matthew, the eldest son of Thomas, the second, and the author of the above note, in the year 1681, on the death of his grandfather, Thomas, the Governor, succeeded him in his civil and military honors. In the year 1694, he published a small book, entitled, *A Brief Narrative of the success, &c.* Matthew, like his grandfather, was not only a Governor of Martha's Vineyard and the neighboring islands but was also a preacher to the Indians. He died in 1710. See *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, II., lii., 66-71.

XIII.—GOING THE CIRCUIT, IN NEW YORK, A.D., 1700.

COMMUNICATED BY E. B. O'CALLAGHAN, LL.D.

On the fifteenth of May, 1700, an Order was made in Council, “For as much as the Judge appointed to go the Circuit is suspended, it is ordered that there may be no delay of Justice, that Coll^o Abraham Depeyster, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of Judicature for this province do go the Circuit of Ulster and Dutchesse Counties, and his Charges be allowed by the Government he having no Sallary.”

The following paper illustrates the result of the preceding Order and the way in which justice was administered in Colonial New York :

“Expences of the Judge in his Circuit to
“the County of Ulster the 3^d Tuesday in
“May 1700.

	lb	s	d
“To Ant Elbertson to be released			
““of his boat	00	12	00
“Two quarter casks of Old			
“Madeira	07	00	00

" One Gallon of Brandy & " bottles of Roger Baker	01.02.06
" 6 pound of white } " Sugar	of Crooke 02.05.06
" 12 pound Muscovado	
" 2 Gamons Bacon	} 01.00.06
" 4 Neats Tongues	
" One Barrell Syder of Jacob-	
" us de Key	01.00.06
" 4 loaves of Bread of Wen-	
" ham's baker	00.03.00
" 25 lbs White Biskett of Mrs.	
" De Key by guesse	00.06.00
" One Cheshire Cheese	00.12.00
" 6 lbs butter of Mr. Derey-	
" mer	00.03.09
" 3 fowles of Gabriell Tomp-	
" son	00.03.00
" a Bottle Oyle	00.03.09
" $\frac{1}{2}$ a grosse of pypes	} of Michael Haw-
" 3 lbs of Tobacco	
" a bottle of Lime juyce	don 00.05.03
" 1 doz Glasses of Jeremiah	
" Tothill	00.09.00
" 2 Quarters of Lamb dress-	
" ed at Plaisteads	00.08.00
" $\frac{1}{2}$ a Lamb in a pyc	00.07.06
" 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ fiatts beer of Coll. Cort-	
" landt	00.15.00
" 5 empty Bottles	00.01.10 $\frac{1}{2}$
" $\frac{1}{2}$ a Barrell of powder & one	
" quire of Cartridge paper	02.10.09
" More going up and coming down the River :	
" For provisions at the high-	
" Lands	00.04.06
" To two men for carrying }	01.02.00
" the Judge from Pokeep-	
" sinck to Esopus about 18	
" miles against wind and	
" tyde	
" To severall expences at Eso-	
" pus for provisions in	
" coming down	01.18.04 $\frac{1}{2}$
" To the Seamen	00.16.06
" To a silver Spoon of the	
" Captains lost overboard	
" by accident	00.13.06
" To the hire of a Sloop	
" 10 dayes at 20s. p^{d} diem	10.00.00
	<u>" 33.04.00</u>
" 20 MAY 1700. Ordered a Warrant issue for	
" payment of Thirty three pounds, four shillings	
" to Cornelius Depeyster and Garret Banker for	
" the Charges of the Judge that went the Circuit	
" to Ulster and Dutchesse Counties in pursuance	
" of an order of this Board of the fifteenth day	
" of May instant."	

The above are copied from *New York Council Minutes*, viii., 152, 154, and *New York Colonial Manuscripts*, xliii., 127. E. B. O'C.

XIV.—OUR HISTORICAL WRITERS.

I.—WILLIAM DARLINGTON, LL.D.

By CHARLES LANMAN, ESQ.

[TO THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE :

While prosecuting my labors on the *Dictionary of Congress*, during the last eight years, a very large mass of biographical information has accumulated in my hands, connected with the noted men of the United States. Much of it is autobiographic in its character, and another large proportion consists of papers written by the relatives and friends of departed statesmen. The character of my work limited me chiefly to the dry dates and facts contained in the correspondence with which I have been favored, and I propose, as time and chance may determine, to publish more elaborate biographies of some of the prominent men of the past, compiled from the records in my possession. With this explanation, I send you the subjoined sketch of William Darlington.

Yours very truly

CHARLES LANMAN.

GEORGETOWN, D. C.

He was born in the Township of Birmingham, County of Chester, Pennsylvania, on the twenty-eighth of April, 1782. His ancestors, on both sides, followed William Penn from England, and settled in Pennsylvania. He was brought up to the business of Agriculture, until the age of eighteen; and was trained in the religion of George Fox and the politics of Thomas Jefferson. His school education was a plain elementary English one; and after he was old enough to conduct a harrow or hold a plough, the tuition was limited to the Winter season.

In his eighteenth year, he commenced the study of Medicine, with Doctor John Vaughn, in Wilmington, Delaware. While a student, he took private lessons in the French language; and attended Medical Lectures in the University of Pennsylvania, from 1802 to 1804, also a course on Natural History and Botany. He graduated on the sixth of June, 1804; and, so far as known, was the first native of the ancient County of Chester, who obtained the degree of M.D.

After graduating, his leisure, for a couple of years, was employed in acquiring the rudiments of the Latin language. In 1806, he was disowned by the Society of Friends, for accepting the appointment of Surgeon to a Militia Regiment. In 1807, or about that time, he made a voyage to India, as Surgeon of a merchant-ship, spending the months of March and April, in Calcutta; in 1808, he settled in West Chester, Chester-county, as a practitioner of Physic; and, on the first of June, of that year, he married Catherine,

second daughter of General John Lacey, of Burlington-county, New Jersey.

In 1809, he commenced the study of the German language. In 1811 and 1812, he assisted in establishing the West Chester Academy, of which he was a Trustee and Secretary until the close of his life. In 1813, he commenced a *Catalogue of the Plants growing around West Chester*; and also the formation of a Herbarium. In 1814, he was a Commissioner for taking Stock and organizing the Bank of Chester-county; became a Director; and was President of the same, from February, 1830, until his death.

When Washington City was sacked by the British, in August, 1814, he went to camp, as a volunteer, under the call of the Governor of Pennsylvania, remaining in the District of Columbia until discharged, in December; and, while engaged in that duty, he was elected a Representative in the Fourteenth Congress, from Pennsylvania. In 1816, he was again a candidate, but was defeated by *seven* votes in ten thousand polled. In 1818, he was again elected to Congress, and re-elected, in 1820, serving always on important Committees.

In 1823, he was elected a Member of the American Philosophical Society, and, during the same year, appointed to examine the Cadets at West Point. In 1825, he was appointed by the Governor of Pennsylvania, a member of the first Board of Canal Commissioners, to inaugurate a system of Internal Improvements in the State. In the same year, Professor de Candolle, of Geneva, in Switzerland, complimented him by naming a genus of Plants, *Darlingtonia*. That genus, however, was subsequently merged in a prior one, named *Desmanthus*; and, in 1853, Professor Torrey, of New York, dedicated a new, rare, and remarkable form of Pitcher Plant, found in California, to Doctor Darlington, by the name of *Darlingtonia California*.

In March, 1826, Doctor Darlington proposed and aided in forming a Natural History Society, in West Chester, of which he was chosen President. That Society became incorporated; had a Hall built; and made a respectable collection of objects of Natural History. The Doctor had the special charge of the Herbarium, which, at one time, contained seven thousand species of Plants, duly labelled and arranged according to their natural affinities. In 1826, he published a descriptive catalogue of the native, naturalized, and useful cultivated Plants grown around West Chester, under the title of *Florula Cestricea*.

In December, 1826, he was chosen President of the Board of Canal Commissioners, to succeed John Sergeant, Esq., resigned. In 1827, he resigned his situation as President and Member of the Canal Board, having served two years, without pay, and lost nearly all his practice as a phy-

sician, so that he found this service incompatible with the claims of a large and growing family.

In August, 1827, Governor Shultz sent to Doctor Darlington the appointment of Prothonotary and Clerk of the Courts of Chester-county, which office he accepted and held until February, 1830. In 1828, he aided in organizing the Chester-county Medical Society, of which he was chosen President. In 1830, he instituted the preliminary proceedings for the West Chester Railway; was a Commissioner for taking the Stock: was elected President of the Company; superintended the construction of the road; and served the Company, in capacity of President, five years, without compensation. This road is believed to be the only railway, ever constructed, in any country, within the *time* contracted for, and within the estimated cost, by the Engineer.

In the Spring of 1832, at the age of fifty years, he availed himself of an opportunity to learn the Spanish language. In 1837, he published a *Flora* of his native County, under the title of *Flora Cestricea*. In 1839, he was elected a Vestryman of the Protestant Episcopal-church, then recently established in West Chester. In 1843, he edited the correspondence of his friend, Doctor William Baldwin, under the title of *Reliquie Baldwinianæ*. In 1844, he was one of the Commissioners appointed under an Act for the Sale of the Public Works of the State; but no sale was effected. In the Summer of 1847, he published a systematic description of those Plants, useful and pernicious, which the farmers are interested to know, under the title of *Agricultural Botany*. In 1848, the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by Yale College; and he was also elected an Honorary Member of the Clissophic Society of the College of New Jersey. In 1849, he edited the *Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall*. In 1851, he was elected a Corresponding Member of the Netherlands Botanical Society, at Leyden, in Holland. In 1853, he prepared a third edition of the *Flora Cestricea*, entirely re-written and arranged, according to the natural method. In 1855, he received from Dickinson College, the degree of *Doctor of Physical Science*. In addition to the complimentary elections and degrees already mentioned, it may be stated that Doctor Darlington received notice of membership by more than forty other institutions of a Literary and Scientific character, in the United States.

In 1857, he compiled a *Historical Sketch of the origin and progress of the Brough of West Chester*, for a Directory of the place, which was published during that year; and a very extended and exceedingly important series of historical papers, concerning the history of Chester-county and of Pennsylvania, from his pen, has also been printed in a local newspaper; and, in 1863

at West Chester, he died a happy death, deeply lamented by his fellow-citizens and universally respected, for his ability, by the scientific world.

XV.—THE CONFLICTS OF THE WAR OF SECESSION.

I.—THE STORY OF FORT SUMTER.

BY THE EDITOR.

[It is our purpose, as far as our impaired health will permit, to pursue our enquiries through the various conflicts of the War. The result of those enquiries will be presented to our readers, month by month, in the pages of the Magazine; and the paper which is now before the reader will indicate the spirit in which those inquiries will be made.

We shall spare no labor in our search for the exact truth: we shall summon to our assistance the best evidence of which we shall have knowledge: we shall weigh the evidence, thus obtained, in *our own* scales and test it by *our own* standard: we shall present the truth in whatever dress we shall find her: and falsehood, wherever found, will not be overlooked nor uncondemned: we shall aim to "be just;" and we shall "fear not."

We do not even hope to please everybody in this our "voluntary" undertaking: we are sure, at least, of the bitter hostility of those whose professional shortcomings and undue pretensions shall come under our notice; and we shall be disappointed if some of those who now figure before the world as "historians," shall not overwhelm us with abuse, because of the exposure of their insufficiency to occupy, with propriety, the honorable position which they have usurped, which it will become our duty to present to the world. Of this, however, our readers may be assured—there is not one of them, either soldier or historian, against whom we have, at this moment, a shade of ill-feeling; there is not one of them against whom, now, we desire to say an unkind word: there is not one of them concerning whom, at any moment, we shall hesitate to write freely, either for good or for evil, as the testimony shall require; there is not a subject on which we shall write, which will not be sustained by authorities, supposed to be reliable, cited at the foot of the page; and, having thus earnestly endeavored to discharge our duty, faithfully, we shall cheerfully leave the result, for judgment, to those, through all time, who shall honor us by becoming our readers.—EDITOR.]

The Summer and Autumn of 1860 and the Winter and Spring which succeeded them are distinguished, above all others, in the annals of the United States, for the production of a series of events which, whether considered separately or collectively, in the causes which produced them or in the results which have flowed from them, must be regarded as among the most important which have ever tested the virtues and the physical strength of a State or tried the ligaments which have bound several distinct Peoples into one Confederacy.

Eighty-four years had passed since the thir-

teen united Colonies of North America had formally severed their connection with the Mother-Country and, by their duly instructed Delegates, assembled in a "Congress," severally declared themselves to be as many "free and independent States;" nearly eighty years had elapsed since the same thirteen, then as many separate and sovereign Republics, bound together by no other tie than a common danger, had entered into a solemn compact, each with the others, and formed "a firm league of friendship," under the style of "THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA;" and upwards of seventy-two years had elapsed since, "in order to form a more perfect Union" than that which they had already formed—but without attempting to annul all the provisions of the then existing *Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States*, which had imperfectly bound them together during the preceding eight years, and, least of all, impairing that provision which had bound them, each to all the others, during that period, in "a firm league of friendship," and formed, thereby, "THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA"—the same thirteen, each for itself, had severally superseded some of the provisions of that bond of union, by the enactment of others which are known to us as the originally-established *Constitution for the United States*—an instrument which, in its turn, has also been "amended," from time to time, as its weaknesses have been discovered or the States have severally considered necessary, in order to make still "more perfect" the previously imperfect "Union" which it had served, in part, to perpetuate.

From the earliest period of their history, there had been antagonistic parties in the Colonies; and the Revolution and the War of the Revolution had served to intensify the animosities which had previously prevailed, rather than to reconcile them. The Peace of 1783, therefore, while it unquestionably served to establish the political independence of the thirteen infant States, quite as certainly served to continue, in other forms and combinations, the personal animosities, and family feuds, and partisan differences of former days; and the rigid loyalist, and the "patriotic" trimmer with governmental proclivities, and the audacious and, very often, lawless "Son of Liberty," of the Colonial era, again confronted each other, in bitter hostility, in order to maintain their respective old-time dogmas and to oppose, by fair means or by foul, those of their respective opponents. It is, indeed, true that such by gone issues as "Stamps," and a parliamentary tax on Tea, and the supremacy of the King and the Parliament of Britain had then ceased to be considered objects of the re-organized struggle; but, nevertheless, the great underlying principles which had so long and so

effectively nerved the Colonists, on either side, had again, in other forms, become bones of partisan contention; and the superior fitness of the few to govern and be paid and the unquestioning duty of the many to obey and to pay; the justification of the employment of lawless means by what, among the few, was assumed to be the desirableness of the ends to be, thereby, secured: the usurpation of powers which the several States had reserved to themselves, where the Peoples could themselves control them, and the concentration of those powers in a central "Government," more powerful than the States themselves, where the Peoples could not reach them; and the imperative duty of all, at all times, to be loyal to the governing few, no matter how corrupt, and to their edicts, no matter how antagonistic to the fundamental law, again loomed up, as offensively, and were again resisted as earnestly, from one extreme to another of the Republic, as when Lord North and the Stamp Act, and the Boston Port Bill, and the imposition of a tax on the Colonial Tea, by the sole authority of the King and the distant Parliament, aroused the indignation of the Colonists and incited insurrection, or when Gage and Howe proclaimed the majesty of the King, asserted the servility of the Colonists, and demanded obedience. From that time to that of which we write, the manhood of man, the equality of every man before the law, and the relative rights and duties of the Commonwealth and her members, on the one hand, and those of the Republic and her constituent States, on the other, continued to be subjects of angry partisan discussion and, very often, discreditable partisan action; and, sometimes under one leader and sometimes under another, with this and with that party-name and partisan slogan, the States were, thereby, periodically convulsed to their very foundations and, not unfrequently, the Republic herself seriously endangered.

It is not necessary, however, for the purpose of this paper, to trace the course of the angry current of partisan politics, during the seventy-three years which had elapsed between the adjournment of the Federal Convention of 1787 and the Autumn of 1860, as party after party had been thrown to the surface, strutted and fretted its brief hour, and disappeared; nor is it necessary, for that purpose, to define, much less to discuss, the underlying principles which, in the political history of the United States, have uniformly distinguished those, of whatever name, who have maintained, in its integrity, the sovereignty of the People, *per se*, from those, of whatever name, who have maintained, in all its varied forms, the sovereignty of what, very indefinitely, has been called "The Government." It is sufficient for us to say that the Autumn of

1860 found the inhabitants of the United States unusually excited; that the increasing demands of the Southern States for the official identification, by the Federal authorities, as a Federal "institution," of their peculiarly local "institution" of Slavery, had intensified and extended that peculiar opposition to Slavery, in the Northern States, which, previously, had been confined, mainly, to a mere handful of uninfluential theorists; that a candidate for the Presidency had been named, in the North, who was supposed to be an exponent of the progressive theory of localizing the system of Slavery, without disturbing it, however, within the States where it was, already, legally established; that the Southern States, led by able and brave, if not by judicious, leaders, had risen in their might and, both in the Congress and before the world, had arrogantly demanded an extension of the merely local rights of their slaveholding inhabitants, both to the territories of the United States and to those of the several individual States where the right to hold slaves was expressly prohibited, even to their own resident citizens; and that threats of an attempt to dissolve the Union were freely made, by the Southern States, and preparations as freely made, by their inhabitants, to maintain, by force, if necessary, the extreme measures which they had apparently determined to adopt.

Among the foremost and most uncompromising of those, in the South, who thus sought to "nationalize" Slavery, was the State of South Carolina; and, among her inhabitants, the observed of all observers, in their earnest and intelligent maintenance of what they considered to be their State's and their personal rights, were the residents of the city of Charleston, the emporium of that State. The boldness of the latter, indeed, during many years, had served to secure for Charleston, the general reputation of leading the dissension; and there seems to have been an even handed dispensation of justice, therefore, when, as we shall see, the opening scene of the terrible drama was laid in her own harbor.

The popular excitement, to which reference has been made, seemed to have culminated when, because of a fatal division of the Democratic votes, through the prevailing disaffection in the South, the "Republican" candidate, Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, by a minority of the individual votes cast at the polls, was elected to the Presidency of the United States; but other events subsequently served to increase the excitement rather than to diminish it.

When, on the sixth of November, 1860, Mr. Lincoln was elected to the Presidency, the harbor of Charleston was defended, nominally, at least, on its eastern shore, by Fort Moultrie, standing on Sullivan's Island; on its western

shore, by what was known as Fort Johnson, standing on James-island; at the mouth of the harbor, three and a third miles distant from the city, by Fort Sumter, standing on a shoal; and from Shute's Folly-island, at the mouth of Cooper-river, and a mile to the eastward of the city, by Castle Pinckney.

The first named of these defences, FORT MOULTRIE, occupied the site of the ancient and widely-celebrated work, on Sullivan's-island, which, in June, 1776, had successfully baffled the joint attacks of Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Parker; and it was a rectangular brick work, mounting one tier of guns, *en barbette*. Its armament, in the Autumn of 1860, consisted of sixteen twenty-four-pounders, fourteen thirty-two-pounders, ten eight-inch columbiads, five eight-inch sea-coast howitzers, and seven field-pieces;* and, as the seat of a permanent garrison, it seems to have been completely finished, and in fair condition.† It was occupied, as the Head quarters of the post, by Companies E and H, First Artillery, numbering, in the aggregate, sixty-six men, and the regimental Band of nine musicians, the whole under the immediate command of Brevet-colonel John L. Gardner, Lieutenant-colonel of the Regiment, who was the commander of the post; and, having been carefully strengthened, during the Summer and Autumn, under the direction of Captain J. G. Foster, of the Corps of Engineers, but very little was required, at the time of which we write—November, 1860—to make it tolerably secure against any merely irregular force which might attack it.‡

FORT JOHNSON was not habitable, in such bad order were the quarters and barracks at that work; § and it seems to have been wholly without an armament and entirely unoccupied, even by an Ordnance Sergeant, at the time of which we write. ||

FORT SUMTER was a strong casemated brick-work of five faces,* designed to mount two tiers of guns, in embrasure, and one, *en barbette*. It was built on a shoal; on the South side of the ship-channel; nearly equi-distant from Sullivan's and Morris-islands, some seventeen hundred yards distant from Fort Moultrie, and three and a third miles from the city; † and it commanded Fort Moultrie and the ship-channels; was in the hands of the Engineer Department, and not yet completed; and was occupied, beside the Engineer working party of one hundred and nine men, under Lieutenant Snyder, by a solitary Ordnance Sergeant, who had in his possession three ten-inch and ten eight-inch columbiads, eight eight inch sea-coast howitzers, ten forty-two-pounders, forty-one thirty-two-pounders, and six twenty-four pounders, together with an ample supply of gunpowder.‡ Although, in November, 1860, the fort was far from complete, in all its parts, it could, at short notice, have mounted seventy per cent of its entire armament, and, to that extent, was effective as an obstacle to an enemy's passage up the ship-channel; § and, at any time, even in its imperfect condition, a few men, under a competent and faithful officer, could have held it against any party which could have been organized and sent to take it by surprise. ||

CASTLE PINCKNEY, on Shute's Folly-island, commanded the city and all the channels of approach. ¶ It was an old-fashioned brick-work, having a complete armament, mounted, of fourteen twenty-four pounders, four forty-two pounders, four eight-inch sea-coast howitzers, one ten-inch and one eight-inch mortar, four light pieces for flank defences,** and a large supply of ammunition of all kinds; †† and it was occupied, at the time of which we write, by a solitary enlisted man, an Ordnance Sergeant, in whose posses-

* General Gillmore's Report—*Professional Papers, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., No. 16*—page 9.

† A reference to the Annual Reports of the Engineer Department, November 8, 1859, and November 14, 1860, clearly indicate this important fact; and that of November 30, 1861, makes no allusion to any other labor expended on the work, subsequent to the date of Mr. Lincoln's election, than the extraordinary preparations which were made, under Captain Foster's directions, in "preparing it for a vigorous defence."

‡ Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11, 1860.—Supplement I.

§ Annual Reports of the Engineer Department for 1859, 1860, and 1861.

|| The unpublished Inspection Report of November 11, 1860, makes no allusion whatever to Fort Johnson; and we are informed, personally, by General Porter, that it was represented to him, while inspecting the post, that it was not only without armament but entirely unoccupied.

* In his *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 59, Mr. John S. C. Abbott says Fort Sumter was *octagonal* in form.

† Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11, 1860.—Supplement I.; General Gillmore's Report—*Professional Papers, No. 16*—page 8.

‡ Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11, 1860.—Supplement I.

§ Annual Report of the Engineer Department, November 8, 1859, compared with the Annual Report of the same Department, November 14, 1860.

|| Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11, 1860.—Supplement I.

¶ Ibid.

Mr. Squier (*Frank Leslie's Pictorial History*, i., xv) says this work is "on the mainland."

** General Gillmore's Report—*Professional Papers, No. 16*—page 9.

†† Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11, 1860.—Supplement I.

sion was all the property to which reference has been made.* Every portion of the work, except one of the cisterns, was in excellent condition;† and thirty men, under a competent officer, could have maintained possession, until reinforced, against a mob or any force which could, at that time, have been brought against it.‡

The garrison of the post was commanded by an officer whose advanced age was an obstacle, at that critical period, in the proper command of that important position. Complaints had been already made of his indifference to the efficiency of his command as well as to the safety of his post; and from such sources and so frequently had these complaints been transmitted, that suspicions were incited, both at Charleston and at Washington, that he was in sympathy with the disaffected inhabitants of South Carolina.§ For that cause, the Secretary of War, himself a Southern man, had already determined to relieve him;||

and the Secretary and the President subsequently concurred in the informal recommendation, by Assistant Adjutant-general Porter,* of Major Robert Anderson, of the same Regiment—the First Artillery—for that important command, and ordered him to report, in person, to the Secretary of War, at Washington, for instructions, as such commander.†

The officer who was thus selected for the important command of the military defences in Charleston harbor, at that critical moment, was a native of Kentucky; a graduate of the Military Academy at West Point; a citizen of Georgia, where he is said to have owned a plantation; and widely and favorably known, throughout the Army, as “a high-toned and honorable gentleman and thoroughly competent soldier.” He graduated and was assigned to the Second Regiment of Artillery, as a Second Lieutenant, in July, 1825, and, soon after, was transferred to the Third Regiment, in the same arm of the service. He acted as Inspector-general of the Illinois Volunteers, in the Black-hawk War, in 1832; was commissioned a First Lieutenant, in 1833, and Assistant Instructor of Artillery practice, in the Military Academy, in 1835; and, subsequently, he was promoted, successively, to be Instructor of the same branch, and Aide to General Scott. He received a Captain’s brevet, “for gallant and successful conduct in the War “against the Florida Indians,” on the second of April, 1838; and, on the seventh of July, following, was made Assistant Adjutant-general. He received his Commission as Captain, in October, 1841; and, a few weeks after, he relinquish-

derson for the command; and, with the President’s approval, he immediately ordered the Major to report, in person, to himself, for instructions, therefor.—*MS. letter from General Porter to the writer, February 13, 1871.*

* We are not insensible of the fact that William Cullen Bryant, Esq., of the city of New York, is said to have claimed that he had caused Major Anderson to be sent to Charleston; and we are not inclined to disbelieve that the relations of that distinguished journalist with Secretary Floyd and President Buchanan, at that time, were sufficiently intimate to have effected such an assignment of the Major, had he really undertaken to do so. But the known reasons which controlled the selection of the Major, and the written testimony, which is now before us, of one of those who were best acquainted with all the facts relative to that subject, have controlled us in assigning to Assistant Adjutant-general Fitz John Porter, rather than to Mr. Bryant, the selection of Major Anderson for the command at Charleston, as well as the delivery, to the latter and to General Scott, both then in the city of New York, of the official papers which promptly silenced the objections of both those officers and, subsequently, elevated the former to a position, before the world and in history, which he could not otherwise have attained.

† General Fitz John Porter to the writer, January 18 and February 13, 1871.

* Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11, 1860.—Supplement I.

† Annual Report of the Engineer Department, November 30, 1861.

‡ Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11, 1860.—Supplement I.

§ The very minute Report, by Assistant Adjutant-general Porter, of the indifference of Lieutenant-colonel Gardner, and of the consequent inefficiency of the garrison, forms one of the most interesting chapters of the military history of that period.

|| In his *History of the Civil War*, i., 118, Mr. Lossing erroneously makes the Secretary supersede Lieutenant-colonel Gardner in October, 1860, instead of November, 1860; and that “for attempting to increase his supply of ammunition,” instead of for causes set forth in several complaints from the post and in the hitherto unpublished Inspection Report, made by Assistant Adjutant-general Porter, on the eleventh of November, 1860, and now forming Supplement I. to this paper.

It is proper to remark, in this place, that, at the period referred to in the text—November, 1860—the Secretary of War, Mr. Floyd, manifested no disposition, whatever, to favor the disaffected in the South; and that he not only concurred in the recommendation, at that time, by Assistant Adjutant-general Porter, while that officer was verbally reporting the condition of the post and garrison, at Charleston, to fill up the Companies composing the garrison, with recruits; to throw into Fort Sumter and Castle Pinckney, from Fort Moultrie, enough troops to secure both those works; and to throw a plentiful supply of provisions into Fort Sumter, by means which had been already suggested by Captain Foster, through the Engineer Department; but, because of complaints which had been made by other arms of the service, of Lieutenant-colonel Gardner’s unfitness for the command, in addition to his indifference reported by the Assistant Adjutant-general, he said he would have no one there who was inefficient or who could be suspected as untrue to the Government; he accepted the Assistant Adjutant-general’s recommendation of Major An-

ed his Staff appointment and resumed his place in the line. He was brevetted Major, on the eighth of September, 1847, "for gallant and meritorious conduct in the Battle of Molino "del Rey," in which he was severely wounded; he was commissioned Major, in July, 1848; and, when selected for the command at Charleston, he was in the city of New York, without a command.*

It was known, among those who were intimate with Major Anderson, at the time of which we write, that he was not anxious to go into active service, either in garrison or in the field—indeed, he is said to have declined a proffered post of honor and usefulness, a short time before †—and from causes which were as honorable to him, as a man, as they were evidently destructive of his usefulness, as an officer, he was prudently led to prefer retirement, in the bosom of his little family, to the honors and emoluments to which his high character, as a man, and his professional attainments justly entitled him. It was supposed, however, both by the intelligent officer who had suggested the transfer, to him, of the command at Charleston, and by the Secretary of War and the President, that the command of what was, then, so important a post, garrisoned by portions of his own Regiment, would be agreeable to him; and, because he was of Southern birth, a citizen of a Southern State, and had not, either personally or professionally, offended the prejudices of either the North or the South, it was also supposed that he, of all others, could supersede the possibly disaffected Lieutenant-colonel of his Regiment, as commander of the post, with the least objection from those, in Charleston or elsewhere, who were most likely to object to any change in the *personnel* of the garrison, at that peculiarly critical period.

The Order to Major Anderson, to report, in person, to the Secretary of War, at Washington, for instructions, was delivered to him, at New York, by Assistant Adjutant-general Porter, on the thirteenth of November; and, on the same day, that officer accompanied the Major, when the latter called on General Scott, then at the Head-quarters of the Army, in that city, for the purpose of reporting to the venerable General-in-chief the Order which he had received, direct, from Washington, and of consulting him concerning the conduct of what, very soon, was to become his new command. The General had not

been consulted, however, concerning either an inspection of the post which the Assistant Adjutant-general had recently made, under the personal Order of the Secretary of War, or the assignment of Major Anderson to the command of it; and he consequently declined to interfere in the premises—he said, indeed, that he had no right even to offer a suggestion, as the affairs of the Army were being carried on without consultation with him and by Orders direct from the Department—although he subsequently alluded, incidentally, in his conversation with his visitors, to the necessity which would probably arise of occupying Fort Sumter, for the purpose of securing it, and, in case no reinforcements should be thrown into Fort Moultrie, of going there, for safety, with all the troops then composing the garrison of the post.*

In accordance with the directions of the Secretary of War, to which reference has been made, Major Anderson left New York for Washington on the thirteenth of November; † and, on the fifteenth of the same month, the official Order, directing him to proceed to Fort Moultrie and take command of the post, was issued, at New York, by General Scott.‡ It is not now known, exactly, when the Major received that Order; but, as he returned to New York, where his little family was, after his interview with the Secretary of War, it is very probable that it was not until his arrival in the latter city, where the Head-quarters of the Army then were, that it was placed in his hands.§

* My authority for this portion of the text is my valued friend, General Fitz John Porter, in person; and as that gentleman was personally acquainted with the circumstances which he described and has read and approved the language employed in the text, descriptive of them, no further evidence is necessary.

† General Porter has designated this as the date when he Major left New York for Washington.

‡ The Adjutant-general of the Army to Henry B. Dawson, November 2, 1871.

§ General Porter informs me that the Major returned to New York, before proceeding to take command of the post at Charleston; and as it is said, in Mr. Victor's *Southern Rebellion*, [i., 79] and in some of the newspapers of the day, that the latter received his orders on the *eighteenth* of November*—on which day, Sunday, the Major was a visitor at the residence of the venerable General-in-chief, in company with Assistant Adjutant-general Porter—I have considered that the Order was probably withheld by General Scott until the Major's return from Washington, as stated in the text.

* In the preparation of this sketch of Major Anderson's life and services, the Dictionary of the Army by Colonel Gardner has been principally depended on.

† The command of the Artillery School, at Fortress Monroe, is understood to have been offered to Major Anderson and declined by him, a short time before he was ordered to Charleston.

* "He was ordered to the Charleston defences Nov. 18th, at the earnest wish of Gen. Scott, who reposed great reliance on the Major's discretion and loyalty."—Victor's *Southern Rebellion*, i., 79.

The reader will perceive how inaccurately Mr. Victor has represented some portions of this subject.

It would add, very greatly, to the interest of this narrative if the words of the Instructions which the Major received from the Secretary of War, on the occasion of his visit to Washington, could have been presented in this place; and it would serve an useful purpose, also, in ascertaining, more certainly than can now be done, just what the temper of those in authority then was, and where the responsibility should rest, for much that Major Anderson has been censured for, by those who are best acquainted with the shortcomings of his command. But it has pleased the Honorable Secretary of War, now in authority, to refuse to allow a copy to be made of any of the correspondence between the Department and Major Anderson, in 1860-1; and he has also refused to allow the privilege of a reading of it, to any one who is not attached to that office—a determination, on his part, which, as will be seen, hereafter, has not always been enforced—and the world must content itself, awhile longer, without knowing, officially, what Mr. Floyd's policy was, in November, 1860; whether or not Major Anderson was responsible for what has been considered neglect of duty and favor to the insurgents; and what the temper was, among the disaffected, as the Major found and reported it. Had copies of similar papers been desired from the archives of Great Britain or Prussia they would have been furnished, on such an application as was made to the War Department, in this case: we need feel no surprise at the low standing of the history of our own country, among scholars, since some of those who desire to study it from the best authorities are not permitted to look at the archives of the Republic, even when nice questions can be determined by no other evidence.

From what we have said of it, it will be seen that the command to which Major Anderson was thus ordered by the highest military authority in the Republic, both from its political and its military associations and requirements, was already one of peculiar importance; and it has been the good-fortune of few officers, as low in rank as he was, to be placed, officially, in positions from which a world-wide reputation could be so speedily and so certainly secured, for all time, as that, in Charleston harbor, which had thus been thrust on the unwilling Major of the First Artillery. With only general Instructions, from the President himself, to control him;* without accountability to any of his superior officers in the Army, except to the constitutional Commander-

in chief; † and dependant, wholly, in any emergency which might suddenly arise and disturb him, on his own professional resources and those of the gallant subordinates in his little command—unless those shall also be referred to, which were to be found in the superior scientific attainments of the accomplished young Engineer under whose personal superintendence the works were being rapidly perfected and made ready for a vigorous defence, should one become necessary—on the twenty-first of November, 1860, Major Anderson assumed the command to which he had been ordered.‡

The attention of the entire civilized world was directed, at once and, until the end, without relief, to that notable little garrison. Surrounded, as it was, on every hand, by a population which was decidedly disaffected, and which impatiently awaited only the signal for up-rising from its near-by leaders; § quartered, as it was, in a work which would have been capable of little more than a moderate defence against such an assailant as, probably, would have invested it, had the popular leaders then appealed to arms; ¶ and charged, as it was, with the defence of works which it could not occupy with more than formality, and of military stores, of great value and importance, which it could not possibly protect, || the soldierly qualities and the powers of physical endurance of that handful of Regulars were liable to be tested, at any moment, as those of few others had ever been tested; while the circumstances which influenced its amiable commander, with their unwelcome effects on his health and constitution, were elements in the estimate of his fitness for a command which evidently required a more rugged, if not a better, soldier,

* Professor Draper—who has evidently been favored with the use of official papers which other students of the history of the recent War are not permitted to use, nor even to look at—in his *Civil War in America* (i. 542) has stated this feature of the Major's original Instructions; and, with remarkable misunderstanding of the propriety of that particular portion of those Instructions, both because of the peculiar character of the Major's command and of the peculiar uncertainty of General Scott's sympathies and associations, at that time, the Professor has made sad havoc of the truth, in his comments on that subject, notwithstanding the superior advantages he evidently possessed to ascertain and to publish it.

† The Adjutant-general of the Army to Henry B. Dawson, November 2, 1871.

In his *History of the Civil War*, i., 118, Mr. Lossing erroneously states that the Major assumed the command of the post on the *twentieth* of November.

‡ Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11, 1860—Supplement I.

§ Vide Note *, Column 1., Page 46., post.

¶ Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11 1860—Supplement I.

* It is evident that the Instructions which the Major originally received, like those which were subsequently sent to him, were only general in their character; and that the details of the service were left entirely to his own judgment.

which were not overlooked by those who were best acquainted with that excellent officer. A single injudicious action, or one which might possibly be construed as inimical to South Carolina's supposed interests, might have furnished the spark to set the Continent—possibly, the world—ablaze; while everything which could possibly be done, no matter how discreet nor how self-sacrificing, would be insufficient to quiet, ever so little, the rising spirit of insurrection which, everywhere, in "the South," was intelligently marshalling the disaffected and sternly preparing for the inevitable struggle.

As we have said, Major Anderson assumed the command of the garrison on the twenty-first of November; and he found in the Quarter-master's hands, of flour, bacon, and small stores, less than two month's supply for his little command, and these were stored outside the walls of the fort, in wooden buildings, and without a sentry to protect them from those, in the immediate vicinity, who might be disposed to pilfer or destroy them. For beef, the garrison was wholly dependent on the near-by village butcher; Charleston, as usual, afforded an uncertain market for the purchase of any article of provision; and the only funds which the Quarter-master possessed, for the purchase of any necessary article, were deposited with the Assistant Treasurer of the United States, whose office was in the city. The field-battery, which formed a portion of the reported armament of the fort, was parked at a distance from it, outside its walls, and entirely uncared for—not even the watchful eye of a sentinel was detailed to afford an apology for its exposure—while a very important portion of the cartridges for small-arms were for a larger calibre than that of the muskets they were designed to serve, and the friction-tubes, which were as necessary, whenever the armament of the fort was employed, for any purpose, as percussion-caps were in the use of small-arms, were reported as absolutely worthless.*

There can be no doubt that Major Anderson promptly corrected the greater part of that looseness of discipline and most of those irregularities in the garrison which, hitherto, had rendered the latter so uncertain, for defensive purposes:† and it is evident that his personal relations with leading men in the popular party, in Charleston,

also secured, for the garrison as well as for the workmen constituting the Engineer force, various indulgences, in supplies and intercourse, which a more vigorous commander would not have obtained for them*—it is not improbable, also, that the Major's personal associations and openly-expressed sympathy with the South secured for the garrison a less rigid oversight of its doings and greater security from assault than it would have been favored with, under other circumstances.

During all these changes in the garrison, and in the face of the deep-seated disaffection in the vicinity, Captain Foster steadily pushed forward the improvements which were considered to be necessary in the works; and, in order to render the forts as capable of defence as possible, at the earliest possible moment, he employed a large number of workmen, taking many of them from Baltimore and the others from the vicinity of

* We are not insensible of the importance of this portion of our subject, in more respects than one; nor are we unprepared with evidence to sustain this portion of our narrative. Let a portion of it suffice.

"While the North gave him credit for an anxious desire to receive reinforcements, his real wish was to avoid a battle. He was strongly in favor of giving up all the Southern Forts to the South. He hoped, by delaying the combat, that Congress would make a new compromise giving fresh guarantees to Slavery. He was indignant when I called Jeff Davis a traitor, and spoke of him as 'a true Christian gentleman.'" * *

"Mr. Gourdin, of Charleston, was one of the great leaders of the Secession movement.* He had been plotting it for years. He was, also, an old and intimate friend of Major Anderson. He came over to Fort Sumter about twice a week; and was closeted with Anderson all the time, in close consultation, about our affairs. Of course, he knew all the weakness and all the defects of the garrison. *It was his influence which procured us a daily supply of provisions and a daily mail.*"—Letter from General Abner Doubleday to the Editor, October, 1870.

"We shall strive to do our duty, though I frankly say that my heart is not in this War, which I see is to be thus commenced. That God will still avert it, and cause us to resort to pacific means to maintain our rights, is my ardent prayer."—Letter from Major Anderson to the Adjutant-general of the Army, protesting against Captain Fox's "scheme" for relieving the Garrison, April 8, 1861.

"I know the fact that Mr. Fox, of the United States Navy, after obtaining permission from me, upon the express guarantee of a former gallant associate in the

* Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11, 1860—Supplement I.

† The Secretary of War having declined either to furnish copies of Major Anderson's correspondence with the Department or to allow us to read it without taking a copy of it, our readers must await the advent of some more favored writer of history than we are, if the details of the Major's observations and doings, in his new command, shall be desired by them.

* He was Chairman of the Executive Committee of the "1860 Association;" and it is said (Lossing's *History of the Civil War*, I, 95) that one of the most violent of the pamphlets which, in November, 1860, was scattered, broad-cast, over the South, in order to promote insurrection, was printed over his signature.

Charleston.* Castle Pinckney, as has been said, needed no material attention, although, as we shall see, hereafter, a small working-party, under Lieutenant Davis, was subsequently sent there; and Fort Moultrie was only to be "prepared for "a vigorous defence," should such a defence unfortunately become necessary: a greater amount of labor was necessary, however, in order to place Fort Sumter in a good defensive condition; and the greater number of the workmen, under Lieutenant Snyder, were consequently employed on that work; although a hundred and twenty, under Captain Foster's personal command, were employed on Fort Moultrie: † and, day by day, the little garrison became better prepared to meet the momentous issue which, evidently, awaited it and was not distant.

In the meantime, the leaders of the disaffected Carolinians were neither disinterested nor idle spectators of the changes which had been effected in the garrison. Calmly and, apparently, without passion, they steadily prepared for the conflict which they invited; but, quite as calmly and dispassionately, they studiously avoided every action which might possibly be construed as overt insurrection. They very properly considered the defences of Charleston-harbor as

"Navy, to visit Major Anderson, 'for pacific purposes,' planned the pretended attempt to relieve and reinforce "the garrison by a fleet; and that Major Anderson protested against it."—Governor Pickens's *Secret Cabinet History in reference to Fort Sumter*, August 3, 1861.

* My authority for this statement is General Foster, himself, in a conversation on this subject, in the City of New York, a few months since. Were any further evidence necessary, we should find it in a letter, now before us, from General Abner Doubleday, dated October 31, 1870.

In his *History of the Civil War*, i., 118, Mr. Lossing erroneously assigns the employment of this Engineer working-party to Colonel John L. Gardner, instead of to Captain Foster of the Engineers, *First*: In the rank assigned to the commander of the garrison, who was a *Lieutenant-colonel* only—Colonel John Irving commanding the Regiment—and, *Second*: In attributing to an officer in the Artillery such a manifestly illegal interference with the rights and duties of the Engineer Department and of the Engineer "in charge of" the works.

† "According to the latest Report of the Engineer officer "having charge of the construction of the defences of the "harbor of Charleston, everything practicable had been "done to place Fort Moultrie in an efficient condition, and "with a proper garrison it was deemed susceptible of an "energetic defence. *There were then employed at that work "one officer and one hundred and twenty workmen, independent of the regular garrison.*"—Secretary of War, *ad interim*, to the Chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, January 3, 1861.

In his *History of the Civil War*, i., 117, Mr. Lossing erroneously assigns "about one hundred and seventy men" to Fort Moultrie.

necessary to ensure their projected independence; * and they earnestly deprecated the purposes of those who sought to reinforce the garrison; † but they neither disturbed the little garrison and the workmen who were daily strengthening the works. ‡ nor attempted to seize any of the property of the United States, until, as we shall see, hereafter, the Governor of the State officially assumed the responsibility and, as far as he could give such authority, authorized them to do so§—even the seven field pieces which formed an important portion of the armament of Fort Moultrie, were undisturbed by those among whom they stood, unprotected and even

* *Charleston Mercury*, December 13, quoted in *The New York Tribune*, December 14, 1860.

† On the twenty-eighth of November, it was reported, in Charleston, that the *James Adger* was carrying six hundred men to strengthen the garrison; and the intelligence created an intense excitement—*The New York Tribune*, November 29, 1860. On the seventh of December, 1860, the North was warned that, "should the Government "send more troops to strengthen the forts, on the fact "becoming known, the catastrophe would be precipitated, "for the forts would be assailed before the troops arrived."—*Letter from Charleston*, in *The New York Tribune*, December 13, 1860. On the following day (December 8) the *Charleston Courier* announced that a reinforcement of the garrison would be considered a declaration of hostilities—*Letter from Charleston*, in *The New York Tribune*, December 14, 1860. On the thirteenth of December, 1860, the *Charleston Mercury* declared that, while the Carolinians were not unfriendly with the Federal officers who were stationed there, they considered the Forts were necessary to secure their projected independence; and that they would, therefore, consider any attempt to strengthen the garrison as a hostile demonstration on the part of the Federal authorities, and just cause for war.—*The New York Tribune*, December 14, 1860. On the ninth of January 1861, Governor Pickens, addressing Major Anderson, officially, said: "In anticipation of the Ordinance of Secession, "of which the President of the United States had received official notification, it was understood by him that "sending any reinforcements of the troops of the United "States, in the harbor of Charleston, would be regarded "by the constituted authorities of the State of South "Carolina as an act of hostility; and, at the same time, it "was understood by him that any change in the occupation of the forts in the harbor of Charleston would, in "like manner, be regarded as an act of hostility. Either "or both of these events occurring during the period in "which the State of South Carolina constituted a part of "the United States, was then distinctly notified to the "President of the United States as an act or acts of hostility;" etc.—*Letter of the Governor to Major Anderson*, January 9, 1861.

‡ Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 179.

§ Governor Pickens to Colonel Pettigrew, December 27, 1860; the same to Lieutenant-colonel De Saussure, December 27, 1860; General Orders to General Schnierle, December 31, 1860.

unwatched; and the wooden store-houses and their precious contents, in the absence of what was considered competent legal authority, were untouched, even by the populace among whom they stood, apparently uncared for. The Federal authorities, at Washington, having "determined, if War must come, to fix the whole responsibility for its commencement on South Carolina,"* South Carolina, in her own time and manner, did not hesitate to accept the proffered responsibility; † but, at the time of which we write, she had taken no formal action on the subject, and, consequently, those who were resident within her territory confined their action to the organization and drilling of her militia and of volunteers for her service, should such service become necessary; ‡ to the purchase of arms and military supplies; § to the appointment, by the Governor, and despatch of a mission to Washington, for the purpose of requesting the President's permission to occupy Fort Sumter with a small party of State troops ||—a request which was subsequently withdrawn by its author without awaiting the President's reply; ¶ —to the appointment and despatch of missions to other States; ** and to such similar matters which, as individuals, they could do without an open breach of the laws and of the public peace. ††

* Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration on the eve of the Rebellion*, 162. See, also, the President's Message of December 3, 1860.

† *Journal of the Convention of the People of South Carolina, held in 1860-61*, pages 46-49, 53-54.

‡ *Letters from Charleston, in The New York Tribune*, December 4, 7, and 15, 1860.

§ *Charleston Mercury*, November 29, in *The New York Tribune*, December 7, 1860.

|| Governor Pickens to the President, December 17, 1860.

¶ Colonel Trescott to Governor Pickens, December 21, 1860; Major Hamilton to Governor Pickens, February 1, 1861.

** *Letter from Charleston in The New York Tribune*, December 20, 1860.

†† We are not insensible of the wide difference which exists between the statements which we have made in the text and those with which other writers on this subject have been pleased to indulge their readers; but, as we have failed to find any warrant for the opposite statements we have preferred those which we have presented.

Until the Convention assembled, on the seventeenth of December, there was no body in South Carolina which pretended to possess competent authority to engage in hostilities nor even to interfere with any of the Federal officers or to touch an article of Federal property.

When that Convention assembled, although there may have been individual members who were radical enough to desire the immediate opening of hostilities, the majority was as peaceful in its demeanor as was possible for it to be; and, as the Journals of that body clearly indicate, every Resolution which was offered, tending to violent action

We have said that the President determined to fix the whole responsibility of the War, if War must come, on South Carolina; but he was not, because of that determination, either a less interested or a less active witness of the progress of events. For reasons which he has published* and which are entitled to respect, that officer dis-

was promptly overruled—even on the morning after the evacuation of Fort Moultrie, while all else, in Charleston, was boiling in excitement, the Convention, in Secret Session, promptly tabled a Resolution which had been offered "authorizing and requesting" the Governor "to take immediate possession of Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney, and to make the necessary preparation for the re-capture or destruction of Fort Sumter;" (*Secret Journal*, December 27, 1860—Page 114) and, on the same day, it quite as promptly tabled a proposition to request the Governor to prevent any reinforcements from being introduced into the forts (*Journal, Special Order*, December 27, 1860—page 115.) On the following day, (December 28) it tabled, by a vote of one hundred and eleven to forty, a proposition to consider the occupation of Fort Sumter as "an act of hostility" and one to "approve the conduct of the Governor in taking immediate possession of Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie and of holding them, henceforth, in the name of the State;" (*Journal, Secret Session*, December 28, 1860—pages 122-125;) and, for several succeeding days, the Convention sternly negatived every other attempt to incite or to authorize hostile action, generally by votes of nearly three to one of its members, and including in the majority such men as Calhoun, Chestnut, Gourdin, Gregg, Jamison, Keitt, Memminger, Miles, Rhett, Spain, and others not less well-known and well-abused than they. Indeed, so decided was the action of the Convention, at that time, that, subsequently, when the Secret Journals of that body were ordered to be printed, the Committee to whom the oversight of the publication was entrusted was constrained to consider the effect, on the public, of the necessary exposure of this peaceful temper in the Convention; and a carefully-considered Report on that subject, in which the facts are re-iterated and the motives of the Convention explained—wholly adversely to the representations of the greater number of those who have written on the subject—was presented and published.—*Report of Engrossing Committee, as to publication of Secret Journal, in the Journal of the Convention*, 405-408.

Our reading of the testimony on this exciting subject has satisfied us that, at the time of which we write, the leaders in South Carolina neither desired to employ force nor expected to be obliged to do so, in the establishment of her projected independence; and we have reason to believe that the radical element of the South was, then, quite as little the controlling power, in that section, as it was, at that time, in the North.

* Mr. Buchanan, in his autobiographical volume entitled *Mr. Buchanan's Administration on the eve of the Rebellion*, has very fully and very forcibly presented the reasons which controlled his action, at that important period; and the careful student of the history of that period will not fail to resort to that volume, as one of the most important of the authorities on that subject.

believed that South Carolina would strike the first blow while the *status quo* of the garrison of the forts in Charleston-harbor should remain unchanged; and he hesitated, therefore, to do anything, himself, which should plunge the Republic into a Civil War without, at least, affording an opportunity to these, both within and without the Congress, who were endeavoring to reconcile the growing differences, to carry out their praiseworthy purposes.* To guard against any surprise, however, he prudently directed the Secretary of the Navy to station the *Brooklyn*, the most powerful war-steamer in the Navy, then completely ready for sea, in Hampton Roads, with instructions to take on board three hundred disciplined troops which were then stationed in the neighboring garrison of Fortress Monroe, and, with them and the necessary provisions and munitions of war, to proceed, as rapidly as possible, to the relief of the garrison of Fort Moultrie, "at the first moment of danger;"† and, soon after the Major assumed the command, a large supply of provisions is said to have been thrown into Fort Moultrie.‡ He also despatched Assistant Adjutant-general Buell to Fort Moultrie, with new Instructions for the guidance of Major Anderson; and, on the eleventh of December, 1860, these Instructions were communicated to the Major§ and, thenceforth, were the controlling authority for all that, as commander of that important post, the Major either did or failed to do. The letter of these Instructions were in the following words:

"You are aware of the great anxiety of the Secretary of War, that a collision of the troops with the people of the State shall be avoided, and of his studied determination to pursue a course with reference to the military force and forts in this harbor which shall guard against such a collision. He has, therefore, carefully

* At the period referred to, the celebrated "Committee of thirteen," embracing the leading Senators of each of the three parties—Republicans, Secessionists, and Northern Democrats—had commenced their deliberations; and other influences and instrumentalities were also at work, earnestly endeavoring to heal the breach.

† Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 165, 177.

In his autobiographical *Memoir*, Page 614, General Scott stated that, on the fifteenth of December, 1860, during his celebrated interview with the President and Secretary of War, the latter stated that the *Brooklyn* was then ready to proceed to Charleston, with three hundred men, at a moment's notice, fully confirming the President's statement.

‡ "Within a few days, the Fort has received six months' provisions, in addition to what it had before. In everything but men, the position is abundantly supplied"—*Letter from Charleston*, in *The New York Tribune*, December 14, 1860.

§ Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 165.

"abstained from increasing the force, at this point, or taking any measures which might add to the present excited state of the public mind, or which would throw any doubt on the confidence he feels that South Carolina will not attempt, by violence, to obtain possession of the public works or interfere with their occupancy. But, as the counsel and acts of rash and impulsive persons may possibly disappoint these expectations of the Government, he deems it proper that you shall be prepared with instructions to meet so unhappy a contingency. He has, therefore, directed me, verbally, to give you such instructions.

"You are carefully to avoid every act which would needlessly tend to provoke aggression; and, for that reason, you are not, without evident and imminent necessity, to take up any position which could be construed into the assumption of a hostile attitude; but you are to hold possession of the forts in this harbor and, if attacked, you are to defend yourself to the last extremity.

"The smallness of your force will not permit you, perhaps, to occupy more than one of the three forts; but an attack on or attempt to take possession of either one of them will be regarded as an act of hostility; and you may then put your command into either of them which you may deem most proper, to increase its power of resistance.

"You are also authorized to take similar defensive steps, whenever you shall have tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act."*

These Instructions, thus communicated to Major Anderson, were afterwards modified, by the President's direction, in which General Scott concurred, by the softening of the order to defend himself "to the last extremity," it being considered that "this extreme was not required by any principle of military honor or by any rule of War;" and that "it was sufficient for him to defend himself until no reasonable hope should remain of saving the fort."†

While the President was thus engaged, on the one hand, in guarding against a surprise by the disaffected Carolinians, and, on the other, in guarding against any injudicious action by those in authority under the United States, on the eighth of December, he was waited on by four of the Representatives in Congress from South Carolina; and a friendly conversation ensued, concerning the means which were best adapted

* This copy of the Instructions was copied from Mr. Buchanan's interesting volume, page 166. It may be found, also, in *Executive Documents, House of Representatives*, Thirty-sixth Congress, Second Session, No. 26, page 10.

† Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 166, 167.

for avoiding a hostile collision between the parties. Two days afterwards, [December 10, 1860] the conversation was renewed, during which the Carolinians delivered to the President, a note, signed by five of the Representatives and dated on the ninth, in which they said: "In compliance with our statement to you, yesterday, we now express to you our strong convictions that neither the constituted authorities nor any body of the People of the State of South Carolina will either attack or molest the United States forts in the harbor of South Carolina, *previous* *ly to the action of the Convention** and, we hope and believe, not until an offer has been made, through an accredited representative, to negotiate for an amicable arrangement of all matters between the State and the Federal Government, provided that no reinforcements be sent into those forts and their relative military status shall remain as at present." This declaration was made, expressly, however, as individuals and not officially; but the Carolinians assured the President of their firm belief that it would be recognized and sustained by both the State Government † and, when it should assemble, the State Convention which was expected to convene at Columbia, seven days afterwards. The President emphatically objected to the word "provided," in the Carolinians' note, lest, if he should accept it without remark, it might be construed into an agreement, on his part, not to re-inforce the garrison, at Charleston, no matter what the emergency might be; and the conversation closed, with mutual respect, after the Carolinians had assured the President that no such construction as he had suggested should be placed on his acceptance of their note—"that they did not so consider it" "and he should not so consider it." ‡

* That Convention was expected to assemble at Columbia, on the seventeenth of the same month—one week after the second interview of the Carolinians with the President.

† This "firm belief" of the five Representatives was realized when, on the twentieth of December—the day on which the Ordinance of Secession was adopted—Governor Pickens withdrew a formal request for permission to occupy Fort Sumter with State troops, which he had sent to the President, "the reason then assigned to" [his confidential agent] "for such a course was, that the *delegation from South Carolina had pledged themselves that, if the status of the forts within the harbor of Charleston was not changed, South Carolina would make no attempt to take possession of any of the said forts.*"—Major Hamilton's letter to Governor Pickens, February 1, 1861.

‡ Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 167, 168. See, also, the *Statement of Messrs. Miles and Keitt*, to the Convention of South Carolina, in which the circumstances are narrated with great particularity. (*Journal of the Convention, Secret Session, January 4, 1861*—Page 186;

It will be seen that the leaders of the popular party, in South Carolina, both those within and those without the Congress, had fully committed themselves to what they considered a pledge, on their part, that, while the garrison in Charleston-harbor should not be reinforced, it should not be disturbed nor the property of the United States interfered with, unless the "Convention of the People of the State," which was about to assemble, should otherwise direct; and, with the most praiseworthy consistency and personal honor, as lately as the seventeenth of December, 1860, notwithstanding the excitement which prevailed throughout the vicinity of Charleston,

Appendix to the Journal, 372-377.) In that *Statement*, these words are important, in connection with the narrative in the text: "The President did not like the word 'Provided,' because it looked as if we were binding him while avowing that we had no authority to commit the Convention. We told him that we did not so understand it."—*Statement, Appendix to the Journal, 374.*

Mr. Lossing, in his evident anxiety to make Mr. Buchanan as odious as possible (*History of the Civil War*, i, 102.) has put into the mouth of William Porcher Miles, one of the five members who waited on the President, on the tenth—not on the ninth, as Mr. Lossing erroneously wrote—of December, as stated in the text, a grave misrepresentation of the truth, concerning this matter. The document which the five Representatives left with the President, on that occasion, tells its own story, as to its "admonitions" to the President; and each party has left an equally explicit record of the interview, in detail, the entire accuracy of both of which records no one of the parties to that interview has yet attempted to impeach.

As Mr. Lossing gives no authority for his statement; as the Journal and other publications of the Convention where Mr. Miles is said to have pronounced his "assurances" are quite as silent on the subject as Mr. Lossing's foot-notes are; and as the *Statement* to which we have referred, signed by Mr. Miles, expressly contradicts Mr. Lossing, we shall prefer to believe that the latter gentleman has been misled on the subject referred to, until we shall discover some more trustworthy authority to sustain the contrary opinion than his unsupported word.

Mr. Henry J. Raymond, in his *Life and Public Services of Abraham Lincoln* (Page 117) has also gravely disregarded the important disclaimer which each party made to the other, relative to the word "Provided," although he has proceeded, immediately, to comment on and denounce what, in the spirit of a mere partisan, he has unjustly considered a contract between the President and the Carolinians; and Mr. Evert A. Duyckinck, in his *History of the War of the Rebellion* (i, 37) more distinctly than most others, states that "an agreement had been made, under pretence of giving time for adjustment and reconciliation of difficulties, by which the forts were not to be attacked or molested," although both parties disclaimed any such intention, denied that they possessed any authority to make such an agreement, and entirely relieved each other of any alleged obligation arising from their personal interview.

neither the forts in her harbor nor the public property in the city were disturbed; and Major Anderson, and the garrison, and the Engineers' working-party, within and without the forts, were kindly treated, even by those who were most disaffected. It will be seen, too, that the President—notwithstanding General Scott, with grave inconsistency,* had urged him to send two hundred men, as a reinforcement to the garrison, to Forts Moultrie and Sumter†—sturdily relied on his own convictions and the assurances of the Carolinians, and declined to do anything which should tend to increase the disaffection in the South and, prematurely, lead to hostilities; although, at the same time, he quite as sturdily denounced the disaffection which prevailed and the proposed secession of that State as unconstitutional and revolutionary; provided for the prompt and efficient relief of the garrison, at the first moment of threatened danger; authorized the concentration of the scattered portions of the garrison and of the working parties within either of the forts in the harbor, should such a

step appear advisable; and instructed Major Anderson to return blow for blow, if he should be attacked in his position. Major Anderson, also, from behind his defences, sent up his earnest prayers for peace and hesitated to go to the extent of his instructions, as long as a ray of hope remained that hostilities might be averted.

On the seventeenth of December, the Convention of the People of South Carolina, which had been called for the purpose of withdrawing that State from the Union, assembled at Columbia;* and, on the same day, because of the prevailing small-pox, it adjourned to meet at Charleston, on the afternoon of the next day.† On the twentieth, notwithstanding the ubiquitous Caleb Cushing had been despatched to South Carolina, in behalf of the President, for the purpose of endeavoring to change or modify the contemplated action of the Convention,‡ that body adopted an *Ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled The Constitution of the United States of America*; § and, from that moment, as far as South Carolina was concerned, the relations of that State and of those who sojourned within her territory with every other portion of the human family were radically changed. There does not, however, seem to have been any movement, either in the Convention or among the inhabitants, against either of the forts, nor does either the garrison or the working-party seem to have been even threatened; but it was evident to Major Anderson that his command was occupying an untenable position against such a force as, very probably, would be brought

* On the twenty-ninth of October, 1860, the General ostentatiously expressed an opinion that all the Southern forts should be so completely occupied "as to make any attempt to take any one of them by surprise or *coup de main*, ridiculous,"—*Views*, in *Harpers' Pictorial History of the Great Rebellion*, i., 34—and, on the next day, he exposed the impossibility to do so, in any event, in his declaration that "there is * * in all, *five Companies*, only, "within reach, to garrison or reinforce the forts mentioned in the *Views*"—*Supplementary Views*, in *Harpers' Pictorial History*, i., 34. See, also, Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 99-104.

Having, meanwhile, added six hundred raw recruits to the five Companies already referred to, on the fifteenth of December, the General renewed his recommendation; and when the Secretary of War reminded him of the readiness of the *Brooklyn* to proceed to Charleston with three hundred men—a hundred more than the General proposed to send there—the latter objected to that proposition and insisted that the reinforcement must be raw recruits, from the depot at New York.—Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 175-178. Yet, a few days afterwards, while the necessity for strengthening Fort Sumter was no less than it had been, a fortnight before, a proposition was made in behalf of Messrs. James A. Hamilton, Moses H. Grinnell, and J. E. Williams, three distinguished citizens of New York, to send to Major Anderson, at their own expense, four hundred picked artillerymen, from among the citizen soldiery of New York; and it was promptly rejected by the General—his views had evidently met with a sudden change: he fully "coincided" [*with the President*] "in the opinion that the immediate military needs of the country require no appeal to Militia or Volunteers in aid of the regular force," and so he coldly rejected the proffered reinforcement.—*Reminiscences of James A. Hamilton*, 460-462.

† Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 168-180.

* *Journal of the Convention of the People of South Carolina, held in 1860-61*, 3.

† *Ibid*, 12, 16.

‡ Letter from the President of the United States to the Governor of South Carolina, December 18, 1860, introducing General Cushing and defining the purpose of his mission.

True to his general mission, as a mere partisan seeking nothing more than the justification of his own party and the degradation of all who differ from it, Mr. Greeley, in his *American Conflict*, i., 409, says of Mr. Cushing—one of his former Whig co-partisans—and of this exceedingly important undertaking: "His errand was a secret one. But, so far as its object was allowed to transpire, he was understood to be the bearer of a proffer from Mr. Buchanan that he would not reinforce Major Anderson, nor initiate any hostilities against the Secessionists, provided they would evince a like pacific spirit, by respecting the Federal authorities down to the close of his Administration—now but a few weeks distant."

Victor's *Southern Rebellion*, i., 105, repeats the story in other words.

§ *Journal of the Convention of the People of South Carolina, held in 1860-61*, 46-49, 53-54.

against it, by the insurgents, at an early day,* and he is said to have determined, late in the

* There is, probably, no more interesting subject than this, in the story of Fort Sumter; and we shall be pardoned for a careful presentation of the authorities concerning it.

On the twenty-fourth of December, an officer, evidently the Major himself, wrote a letter in which were the following words: "When I inform you that my garrison consists of only sixty effective men and that we are in a very inferior work, the walls of which are only about fourteen feet high, and that we have, within a hundred and sixty yards of our walls, sandhills which command our works and which afford admirable sites for batteries and the finest covers for sharp-shooters, and that, besides this, there are numerous houses, some of them within pistol-shot, you will, at once, see that if attacked in force, headed by any one but a simpleton, there is scarce a possibility of our being able to hold out long enough to enable our friends to come to our succor."—*Letter from Fort Moultrie, S. C., December 14, 1860, in The Boston Journal, January 3, 1861. It may be found, also, in Frank Leslie's pictorial History of the American Civil War, I., xv.; and in Appleton's Annual Encyclopedia for 1861, 315.*

Two days afterward, an officer of the garrison, in a letter to his father, said: "At Fort Moultrie, we could not fail to have succumbed before the large force that was, probably, on the point of being launched against us. Between batteries, a close fire of riflemen, and a few columns of assault, we must have been forced to have yielded, although it would not have been without the loss, perhaps, of every man there."—*Letter from Fort Sumter, December 26, 1860, in The Troy [N. Y.] Times, copied by The Richmond [Va.] Whig, Vol. xxxviii, No. iv., January 11, 1861.*

General Simons of the South Carolina Militia, unto whom, on the thirty-first of December, Governor Pickens had sent "the plan of military operations and line of defence" which the Carolinians proposed to adopt, on the first of January, 1861, reported thereon, to the Governor, as follows:

* * * * *

SECOND.—*Fort Moultrie.*

"This post is wholly untenable. Lieutenant-colonel De Saussure, a brave officer, gave you prompt notice of this fact on the morning after his occupation.* His Report, this morning, shows you the irrefragable proof of his first Report, after nearly a week's occupation of the post."—*General Simon's Report to Governor Pickens, Charleston, January 1, 1861.*

The Secretary of War, *ad interim*, in an official letter to the Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, in the House of Representatives, dated January 3, 1861, said that Major Anderson, "apprehensive of the safety of his command, from the insecurity of the fort, and having

evening of Christmas-day,† to occupy Fort Sumter, with his entire command, as soon as the necessary means for so doing could be obtained without, thereby, exciting the suspicion of the Carolinians.

It was, indeed, true that Fort Moultrie was considered as completely finished, more than a year before,‡ and that, subsequently, it was kept in fair condition; § and it was not less true that,

"reason to believe that the South Carolinians contemplated or were preparing to proceed to a hostile act against him, and desiring to prevent a collision and the effusion of blood, evacuated Fort Moultrie, after leaving orders for spiking the cannon and disabling some of the cartridges, and removed his forces to Fort Sumter, where they now are."—*Secretary of War, ad interim, to the Chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, January 3, 1861, in House Miscellaneous Document, No. 12, Thirty-sixth Congress, Second Session.*

On the sixth of January, 1861, Captain Doubleday, who was of the garrison, in a private letter, used these words: "At Fort Moultrie, everything had been prepared for a desperate stand; but we could have done little against the powerful batteries of this fort, which would have been turned against us, in addition to an army of at least ten thousand men who would have assailed us on the land side. Our own lives were of little consequence; but our defeat would have involved the loss of this harbor to the United States, a loss that would have been irreparable."—*Letter, in The Auburn [N. Y.] Union, copied into The Richmond [Va.] Whig of January 8, and into The New York Tribune of January 16, 1861,—see Supplement II.*

On the evening after the surrender of Fort Sumter to the Carolinians and Confederates, April 14, 1861, Governor Pickens addressed the assembled multitude, at Charleston as follows: "They have surrendered; and this proud fortress that was attempted to be a fortress for despotism, has now become, as its name indicates, a fortress for our independence. Besides, one of their most scientific officers, on the twenty-sixth of last December, escaped from what he called a *weak and untenable fort*, and went over to this strong and powerful position, because he could maintain himself, and because it was pronounced the key of the harbor. He left Fort Moultrie because it was untenable and at the mercy of Sumter. He chose Sumter as his fortress. We took the one he deserted and with it whipped him to his heart's content."—*The Governor's speech, in The Record of Fort Sumter, 46.*

Victor's *Southern Rebellion*, i., 125, describes it as an "untenable post;" although, on page 79 of the same volume it was said that "two hundred men could have defended it against ten thousand;" and Mr. Greeley, in his *American Conflict* (i., 407), also states that "it could not have been held a day against a serious assault."

* I have the authority of General Jefferson C. Davis—the Lieutenant Davis of the garrison of Fort Sumter—for this statement.

† Annual Report of the Engineer Department, November 8, 1859.

‡ Compare Annual Report of the Engineer Department, November 14, 1860, and that of November 30, 1861.

* Lieutenant-colonel De Saussure, with one hundred and seventy men from a Regiment of Artillery and thirty Riflemen occupied Fort Moultrie on the evening after the fact that Major Anderson had retired from it became known to the Governor—on the evening of the twenty-seventh of December, 1860.—*Errata.*

in view of the possibility that a vigorous defense might be required of its garrison, from the insurgent Carolinians, Captain Foster, during the Summer and Autumn of 1860, had removed the large accumulations of sand which had overtopped the scarp-wall on the sea-front,* removing it to the front and forming a glacis; † dug a wet-ditch, fifteen feet wide, around the fort; ‡ built two flanking caponieres of brick, to flank, with their fire, the three water-fronts of the work; constructed a bastionet, for musketry, at its north-western angle; built a picket-fence around the fort, bordering the ditch, and protected by a small glacis; § constructed merlons on the whole of the eastern front; opened communications through the quarters; built a bridge to connect the quarters with the guard-house; loop-holed the latter for musketry, so as to allow it to be used as a citadel: || etc.* But, notwithstanding all these precautions, the fort was completely at the mercy of Fort Sumter. If that work should be properly manned, in addition to which it was slightly commanded by a sand-hill, on Sullivan's island, which afforded admirable sites for batteries and complete cover for sharpshooters within a hundred and sixty yards of its walls; and these, and other causes which the Major readily detected,** taken in connection with what he evidently conceived to be the immediate danger of attack, prompted him to retire, with his command, to Fort Sumter, in order, as his Instructions expressed it, that the garrison might "increase its "power of resistance."

It has been made a subject of doubt and bitter controversy, whether or not the Major

really had "tangible evidence of a design" [among the Carolinians] "to proceed to a hostile "act," before he resolved to retire from Fort Moultrie; and the determination of the question involved in that controversy will determine, also, the other question which has also arisen, in various quarters, whether or not the Major's removal of the garrison was authorized by the Instructions from the President, which controlled him, as the commander of the post. On this subject, if evidence were ever wanting, it is wanting no longer; and whoever shall honestly examine the annals of that period, as they are now presented to us, will find the most unequivocal testimony of the "design to proceed to an "hostile act,"—unless, as they hoped to do, they could accomplish their purposes by more peaceful means—which was entertained, long before the date of the removal, by both the masses of the insurgents and those who led them. The press teemed with military notices; "believing that they were threatened by Fort Sumter "especially, the people were, with difficulty, "restrained from securing, without blood, the "possession of this important fortress;"* and South Carolina, from one extreme to the other, was little else than a vast camp. For what purpose all these military preparations were made, and why "the people" were so eager, is not apparent, if it was not, in a known and recognized contingency, for the purpose of investing and occupying the forts; and, with these facts before us, stubbornly affording the most "tangible evidence of the design" referred to in the Instructions, although that "design" was contingent on something which was not yet determined, any other course than that which the Major pursued, in his evacuation of the untenable and occupation of the tenable position, would have subjected him, in the evidently approaching crisis, not only to the condemnation of his professional peers but to that of the wide world, for all time to come.

It was necessary, of course, in order to effect the purposed removal of the garrison to Fort Sumter without interference from the Carolinians, to observe the utmost secrecy, even within the lines of Fort Moultrie; and whatever preparations were made for that purpose were nominally and, generally, ostensibly directed for other purposes.† The Major's agreeable relations with

* Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11, 1860—Supplement I.

† "On the South side, or front, a glacis has been commenced and prosecuted nearly to completion, with a "rampart of sand-bags, barrels, etc."—*Charleston Courier*, December 28, 1860.

‡ "A ditch some fifteen feet wide and about the same "in depth, surrounds the entire wall, on three sides."—*Ibid.*

§ "On one side of the fort, a palisade of palmetto logs "is extended around the ramparts as a complete defence "against an escalading party."—*Ibid.*

|| "A greater portion of the labor expended was spent "upo. the citadel or center of the West point of the position. This he had caused to be strengthened in every "way; loop-holes were cut and everything was so arranged "that, in case a well-concerted attack was made, he would "have retired from the outer bastions to the citadel, and "afterwards blown up the other portions of the post."—*Ibid.*

¶ Annual Report of the Engineer Department, November 30, 1861.

** Secretary of War, *ad interim*, to the Chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, January 3, 1861.

* Second Letter of the Commissioners of South Carolina to the President, January 1, 1861.

† We have the authority of General Jefferson C. Davis for this statement. He tells us that only the officers were made acquainted with the project; and the garrison, generally, was misled, in its surmises as to the reasons for the preparations which were being made, by representations that a body of Carolinians had landed on Sullivan's island, and was preparing to move on the fort. This report

the leaders of the insurgents, to which we have already alluded,* were very well calculated to check any rising distrust, on the part of those who were less influential but more inclined to hostile action, which his necessary preparations for the removal might suddenly arouse; and, on the evening of Christmas-day, with the families of some of those leaders, from Charleston, he was present at a party given by the lady of Captain Foster, at her residence in the neighboring village of Moultrieville,† which would reasonably indicate that, to some extent, at least, he was supposed to be, if he was not, in harmony with those leaders, on the controlling questions of the day. Not the least suspicion was created, therefore, on the day after Christmas, by any of his preparations for removing the garrison; and, when the Major let it be known and reported that he expected an attack on the fort, very shortly, and that, consequently, he designed to remove the women and children who were in the fort, to a place of safety, neither in the garrison nor without the works was there the least manifestation of surprise or uneasiness.‡

and the subsequent removal of the non-combatants, nominally, for prudential reasons, disarmed the suspicions, both those in the garrison and those among the inhabitants of the vicinity.

* Vide Note *, Column 2., Page 40., ante.

† We have the authority of General Jefferson C. Davis for this statement.

The General also informs us that Major Anderson left the party when the children were taken home, say about nine o'clock, and returned to his Quarters in Fort Moultrie; and that the Major subsequently informed him that it was only after his return from that party, while within his own Quarters, that he determined to abandon Fort Moultrie, at the earliest possible moment. As that gallant young officer, then a bachelor, was present and, after the children and Major Anderson had retired, had a pleasant time with those of the company who were no longer children—bringing away with him, a gift from Mrs. Foster's sister, a pocket flask of brandy, of which we shall have a word to say, hereafter—no other testimony is necessary, to sustain this portion of the text.

It has been said the Major dined in Charleston, on Christmas-day, and returned to Fort Moultrie, late in the evening: we have the authority of General Davis for saying that, on Christmas-night, Major Anderson "had not been in the city for several days previous, to attend "dinner parties or any other purposes." "I am quite certain," General Davis continues, "he never visited the "city after the Ordinance of Secession was passed by "South Carolina"—December 20. 1860.

‡ That fact is evident in the entire ignorance of the Carolinians, until the morning of the twenty-seventh of December, that Major Anderson intended to occupy Fort Sumter and in their astonishment, at that time, when the news of that occupation reached them. Indeed, so well was the secret kept, that it is perfectly evident that the Charlestonians did not know whence the garrison of

In this emergency, however, Major Anderson necessarily extended his confidence and intimacy beyond the little circle within whose limited bounds that confidence and intimacy had been previously confined; and Captain Foster, whose duties were legitimately confined to the "charge "of" the working-parties who were repairing and strengthening the three works composing the post, was necessarily admitted within the limits of the Major's intimacy*—there were no

Fort Sumter had come—from Fort Moultrie or from reinforcements pushed in, by sea—until some stragglers of Captain Foster's working-party reached the city and explained the mystery.

* In his *History of the Civil War*, i., 129, Mr. Lossing, while speaking of the Major's general relations with his command, says the former "revealed his secret intentions "only to Captain (afterwards Major-general) John G. Foster, his second in command, and two or three other "officers." If Mr. Lossing supposes and means to convey the impression, in this paragraph, that Captain Foster was generally admitted to the intimacy of Major Anderson, we have excellent authority for saying that he is sadly in error. The Major, on the contrary, confined his intimacy to a portion of the officers of the Artillery composing the garrison; and, outside of that little circle, his intercourse was only official and formal, both with officers and men.

There is excellent reason, however, for believing that, notwithstanding his general reserve, Major Anderson was obliged to communicate to Captain Foster the purpose he entertained of retiring to Fort Sumter. The Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers, November 30, 1861, states that, among the services of the Corps at Fort Moultrie, during 1860-1, "means were also furnished to transport Major Anderson's command and such public property as could be removed before the occupation of Fort "Moultrie by the rebels to Fort Sumter." This very important record is sustained by other authorities, Southern as well as Northern; and, with the stern fact thus thrust before us that, but for Captain Foster's assistance, the garrison would have been compelled to remain at Fort Moultrie, there is no room for wonder that, to the extent, at least, of the matter of the removal of the garrison, Captain Foster was admitted to the councils and confidence of Major Anderson.

Mr. Lossing certainly erred, also, in his designation of the Major's "second in command"—a mistake which he has shared with Mr. Squier—*Frank Leslie's Pictorial History*, i., xvi—Captain Foster, unto whom that authority is given by Mr. Lossing, was of the Corps of Engineers, and he held no command whatever in the Artillery, of which the garrison was wholly composed: on the contrary, his duties began and ended with the general "charge of" the three Engineer working-parties who, independently of the commander of the post, were engaged in repairing and strengthening the defences of Charleston harbor.

The "second in command," in the garrison, was, unquestionably, Captain Abner Doubleday of the First Artillery, now our respected friend, Major-general Doubleday, U. S. A.

other means for transporting the garrison from Fort Moultrie than those which Captain Foster controlled; and there were, comparatively, no provisions for its use, after it should reach Fort Sumter, than those which belonged to the Engineers.* The accession of the Captain to the councils of Major Anderson was speedily and effectively utilized by the employment of three schooners and several barges, which the Engineer working-parties used in their work, for the purpose of transporting the garrison and the public property to Fort Sumter; and the workmen themselves were also employed in assisting in the transfer of the latter.†

The necessary preparations having been made for the removal of the garrison, in the afternoon of the twenty-sixth of December, 1860, while most of the Carolinians were absorbed in their devotion to the holiday season, the women and children, with the exception of the families of the officers and Mrs. Rippit—the faithful house-keeper of the unmarried officers' mess—were openly embarked, under the direction of Lieutenant Hall, on one of the schooners‡ which Captain

Foster had provided; and, with them, were also sent, what, outside the works, were understood to be only the furniture, and bedding, and necessary supplies for the departing non-combatants, although some provisions and commissary-stores, the silver plate belonging to the mess, several canary birds, and a great variety of objects possessing particular interest to the refugees, were also carried away by them.*

The schooner, with its precious freight, immediately headed from Fort Moultrie for Fort Johnson, within whose desolate lines and untenable barracks it was gravely insinuated these non-combatant refugees were about to find a dreary winter-night's shelter; † but orders had been given to Lieutenant Hall, to stand off and on, to the windward of Fort Sumter, ‡ until darkness should

Finally, after a careful review of the circumstances—although he had previously inclined, in a most important letter which he addressed to us on the third of February, 1872, to believe that *two* schooners were thus employed—General Foster, in a personal interview, has subsequently determined that Lieutenant Hall only employed *one* of the three schooners in this particular service, and, greatly to our relief, confirmed the recollection, on that subject, of Generals Seymour and Davis and that of Sergeant Smith.

General Crawford, whose rethought, even at that critical and exciting period, led him to make, at that time, elaborate notes of all which then occurred, says, in a valued and extended letter of the fourth of March, 1872, addressed to us, "Lt. Hall employed *both* the schooners."

We have surrendered to the stronger party; and, both because of the greater number and the equally high character of those who declare that only *one* schooner was thus employed, we have considered that as the most correct statement.

* Generals Jefferson C. Davis, Samuel W. Crawford, and John G. Foster are our authorities for this statement.

† *Charleston News*, December 27, 1860; *Charleston Courier*, December 28, 1860; *Lossing's History of the Civil War*, i., 129.

Generals Davis, Crawford, and Foster, also, fully confirm our statement; and, as they have personal knowledge of the fact, we need no better authority to sustain it.

‡ Generals Jefferson C. Davis, John G. Foster, and Samuel W. Crawford are our authorities for this statement. See, also, *Charleston News*, December 27, 1860.

We are not insensible, in this connection, that Mr. Lossing has said of the instructions which were given, on the occasion under consideration, "the commandant there" [*Fort Johnson*] "had been instructed to detain them" [*the women and children*] "on board, until evening, under 'a pretext of a difficulty in finding quarters for them'"—*Pictorial History of the Civil War*, i., 129;—but, *First*, because Fort Johnson was entirely unoccupied, at that time, and there was not, therefore, any "commandant there," to be thus "instructed;" *Second*, because Lieutenant Hall, who accompanied the refugees, had the entire control of the schooner, subject to the Major's orders, and directed her movements; and, *Third*, because the schooner

* General Foster is our authority for this statement, at recent interviews, in the city of New York.

† Annual Report of Engineer Department, November 19, 1861; General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872; General J. G. Foster to Henry B. Dawson, February 8, 1872.

‡ It has been a question, among the distinguished survivors of the officers who were then in Fort Moultrie, concerning the number of schooners which were employed on this particular service; and the attempts which we have made to solve that question, have been among the most tedious of the many perplexing labors we have bestowed on the preparation of this paper.

General Jefferson C. Davis, in a detailed written description of the events of that eventful afternoon and evening and in repeated conversations, has insisted that only *one* schooner was thus employed, under Lieutenant Hall, to remove the women, children, etc.; and, through his kind attention, we were enabled, also, to meet and converse with Sergeant Smith, one of the men who, with his wife and two children, accompanied Lieutenant Hall, and was a personal participant in all that was done by that portion of the garrison. The Sergeant, also, says, positively, that only *one* schooner was thus employed.

In an elaborate and most important letter to us, from General Truman Seymour, dated "Fort Preble, February 29, 1872," that distinguished officer says, speaking of a pamphlet, supposed to have been written by Lieutenant Hall, "It says 'three little schooners, with four or five 'barges,' meaning *three in all*. My wife says there were 'three. My impression has been that Lieut. Hall hired 'one of these three for the women and children, of whom 'there are 20 women 25 children: but with their property, 'two schooners would have been better than one, and I 'may be wrong. There are private soldiers whose testimony, on this point, if desired, could be obtained—and 'they are accessible to me by mail.'"

shelter the movement, when, the designated signal of the garrison's readiness to receive them having been given,* he was to run the vessel to the wharf, at the gorge of Fort Sumter, and land her passengers and the property which had been sent with her.†

About the same time, Lieutenant Davis was detached from his Company and ordered to take command of the rear-guard of the garrison, in the projected movement; and, with the assistance of some prisoners who were released from the guard-house, he immediately ran several of the guns into battery, loaded and ranged them so as to command the channel between the two forts, in order to cover the movement of the main body of the garrison and, if needed, to repel any attempt, on the part of the Carolinians, to interfere with it, in its passage to Fort Sumter.‡ During the afternoon, Captain Foster, who, with his brother-in-law, Mr. Edward Moale, had determined to remain in Fort Moultrie, until the next day, was ordered to take command of the relief which would be on post, when the Fort should be evacuated; to cover the barge on which the rear-guard was to embark, while crossing to Fort Sumter, and, if it should be attacked by the Carolinians, to open fire on the assailants; to take measures for the removal, to Fort Sumter, of as much of the public property as could be removed from Fort Moultrie; to

was not intended to come to, at Fort Johnson, but to lay on and off, to the windward of Fort Sumter, so as to run to the wharf, at the gorge of that work, with a free sheet, when the signal was given—for these reasons, we say, in addition to the positive authorities referred to, above, we venture to differ from our excellent friend, the author of the *Pictorial History of the Civil War*, in the instance before us.

* Just what that signal was, is not yet clearly settled by those whose testimony is most authoritative.

General John G. Foster says it was a signal gun fired from Fort Moultrie; General Crawford says "two signal guns were fired from Fort Moultrie. The Ordnance-sergeant fired one, and I, myself, fired the other, taking 'the lanyard, which is now in my possession.'" General Jefferson C. Davis says it was a musket fired from Fort Sumter; and Sergeant Smith, who was with Lieutenant Hall, on the schooner, says it was a swinging light from the second embrasure from the sally-port, in the gorge of Fort Sumter.

In this case, where each is an authority, independent of all others, we incline to leave the subject, undetermined, with this record of the several testimonies concerning it, for adjustment by those who shall, hereafter, examine the important story of Fort Sumter, in 1860-1, with more patience than we have been able to give to it.

† General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872. Generals John G. Foster and Samuel W. Crawford confirmed the statement, in recent interviews.

‡ General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, Janu-

spike all the guns on the abandoned work; and to destroy the carriages of such of them as bore on Fort Sumter.*

The main body of the garrison, not yet informed of the proposed withdrawal to Fort Sumter, and supposing that it was preparing to repel a movement against the fort, by the Carolinians, was ordered to pack knapsacks; and, when the sun went down, it was reviewed on the parade, and—with the exception of the rear-guard and the men relieved from arrest, all commanded by Lieutenant Davis, a Corporal and three enlisted men of the guard, then on post, the Chaplain of the post (Rev. Matthias Harris), Assistant-surgeon Simons, an Ordnance-sergeant, a Hospital-steward and a nurse, Captain Foster and his brother-in-law, Mr. Edward Moale, Surgeon Crawford, and Mrs. Rippit, all of whom were left in Fort Moultrie or at the neighboring village,†—as soon as the

ary 19, 1872. General Davis has, subsequently, read this paragraph, in the proofs, and pronounced it perfectly accurate.

* General John G. Foster is our authority for this statement.

During extended conversations with that distinguished officer, in the city of New York, on the twelfth and thirteenth of March, 1872, he dictated to us the following description of the verbal orders which he received from Major Anderson, on the occasion referred to in the text: "These orders were as follows: 'to have two guns loaded 'and shotted, and to fire on either of the guard-boats 'who might interfere with the passage: as soon as all 'the boats and garrison were safely in Fort Sumter, of 'which I should have notice by the firing of two muskets from the South-east angle of that fort, to fire one 'gun, as a signal to Lieutenant Hall that the garrison was 'in Fort Sumter and that he ' [*Lieutenant Hall*] 'was 'then to carry his schooner to that point: to spike all 'the guns of the Fort: to destroy all the ammunition 'which could not be sent over in the two remaining 'schooners: and to destroy the carriages of the guns 'which bore on Fort Sumter.' These orders were 'carried out, during the night and the next day.' He has subsequently read this paragraph, together with this note, in the proofs, and pronounced them perfectly accurate. It is proper to state, however, that two of General Foster's surviving associates—Generals Davis and Crawford—do not concur with General Foster in this statement.

† We are not insensible that Mr. Lossing—*Pictorial History of the Civil War*, i., 130—says, "At eight o'clock 'the same evening' [December 26, 1860] 'Major Anderson wrote to the Adjutant-general, from his snug quarters, nearly over the sally-port: 'I have the honor to 'report that I have just completed, by the blessing of 'God, the removal to this fort, of all my garrison except 'the Surgeon, four North Carolina officers, and seven 'men.'" We say we are not insensible that Mr. Lossing has thus differently recorded the facts which we have presented in the text; but, *First*, Because, although the Major left "the Surgeon," Doctor Crawford, in Fort Moul-

shades of evening sufficiently concealed the movement,* under the personal command of Major Anderson, was moved, rapidly, to some barges † which Captain Foster had also provided for that

trie, when the main body of the garrison was carried into Fort Sumter, that officer, as he, himself, tells us, in person, followed the Major, very soon afterwards—having been “the last officer to cross to Sumter, that night,” are his words—and spent the night with the garrison, in its new quarters; *Second*. Because there were no “North Carolina officers” either in the garrison or in charge of the working-party, and, therefore, none could have been left in Fort Moultrie; and, *Third*, Because it is very evident that what the Major probably wrote as “N. C. officers” has been mistaken, by Mr. Lossing, for “North Carolina Officers” instead of “Non Commissioned Officers,” of which four—the Chaplain, the Ordnance-sergeant, the Hospital-steward, and the Corporal of the Guard—are known to have been left in Fort Moultrie or its immediate vicinity—for these reasons, to say nothing of others which can be adduced, we prefer to disbelieve the narrative of Mr. Lossing, in the form in which he has presented it, although it purports to be in the words of the Major’s letter-book.

Appleton’s Annual Encyclopedia for 1861, page 316, says Captain Foster was left behind, with eight men, to hold possession of the work; and *Frank Leslie’s Pictorial History*, i., xv., *Victor’s History of the Southern Rebellion*, i., 126, Mrs. J. B. Frost’s *Rebellion in the United States*, 35, etc. repeat the story.

This mistake probably originated in a misunderstanding of the despatch which was sent to the Southern Commissioners, on the day after the evacuation, which stated that Captain Foster, with a party of men, was, at that time, engaged in spiking the guns, burning the carriages, etc., all of which was perfectly true.

* “All his arrangements being completed, the men under arms, with loaded muskets, and the boats, at the beach, awaiting him, the Major took command and marched rapidly out of the fort at twilight.”—General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

Mr. Greeley erroneously states—*American Conflict*, i., 407—that Fort Moultrie was evacuated “during the night of the 26th;” and Doctor Draper—*Civil War in America*, i., 542—uses the same words. Mr. Abbott—*History of Civil War*, i., 50—says the garrison embarked “at midnight;” and Mr. Faulkner—*History of the Revolution*, 10—concurs in the statement. *The Charleston News*, December 27, 1860, says it was “about half past nine o’clock” when the garrison embarked. *Harper’s Pictorial History*, i., 27, says it was “about nine o’clock in the evening” when the garrison was ordered to hold itself in readiness, after which time, it says, it was paraded, inspected, and embarked; but it does not state at what hour the embarkation was effected.

† Mr. Greeley—*American Conflict*, i., 407—says “two schooners” were thus employed, and that they “made several trips, during the night,” in order to remove the handful of men from Fort Moultrie; but, *First*, Because, with secrecy sternly enforced by the necessity of the case, these “two schooners” could not have been thus engaged, making “several trips,” in a bright moonlight night and

purpose and placed under the command of his Assistants, Lieutenants Snyder and Meade of the Engineers,* and rapidly carried to Fort Sumter†—the command of Captain Doubleday (Company E.) first entering the barges, and then, on their return, that of Captain Seymour (Company H).‡ It was a very simple operation; managed with great tact; and effected with perfect success. The movement was, necessarily, as hasty as it was secret; and, as necessarily, it involved the abandonment of the greater portion of the garrison’s military supplies,§ much of the clothing and private property of the soldiers,|| a number of musical instruments, belonging to the members of the band,¶ and a considerable quantity of engineer implements and materials.** The Engineer working-party, in Fort Moultrie, as we have said, was left behind, together with several others, officers and enlisted men, and Mrs. Rippit, the last-named of whom patiently awaited the appearance of the officers for tea, which she had prepared for them; and, before eight o’clock in the evening ††

with two guard-boats at anchor, in the channel, immediately opposite Fort Moultrie, without exposing the secret to the Carolinians and defeating the project; and, *Second*, Because we have the better evidence of those who were present and participated in the movement, that the garrison was transported in the barges employed on the works by the Engineer working-parties, we prefer to disbelieve the narrative of our distinguished neighbor.

It is proper to remark, in this connection, that Mr. Moore (*Rebellion Record*, i., 6) the *Charleston Courier*, December 28, 1860, and *Appleton’s Annual Encyclopedia for 1861*, 316, agree with Mr. Greeley in assigning “two schooners” to the work of transporting the garrison to Fort Sumter, and in making them run several times, during the night, between the two forts; while *Harper’s Pictorial History*, i., 27, *Frank Leslie’s Pictorial History*, i., xvi., and *Victor’s History of the Southern Rebellion*, i., 126, increase the number to “three schooners.”

It will be seen that only ordinary “Government barges,” moved with oars, were employed in that portion of the movement.

* Annual Report of the Engineer Department, November 30, 1861; Information personally communicated to us, by Generals Foster, Crawford, and Davis.

† General Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

‡ General Seymour to Henry B. Dawson, February 29, 1872.

§ The greater portion of these, as will be seen, hereafter, were recovered on the following day.

|| Petition of Captains Doubleday and Seymour and Doctor Crawford, January 17, 1861—Report No. 70, Thirty-sixth Congress, Second Session.

¶ Ibid.

** Annual Report of the Engineer Department, November 30, 1861. General Foster has confirmed the statement at a recent interview.

†† Major Anderson’s despatch to the Adjutant general 8 P.M., December 26, 1860, in *Lossing’s Pictorial History* i., 130. General Davis concurs in that testimony.

—just after the guard-boats *Nina* and *General Clinch*, which the Carolinians were wont to post in the vicinity, to watch and report to the leaders of the insurgents whatever might be considered note-worthy,* had taken their position for the night†—the schooner, meanwhile, having also discharged her freight and passengers, Lieutenant Davis, accompanied by the rear-guard of the garrison, embarked in a small boat, and, a few minutes after, all were securely quartered within the towering walls of Fort Sumter. The Major earnestly congratulated the Lieutenant on the success with which he had brought his little party from the abandoned work, even in the teeth of the insurgents' guard-boats, and pleasantly spoke his service, as Counsel, in case the President should disapprove the occupation of Fort Sumter and order a Court-martial to adjudicate the offense; and then, from the contents of the pocket flask which M^s. Foster's sister had given to the Lieutenant on the preceding evening, the as-cubed officers sipped rather than drank to the success of the garrison in its newly-occupied quarters.‡

The sudden appearance, at Fort Sumter, of the garrison of the post, naturally excited the alarm

of the Engineer working-party, under Lieutenant Snyder, who were quartered within that work. They were civilians, employed by the officer in charge only for the purpose of completing the defenses of the fort, and, very often, in entire sympathy with the South; § and the greater number shrunk from the inevitable conflict, the rapid approach of which was clearly indicated by the abrupt occupation of that work by the garrison of the post—the meanness of these workmen was so great, indeed, that all except about seventy of them immediately requested to be sent ashore. The Major, after hearing their request, promptly ordered all who had thus asked to leave the work, to embark, with their baggage, the same evening, on the schooner which had brought the women and children from Fort Moultrie; and, without any unnecessary delay, their request to be taken from the fort was complied with†—they were, however, kept on the schooner, without landing, until morning, when they returned to Fort Sumter.‡

During the evening, after the garrison had been thus transferred to Fort Sumter, Lieutenant Davis entertained a project to return to Fort Moultrie, for M^s. Riggitt, who had been left, as we have said, awaiting the officers' appearance, at quarters, for tea, and in blissful ignorance of the stirring events of the evening; and Major Anderson § omitted the attempt, if volunteers for the service could be obtained. The volunteers were promptly forthcoming; and the Lieutenant, by skillful management, avoided the insurgent guard-boats; astonished the old lady, by informing her of the transfer of the garrison; and safely transferred her, and her baskets and bundles, to her new mess-room, in Fort Sumter.‡

The Surgeon, Doctor Crawford, who had remained behind, in Fort Moultrie, when the main body of the garrison crossed the channel, was the last officer to cross to "Fort Sumter that night;" and he appears to have made the passage in a private boat.¶

Thus ended the labors of that eventful day. There had been intense anxiety, among some: on others, the exciting scenes of the drama had had no visible effect. The plans had been laid in secret: the movement had been enshrouded in secrecy: the evacuation of Fort Moultrie was

* Report of the Secretary of the Interior to the North Carolinian March 26, 1861.

† The proofs of this paragraph were read by Generals Davis and Foster and returned with their approval, as it stands; but General Crawford says of this particular portion of it, "The boats were not on guard at the time—the crossing was effected. The *Nina* did not leave her wharf at Charleston until nine o'clock; the *Clinch* was engaged in towing a vessel to the Bar, when it passed quite near one of the boats containing some of the garrison. Captain Foster called to me to come on; and we sprang to a gun—a thirty-two pounder—that was loaded. Had the steamer interfered with the boat, we should have fired upon her. But it was seen that she was towing a vessel;" and, therefore, she was not interfered with. ¶ I had a glass bearing upon her, and could see "with great distinctness."—M^s. Memorandum attached to proof of this paragraph. If Generals Doubleday and Seymour, to whom copies of this part of the paper have been sent, shall add any comment on this portion of our subject, they will be pre-entitled in a supplementary note, meanwhile, as each of the three distinguished officers had equal opportunities for knowing the truth of the subject, we must defer to the authority of the greater number.

‡ General Jefferson C. Davis is our authority for this portion of our narrative.

For all that we have stated in this paragraph, except wherein we have cited special authorities for particular portions of it, we have the express authority of Generals Davis and Foster, who have read it, in the proofs, and assured us of its entire accuracy. Although we have other authorities to support some portions of the paragraph, we have not considered it necessary, in view of the ample double evidence, to encumber our pages with references to them.

§ General Doubleday to Henry B. Dawson, October 31, 1870.

† Generals Jefferson C. Davis, John G. Foster, and Samuel W. Crawford are our authorities for this statement.

‡ General John G. Foster is our authority for this statement.

§ Our authority for this statement is General Davis, who personally commanded the party who thus went ashore for the old lady.

¶ M^s. Memorandum, by General Samuel W. Crawford, April 24, 1872.

yet unknown beyond the lines of that work and those of Fort Sumter; the occupation of the latter, by any garrison whatever, was yet, as far as the outside world was concerned, among the unrevealed things of Providence. Captain Foster and his party held formal possession of Fort Moultrie; the *Nico* and the *General Clark*, not yet informed of the transfer of the garrison, kept guard, with their vented vigilance, over an empty casket; the sentinels, conscious of the increased security of the main body of the garrison, walked their lonely rounds, with a dimmy sleep, on Fort Sumter; and, very soon, those of the garrison who were not on duty and the little party who remained in Fort Moultrie—unless those of the working-party, in the latter, who were employed, under Captain Foster's direction, in spiking the guns and in removing the stores to the two schooners which were moored at the wharf in the rear of the work*—sought their welcome repose, which the labors and the exertions of the day entitled them to enjoy. There had been no unnecessary display, no unnecessary excitement, no unnecessary noise. There had been no destruction of property, & no

' General Foster has informed us that, during the night, the guns were spiked and, as far as it could be done, his working-party was employed in removing the public property to the schoolers, by means of which, on the following day, that property was carried to Fort Sumter.

General Crawford states in his letter, that the guns were spiked and the flag-staff cut down *on the evening of the twenty-fifth*, before he left Fort Mifflin and joined the garrison in Fort Sumter; but, as Generals Davis and Foster are firmly fixed that, while the guns were really spiked by Captain Foster's party, *on the morning of the twenty-fifth*, the flag-staff was not cut down until *the next morning*, when it was done in their presence, we can do no less than respect the weight of numbers and, without depreciating the great weight of General Crawford's testimony, based, as it is, on memoranda made at the time, seek further testimony before preferring his unsustained statement, on this subject, to the concurrent testimony of his two associates, each of whom, with himself, was present when the event referred to occurred.

† Colonel Evans, in his *War Pictures of the South*, page 2, says Major Anderson "burned all the Government stores, spiked the guns, and *destroying everything he could*." Mr. Greeley, in his *American Conflict*, i., 408, after describing among the events of the evacuation, the "several trips" of his "two schooners" "during the night of the 26th" says, "when all that could be had been removed, the *remaining gun-carriages, etc., were burnt*, so as to prevent their use in any future attack upon Fort Sumter." Doc. or Draper, in his *Civil War in America*, i., 542, says, "the evacuation of Moultrie commenced a little after sun-down: and, in the bright moon of that night, was quickly completed. *The guns were spiked, the carriages burnt*; the powder, cartridge, small-arms, clothing, provisions, accoutre-

casualty involving either life or limb—even old Mrs. Rippit was taken from the midst of her tea-cups and safely transported to her newly-appointed quarters, without exciting anybody but herself and without producing an undue ripple on the waters of the harbor or an undue emotion among those, insurgent or loyal, awake or asleep, who were in the vicinity.*

[TO BE CONTINUED IN THE MARCH NUMBER.]

[illegible]

* Generalized Dixie and I Fools are our candidates for all the statements contained in this paragraph, except those for which other individuals are identified as the gentlemen have read them. In the past, I have often pronounced them to be entirely accurate, we consider it unnecessary to occupy our pages with General Dixie's.

It may not be surmised, however, for the purpose of indicating the way in which history is written, in this intelligent age, to notice, in this place, the various dates which have been assigned to the event of the Fort Moultrie which we have thus endeavored to describe.

Colonel B. E. R. in his *History of the War*, Page 2, says Mr. J. A. Benson, executed Ben. Keulea "on the 24th of 1st of December," and Mr. Robert, in his *First Year of the War*, Page 58, and in his *Complete History of the War*, Volume I, Page 42, also describes that event as occurring on "the same day." That Sarah Caroline adopted her Ordinance of Secession—the 20th of December. Mr. Allen, in his *History of the Civil War in America*, Volume I, Page 79, says it was on the 20th of the twenty-fifth of December, in which error Mr. Falkner *History of the Rebellion in the Southern States*, 104, Hon. E. G. Squier *Our Lost Southern History*, 104, Hon. E. G. Squier *Civil War*, 104, and Messrs. Guiney and Allen *Harper's History of the War*, 104, agree with him. Mr. Victor, in his *History of the War*, 104, agrees with Mr. Victor, Page 104, says it occurred on the 20th of December. Mr. J. T. Hendrix, in his *War of the South*, Volume I, Page 41, says it occurred on the twenty-fifth of December. Lieutenant Colonel Fletcher, in his *History of the American War*, Volume I, Page 19, says it occurred on the twenty-fifth of December.

Most surprising of all, Mr. Buchanan, who was then President of the United States, says, in his *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, Page 189, "Major Anderson had, on a Christmas night, secretly dismantled Fort Moultrie," etc.

Such is American History, so called, as that History was

XVI.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

EARLY STEAMBOATING.—Mr. Richard F. Stevens, of Trenton, is owner of a copy of the old *Federal Gazette and Philadelphia Daily Advertiser*, which contains many curious and interesting features, as well in its advertising as in its reading columns. Among others, an advertisement, which is of local interest to the people of this country, even at the present time, as a matter of history, and was doubtless of much importance at the time of its publication, is the following:

"THE
"STEAMBOAT,

"Sets out to-morrow morning at ten o'clock,
"from Arch-street ferry, in order to take passen-
"gers for Burlington, Bristol, Bordentown, and
"Trenton, and return next day.

"PHILADELPHIA, July 26, 1790."

This boat was built and owned by John Fitch, and was the first steamboat advertised; and the advertisement, therefore, marks an era in the method of travel between Trenton and Philadelphia and intermediate places, and shows at what time steamboat communication was established between the cities on the Delaware. The paper is dated "Monday, July 26th, 1790;" is in comparatively good state of preservation; quite legible; and was published by Andrew Brown, at Washington's Head, in Chestnut-street, near Front-street.

This notice becomes of more than ordinary local interest to this country, when it is known that John Fitch lived in Warminster township, near Davisville, where he built his first steamboat, which was floated on a mill-pond, then on a farm now owned by General John Davis, a few hundred yards over the line in Southampton.—*Doylestown Democrat*.

WHO OWNS THE BANJO?—The following incident will be remembered by the members of the Fifty-first Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, who served with the Regiment during the month of April, 1862. The Fifty-first, in company

written within less than six years after the events described and while nearly all who participated in these events were living, easily accessible, and perfectly willing to afford every facility which was necessary to ascertain and to tell the exact truth!

Who will not question the accuracy of *all* History, with such instances as this before him of its entire uncertainty?

with other Regiments of the Division, marched to attack the rebels at Camden. They were in advance on the march and in the attack, and were under the command of Colonel Edwin Schall. Amongst others who accompanied the column during the terrible forced-march of forty-two miles, was Quartermaster Freedley's negro servant, a stalwart fellow of the pure Congo breed, black as the ace of spades. Actuated by kindly motives, he offered to carry the drum for a weak and tired member of the band, and hoisted it on his shoulder. Unluckily, the Regiment stumbled, unawares, upon the rebels, in the dark, who at once opened upon them with shot and shell. The negro was awfully scared; and at once stampeded over stumps and roots of fallen trees. But he was in a dilemma. He wished to get rid of the drum, and dare not throw it away. So, high above the din and confused noise of the fight, was heard the frantic cry of "Where's de 'man dat owns dis banjo? Where's de man 'dat owns dis banjo?" This became a standing joke with the boys of the Fifty-first for many a day.—*Norristown Herald*.

CURIOSITIES OF AMERICAN LITERATURE.—

Among the curiosities of American literature may be named the singular history which pertains to two of the compositions of our respected fellow-citizen, Charles Sprague, Esq. In the year 1825, he pronounced the usual Oration before the City Authorities of Boston. It was a performance of uncommon ability, and met with an extensive sale, when published. Extracts from it have been copied into several school books, and are favorite pieces with juvenile declaimers. We have not the means of knowing how many times the entire Oration has been stolen and delivered upon the twenty-eight anniversaries of Independence which have occurred since its production. We have seen it published, as original, by orators in the States of Ohio and New York. In the former case, the only alteration made in the Oration was to change its allusions to the Old South Church to the altered circumstances of its delivery in the open air! The guilty party, in this transaction, was afterwards elected to Congress. Had these two orators been content with the praise received for the *delivery* of their oratorical efforts, they would doubtless have escaped exposure; but their vanity tempted them to the hazard of exposure incident to furnishing a copy for the press, at the earnest solicitations of personal friends.

Mr. Sprague's splendid Poem, entitled *Curiosity*, delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, of Harvard University, in 1829, was published, as original, by a British officer stationed in India. It was merely altered for the English market by the substitution of the names of Englishmen for

those of Americans. Thus "Bowditch" was altered to "Roscoe," and "Kemble" was substituted for Cooper.

We have before us a copy of a Sermon preached in this State, by a Presbyterian clergyman, of Republican politics, during the War of 1812, a large portion of which is copied, without alteration or credit, from the political writings of Thomas Paine. We venture to say, that so many pages of Tom Paine were never before uttered in an orthodox or any other Christian pulpit.

Sometime since, a clergyman of this city exchanged pulpits with a relative, settled in a neighboring city. In a few months, the Boston Minister repeated the sermon preached by his relative at the exchange of pulpit services; and it was never ascertained, we believe, which of the two was the real author!

A friend of ours, a clergyman, settled in New York, upon a late visit to England went to hear a famous clergyman of London preach, and was gratified when he ascertained that the pastor would certainly officiate on the occasion. But when the discourse was commenced, he was utterly confounded to hear the celebrated Minister deliver a Sermon with which he was quite familiar. The London divine preached a Sermon written by the Rev. C. A. Bartol, of this city, and included in one of the volumes of his Sermons, published by Crosby, Nichols, & Co. In common with our travelling friend, we admire the taste and discrimination evinced by the English clergyman, in selecting a discourse from that admirable volume.

There are many curiosities in the periodical literature of America, to which we may hereafter refer.—*Boston Weekly Transcript*, April 22, 1854.

A HISTORICAL CURIOSITY.—From Zeisberger's revised liturgy we quote the Lord's Prayer in Delaware, the aboriginal Pennsylvania dialect:

"Ki Wetochemellenk Awossagamewank! machelendasutsch Ktellewesowoagan. Ksakima-woagan pejewiketsch. Ktelitehewoagan leketsch talli Achquidhakamike, elgiqui leek talli "Awossogame, Milineen juke Gischquik gunig-ischuk Achpoan. Woak miwelendamawineen "Ntschannauchsowoagannena elgiqui nilana miwelendamawenknik Tschetschanilawequengik. "Woak katschi npawuneen li Achquetschiiechto-waganink; schukund ktennineen untchi Medhi-kink. Alod knihillatamen kskimawoagan "woak ktallewupowoagan woak ktallowi ill-powoagan li hallamamik. Amen."—*Doyles-town Democrat*.

AN OLD HOUSE.—There is a substantial dwelling-house, (log), near Rutherfordton, which was

of respectable middle age when George Washington's rebellion first began. It is in a fair condition, and is still occupied as a dwelling-house. It has a single brick chimney in the centre, with eight fire-places in it. This house was the headquarters of Pat Ferguson, when he camped at Gilbert-town, just before his disastrous defeat at King's Mountain, on the twenty-fifth of October, 1780. One of Ferguson's officers was assassinated in it; and the stains of his blood still disfigure the floor.—*Indicator*.

A LONG-LIVED FAMILY.—Dolly Morse, who recently died at West Woodstock, Connecticut, in the eighty-seventh year of her age, left one sister, in her eighty-fifth, and two brothers, one in his eighty-first, and the other in his ninetieth year—all cousins of Professor Morse and of the founders of the New York *Observer*. The grandfather of these seven cousins died in his ninety-fourth year; their grandfather's brother in the ninety-third, one of his sisters in the eighty-eighth, another in her seventy-eighth, his oldest son in the eighty-fifth, and his mother in the ninety-ninth year of their respective ages. The descendants of the great-grandmother, at the time of her death, numbered three hundred and nineteen, of whom thirty-one were of the fifth generation; and one or more of each of the last four generations resided under the same roof with the old lady when she died. If the great-grandmother, who was born in 1701, had at the time of her birth any living ancestor over eighty-one years old, three lives, viz., the lives of this ancestor, of the great-grandmother, and of any one of her surviving great-grandchildren, would cover the whole period of American history from the landing on Plymouth Rock to the present hour.

XVII.—NOTES.

PAPER MAKING IN MASSACHUSETTS.—I copy the following advertisement from Ames's Almanack for 1764:

"Advertisement,

"Some Years ago the Art of Paper Making "was set up in this Province, tho' for want of "Persons that understood the Business, it failed; "but lately one Mr. Clark has carried it on at "the Mills in *Milton* to as great satisfaction as "at *Pennsylvania*: And all the Discouragement "the Manufacture at present meets with, is the "want of RAGS. If the Heads of Families "would therefore order their Children and Servants to collect and save the Rags that are often "thrown away, they would not only receive a "valuable consideration therefor, but promote a

"Manufacture, whereby the Exportation of some
"Thousands of Pounds a Year would be saved
"to this Province.

"Cash for RAGS of Linen, coarse & fine, old
"Sail Cloth, Cotton or Checks, will be given by
"Mr. Boice, near the South Battery in Boston, or
"at the Paper-Mills in Milton."

The compiler of this Almanac was Dr. Nathaniel Ames of Dedham, who died in 1763. He was the father of Hon. Fisher Ames. The Almanac was published at Boston.

BOSTON.

J. W. D.

NEGROES IN WAR.—I copy the following from *The Royal Gazette* (Livingston's) No. 298, New York, Saturday, July 3, 1779, and send it to the Magazine, as an item which will interest others besides myself.

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

"By his Excellency | Sir Henry Clinton,
"K.B. | General and Commander in Chief of all
"his | Majesty's Forces within the Colonies lay-
"ing | on the Atlantic Ocean, from Nova Scotia
"to | West-Florida, inclusive, &c. &c. &c. |
"PROCLAMATION | Whereas the Enemy
"have adopted | a practice of enrolling | NE-
"GROES | among their Troops; I do hereby
"give Notice, | That all NEGROES taken in
"Arms | or upon any military Duty, shall be
"purchased | for a stated Price; | the Money to
"be paid to the | Captors. | But I do most
"strictly forbid any Person to sell | or claim
"Right over any NEGROE, the | Property of a
"Rebel, who may take Refuge | with any Part
"of this Army; And I do promise | to every |
"NEGROE | Who shall desert the Rebel Stand-
"ard, full Sec- | curity to follow within these
"Lines, any Oc- | cupation which he shall think
"proper. |

"Given under my Hand at Head-Quarters, |
"PHILIPSBURG, the 20th Day of | JUNE:
"1779. |

"H. CLINTON

"By his Excellency's Command,

"JOHN SMITH, Secretary."

XVIII.—QUERIES.

WASHINGTON'S ORDER.—Where and in what year was the following issued? It is copied from the original manuscript, written by Washington himself:

"Nov 17th

"ALEXANDRIA	}	Parole
"BEDFORD		C. S."
"COLCHESTER		

BOSTON.

J. W. T.

CLENDENIN'S LANE.—Can any of the readers of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE inform me just where this old road commenced, its courses, and where it terminated? If any can give the history of this road—the date when laid out, by whom, after whom named, and when closed—it will be most acceptable?

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

MILES STANBISH.—This celebrated Indian fighter was a member of an old Catholic family in England; and I should like to know whether he ever became a member of the Church in Massachusetts?

NEW JERSEY.

J. G. S.

CONTENT'S GARDEN.—Where was this place of old New York's resort? By whom was it established, and when? Where, if anywhere, is there a picture of it? Can it be described? When was it closed?

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

THE PURITAN BIBLE.—A speaker at the Standish celebration, alluded, in terms of eulogy, to the Puritan Bible. This was, of course, the Geneva Bible, not that issued under King James and allowed to be read in churches. The question is, *when* did the people of New England abandon the Bible of their Fathers, and take up that of the Malignants?

The question is worth debating, for I find, running through the parallel passages between Shakespeare and King James's Bible, which first appeared in a Boston publication—Shakespeare died in 1615, I think; and King James's Bible did not appear till 1611. If there is a similarity, did Shakespeare copy from King James's translators or they from him?

NEW JERSEY.

J. G. S.

JAMES ATHEARN JONES.—I wish to ascertain the dates of birth and death of this writer. One authority says that he was born at Tisbury, Mass., in October, 1791, and died in New York City, in July, 1855. Another authority, which I think more reliable, states that was born at Tisbury, on the fourth of June, 1790; and died at Brooklyn, N. Y., in August, 1853. His novel, *Haverhill, or Memoirs of an Officer in the Army of Wolfe*, published in England, in 1831, was republished by the Harpers, the same year.

I wish also to ascertain the place and date of publication of his *Tales of an Indian Camp*, which were published in this country and reprinted, in 1830, at London, under the title of *Traditions of the North American Indians*.

BOSTON, MASS.

J. W. D.

COLONIAL TEA-POTS.—In Mr. Gillet's *Federal Government*, page 16, he says "In the disguise of Indians, the colonists threw overboard into the sea a ship-load of tea in New-Jersey, and several in Boston harbor." Was this really so?

I have heard of tea-parties in other places than Boston; but New-Jersey has never been considered as one of them. A portion of one or two cargoes of tea was thrown over at Boston; but I never heard, before, of the sinking of "several ship-loads of tea," in Massachusetts-bay. Please tell us more about it.

YORKVILLE, S. C.

?

NATHAN DANE AND THE ORDINANCE OF 1787.—In the Appendix to the *History of the Constitution*, Mr. G. T. Curtis quotes a passage from Nathan Dane's letter to Rufus King, then recently published by the son of the latter, Mr. Charles King. Mr. Cur's does not say where that letter was thus published. Can you give me the place and date?

Boston, Mass.

J. W. T.

AMERICAN DUELS.—It is insisted, by one of my friends, that there had been duels at Woburn, by members and relatives of General Hamilton's family, before the fatal duel between himself and Colonel Burr. Will the Magazine please throw some light on this interesting subject?

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

SACRAMENTAL TOKENS.—In some of the churches of the older time, in the United States, communicants are said to have been admitted by metallic tokens. Can any of your readers inform me of the character of these coins, their inscriptions, by whom issued and to whom, and if they are now in use, and where?

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

R. I. E.

THE REGICIDES.—Professor F. B. Dexter, a few months since, read a paper on the regicides, the lives of Whalley and Goffe, before the New Haven Historical Society. The following is a single extract:

"In 1676, Goffe removed to Hartford, where he was living in July, 1670. There is no clew to him after this time. His diary, or letter-book, which, before this, had furnished a tolerably connected account, here breaks off, abruptly, it is natural to suppose by his death, which probably occurred about this time. Whalley died in Hadley, between August, 1674, and September, 1676. There is a stone on the New Haven Green, marked 'E. W. 165(3) or (8).'

'Edward Wigglesworth died in New Haven, in 1653. Dr. Stiles found a stone on the Green, marked 'M. G.' This he changed to 'W. G.' [William Goffe] and says, 'I have not found the last surmise of Goffe's being buried here, until I myself conjectured it, inferring, if Whalley was removed here, after death, Goffe would have been also.' It is a pretty sentiment of Dr. Stiles, to collect the remains of the regicides, Goffe, Whalley, and Dixy, in New Haven, but it is unproved. There is no proof that Whalley's remains were ever brought here."

Pray tell me, what has been said, or may be said, in reply to this grave impeachment of our old-time ideas on this subject? Are we to have doubts cast on all our history? By-and-by, I suppose, Ned's head will become the subject of doubts and dispute.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

ORTHODOX.

NIN.—REPLIES.

JOHN PECK, AUTHOR OF A DESCANT ON UNITARIANISM. *H. M. 1st Series, vol. 202*.—The *Intellectualist*, by Ira B. Peck, of Woonsocket, R.I., published in 1868, gives some particulars relative to this individual. He was the son of Henry Peck of Rehoboth, Mass., and was born in that town, on the fourth of February, 1784-5. He left Rehoboth and settled in Royalston, Mass., about 1775, and thence removed, in 1806, to Montpelier, Vt., where he died on the fourth of March, 1812. He was a farmer; and, while he resided at Royalston, was one of the town-officers, for many years. He was also a School-teacher. His son, General John Peck of Waterbury, Vt., was the father of the late Hon. Lucius B. Peck, of Montpelier, a Member of Congress from Vermont.

Boston.

JOHN WARD DEAN.

LYMAN HALL'S HEADSTONE.—[*H. M. II, ix, 123.*] Mr. D' Antignac's letter to the Governor of Connecticut, tendering this grave-stone to the State, was communicated to the Legislature in the May Session, 1857, and: on the Report of a Select Committee, to whom its consideration was referred, it was

"Resolved, That said tomb-stone be, and the same is hereby accepted, and His Excellency, the Governor, the Hon. William L. Storrs, and the State Librarian be, and they are hereby appointed, a Committee, to receive said tomb-stone, and to place the same in the Cemetery in the town of Wallingford," [Mr. Hall's birth-place] "with such additional inscription thereon as the Committee may deem proper; and provision was made for the payment of ex-

penses thereby incurred, by an order on the Treasury of the State.

The stone was placed in the Wallingford Cemetery, on the fourth of July, 1857, with appropriate ceremonies. It rests, as a horizontal tablet, on a base of brown sand-stone, which bears the addition inscription. In 1858, by order of the Legislature, it was enclosed with a handsome iron railing.

The Resolves of the General Assembly are printed in the *Private Acts of the May Sessions, 1857* (p. 213), and *1858* (p. 95).

HARTFORD, CONN. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL.

THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON.—A communication by "T. W." in a recent number of the *Commercial Advertiser*, under the head of *Seventy-one years ago*, contains several erroneous statements in conflict with the truths of history; and, as Mr. Weed has invited corrections of his reminiscences, I will here point out two of these errors.

Mr. W. says, that the memorable words applied to Washington—"first in war, first in peace, and 'first in the hearts of his countrymen'"—originated with Chief-justice Marshall; and that "the officers of the Government and Members of 'Congress,' repaired to Mount Vernon on the day of Washington's funeral.

Now the facts disclosed by our biographies, histories, Journals of Congress, and newspapers of the day, are all in conflict with each of these two statements. Washington died on the night of the fourteenth of December, 1799, and was buried on the eighteenth. Congress was then in session, in Philadelphia, for the seat of government had not yet been changed. On the eighteenth of December, Colonel Marshall, then a leading member of the House of Representatives, solemnly announced to the House, a "report" of Washington's death, which had been "communicated by a passenger in the stage to an acquaintance whom he met in the street." He stated that the information was not certain, but there was too much reason to believe it true; and he added, that "after receiving intelligence of a 'national calamity so heavy and afflicting, the 'House of Representatives can be but ill-fitted 'for business.' He therefore moved an adjournment; and the two Houses adjourned to the next day.

General Henry Lee, also a prominent member of the House, was not in his place at the adjournment: but, learning the rumor of Washington's death, repaired to his lodgings, and, in ignorance of what had taken place in the House, drew up the Resolutions, one of which was the *first* to give publicity to the memorable words before referred to. These Resolutions General Lee handed to Colonel Marshall, as the most

proper person to present them, under the circumstance that Marshall was entitled to the floor, the next morning, and had prepared an address for the occasion. Accordingly, Mr. Marshall did introduce Mr. Lee's Resolutions at the close of his eulogium.

In his *Life of Washington*, Marshall expressly states that General Lee was the author of these Resolutions; and, in a letter written by him on the twenty-ninth of March, 1832, and published in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, he gives most of the above details in regard to their authorship.

From the above facts, it is equally clear that the other statement of Mr. Weed, that "the officers of the Government and Members of Congress repaired to Mount Vernon, on the day of 'the funeral,'" is also erroneous. Washington was not only dead but buried before the "report" of his death reached Philadelphia; and it was not until the day after the funeral—the nineteenth of December—that President Adams called the attention of Congress to the subject. All the action of Congress for doing honor to the memory of the illustrious dead, took place after he was buried—on the nineteenth, twenty-third, and thirtieth of December.

I submit that Mr. Weed's statement, imputing the authorship of the celebrated sentiment to Chief-justice Marshall, was only his *inference* from the fact that Marshall introduced the Resolutions containing it; and his other statement was only an *inference* from the probability that Congress and the officers of the Government did attend the funeral, he forgetting that the seat of Government had not then been changed to the vicinity of Mount Vernon.

MANLIUS, N. Y.

H. C. VAN SCHAICK.

GENERAL RIAL AND THE BATTLE OF NIAGARA.

—[*II. M. II., viii., 54.*]—About fifty years ago, I spent a fortnight, in that vicinity, and heard from many persons, who were personally concerned in that fight, interesting particulars relating to it. Among other anecdotes was the following: Rial was an inveterate punster, an Irishman, I believe. When, as was supposed, mortally wounded, and his death was regarded as certain, and he was suffering great agonies, and covered with blood, on finding his quarters, to which he had been removed from the field, in the hands of the Americans, he was told that he was a prisoner. Lifting himself from the litter, and addressing the officer who had captured him, he enquired his name: the answer was "Ketchum." Not being able to resist the temptation to a joke, he replied, "Well, you have 'caught him.'"

SALEM, MASS.

CHARLES W. UPHAM.

WOODBIDGE.—[*H. M., II., ii., 119.*]—The Mr. Woodbridge who married Deborah Totton [*Tarleton*] in 1686, was Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge, second son of Rev. John and Mrs. Mercy (Dudley) Woodbridge. Notices of him will be found in Brooks's *History of Medford*, 203-8, and in my *Memoir of Rev. Nathaniel Ward*, 192. Deborah Tarlton was the widow of Henry Tarlton, and daughter of Daniel Cushing, of Hingham. Rev. Mr. Woodbridge's first wife, Mary, daughter of Rev. John Ward, of Haverhill, Mass., died at Bristol, then in Plymouth Colony, now in Rhode Island, on the eleventh of October, 1685, aged thirty-six.—See *New England Historic and Genealogical Register*, xix., 475.
BOSTON, MASS. JOHN WARD DEAN.

XX.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient to them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*A biographical history of Clermont, or Livingston Manor, before and during the War of Independence, with a sketch of the first navigation of Fulton and Livingston.* By Thomas Streatfield Clarkson. Published for, and in the Hands only, of Subscribers. Clermont, N. Y.: 1869. Octavo, pp. 319.

We are indebted to our honored friend, its author, for a copy of this volume, which is, mainly, we believe, intended for the use of the distinguished family of which it is a history and of which he is a member.

Mr. Clarkson opens his history with a sketch of the Livingstons in Scotland; and he then presents the family, in its American relations, and the leading members of the latter branch of it and their several places of residence—Judge Robert R. Livingston and the old Manor-house, Chancellor Robert R. Livingston and Clermont, Henry B. Livingston, John R. Livingston, Edward Livingston, Janet Montgomery and Montgomery-place, Philip Livingston, Governor William Livingston, Margaret Tillotson, Catharine Garretson and Wildercliff, Gertrude Lewis, Joanna Livingston, Alida Armstrong, Sarah Alexander (Lady Stirling,) etc., forming, successively, the subjects of his narrative.

The printed authorities to which Mr. Clarkson refers are quite limited, both in number and character—one of the evils attending those who are distant from large libraries—and the necessary result of that serious disadvantage is

evident in his occasional inaccuracies of statement in matters of general history; but the unpublished material which he has so liberally employed, notwithstanding this defect, gives value to the volume, both as history and as biography, and makes it absolutely indispensable to every one who would know of the Livingstons, or their doings, or their associations, from the first settler to the present time.

The typography is neither handsome nor accurate, we regret to say; but the photographic illustrations are exceedingly interesting and very appropriate.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

2.—*Collections of the New York Historical Society for the year 1870. Publication Fund Series.* New York: Printed for the Society. 1871. Octavo, pp. xvi, 488.

Like other distinguished bodies, the New York Historical Society moves slowly in its capacity as publisher; and this volume, which was due a year since, has been presented to its subscribers only within a few weeks.

The first chapter of the collection is an unpublished paper on the territorial rights of New York, in what is now Vermont as well as on its northern and its western borders; the second, extending over two hundred and thirty-seven pages, is a series of extracts from the local newspapers concerning Trinity-church, New York; and the third includes the celebrated Sermon, preached by Francis Makemie, which, in 1706-7, inaugurated Presbyterianism in New York.

Of the first of these contributions to American history, we cannot speak too highly; and we rather incline to the belief that our venerable assailant, Governor Hall, will now have another opportunity to "vindicate" his fictions and to find fault with those who do not accept them as history. Of the second of these contributions—that relative to Trinity-church—we have to remark that it is not that class of works which the Publication Fund was designed to put into circulation, as a reference to the published terms of the subscription thereto will clearly indicate; and we do not concur with the Committee in its evident willingness to reduce the grade of the Society's volumes to the level of Valentine's *Corporation Manual* for which just such material as we find in this chapter was generally furnished to the venerable "compiler" of that costly series of volumes, at a dollar per printed page. Of the third chapter—Makemie's Sermon—the interest and importance which attach to it, as the first sermon preached by a Presbyterian in New York and for which he was duly, we will not say improperly, arrested as a violator of the public law of the Colony, will be perfectly evident.

The typography of the volume is very superior

in its character, and, with the exception of the second chapter, it is a very welcome addition to our supply of authentic material for history.

petuating the rapidly declining knowledge of their early struggles, in their border homes.

The pamphlet is a very neat one.

3.—*History of Springfield, Illinois, Its Attractions as a Home, a Place of Refuge for Refugees, Manufacturing, &c.* Published under the auspices of the Springfield Board of Trade, by J. C. Pomeroy. Springfield: *Illinois State Journal* Press. 1871. Octavo. pp. 103.

An admirable history and description of a western town, commencing with the advent of the Jesuit Missionaries, Marquette, Joliet, &c., and ending with the record of the present day.

As may be reasonably expected, in such a work, the author has not always been strictly accurate, in all his statements concerning the early men and matters at Springfield; but, quite as evidently, he knows all about the Springfield-men of to-day, the advantages which Springfield offers to laboring men and capitalists, and the desire he had to put Springfield's best foot foremost. As a necessary result, we have a very clear exhibit of the Springfield of our time; and in that description there seems to have been no omission. Every man and every institution is presented in detail; and all that Springfield is capable of producing, either in business or in renown, is faithfully portrayed.

4.—*Historical Address, delivered before the Old Settlers Society of Racine County, Wisconsin, by Charles E. Dyer.* Also, Constitution, By-Laws, and List of Members. Racine: A. C. Sandford. 1871.

Official Record of the Old Settlers Society of Racine County, Wisconsin. With the Historical Address of Charles E. Dyer, delivered at Burlington, Wis., February, 22, 1871. Racine: A. C. Sandford. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 64.

This double title page—one on the cover, the other on the first page of the book—will indicate, very clearly, just what this work contains. It is, first, the record of this newly-formed Society, from its inception until February, 1871; and, second, an admirable historical Address, by Mr. Dyer—the latter a most important narrative of the origin and progress of, respectively, Racine, Mount Pleasant, Calumet, Burlington, Rochester, Watertown, Raymond, Yorkville, Dover, and Norway, in Racine county.

Mr. Dyer, in this Address, has strictly confined himself to the local history of these several towns; and he has carefully presented all the details of that history, personal and anecdotal, which make local history at once so life-like and interesting. Individual life and adventure, of course, hold principal places in the graphic record; and Racine, a century hence, will bless the day when the old settlers conceived the idea of thus per-

5.—*Wilde's Summer Rose; or the Lament of the Captive.* An authentic account of the origin, mystery, and explanation of Hon. R. H. Wilde's alleged plagiarism; by Anthony Barclay, Esq., and, with his permission, published by the Georgia Historical Society. Savannah: 1871. Small quarto, pp. 79.

One of the most curious of the curiosities of American literature is the charge, made many years ago, against Hon. R. H. Wilde, of Georgia, of plagiarism, in having stolen his well-known poem, *The Lament of the Captive*, from the Greek poet, Alkman; and the volume before us is devoted to the statement of the facts which led to the presentation of that charge.

It seems that Anthony Barclay, Esq., formerly the British Consul in New York, as a joke, translated Mr Wilde's beautiful verses into Greek, and that Greek version into Latin; that he secretly covered these translations, without discovering himself or the origin of the translations, to a clergyman, in Savannah; that the clergyman took the bait, and innocently circulated the two new versions among the learned in the vicinity of Savannah; and that, without permission, they were communicated to the press, by whom a charge of plagiarism, against Mr. Wilde, was immediately raised, very much to his own discomfort and Mr. Barclay's mortification.

The story of this practical joke has been fully and pleasantly told by Mr. Barclay, himself; and the Georgia Historical Society has printed it, in the elegant little volume which is before us, a volume which, for beauty of typography, is highly creditable to the Society and the printers in Savannah.

C.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

6.—*An Oration, delivered at Lexington on the Dedication of the Town and Memorial Hall, April 19, 1871, being the 96th Anniversary of the Battle of Lexington.* By Dr. George E. Loring. With the proceedings and a historical Appendix. Boston: T. R. Marvin & Son. 1871. Octavo, pp. 76.

The town of Lexington having determined to build a new hall which should embrace, at once, a Town-hall, a memorial of the fallen soldiers from the town, and a library-hall, that building was dedicated, with appropriate ceremonies, on the sixteenth of last April; and the beautiful volume before us records that interesting event.

The oration, which is the leading feature of this work, is wholly local in its character, commencing with the fight at Lexington, in 1775, and tracing to that event and to the village-green on

which it occurred, pretty much everything which is manly, and generous, and just, and noble, in this part of the world. It is wholly rhetorical in its character; and as the learned author evidently cared as little for history as history will care for him, we see no reason for wasting our space in either discussing his emptiness or describing it.

The narrative of the proceedings at the dedication is really interesting; and, as the record of an important local event, it merits the attention which has been paid to it.

As an elegant specimen of printing, this tract is highly creditable to our excellent friends, Messrs. Marvin & Co. of Boston, to whose kind attention we are indebted for our copy of the work.

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

7.—*Zell's Popular Encyclopedia*, a Universal Dictionary of English Language, Science, Literature, and Art. By L. Colange, LL. D. In two volumes. Illustrated by over Twenty-five Hundred Woodcuts. Vol. II. Philadelphia: T. Ellwood Zell. 1871. Quarto, pp. title and verso, 1152.

A few months since, we noticed, at some length, the first volume of this very excellent work; and we have pleasure, now it is complete, in returning to the same subject.

The title-page of the work hardly does justice to it; and the reader must learn from an examination of the work itself, just what it is,—at once, a dictionary of language, a dictionary of history, an encyclopedia of science, a dictionary of the arts, a biographical dictionary. In American geography, especially, it is an excellent gazetteer; and in American biography, it embraces memoirs of the living as well as those of the dead.

We have been accustomed to the use of books of this class, from our childhood—a copy of Barclay's *Dictionary*, in our father's little collection, was the storehouse to which we resorted for our information, in our earliest boyhood—and we are free to say that we have seen no one, within the same space, which is as complete and, therefore, as generally useful as this. Its accuracy, as far as we have tested it, is remarkable; and the illustrative woodcuts add, very greatly, to its usefulness as a work of reference.

Typographically considered, it is a model of neatness.

8.—*History of Frederick the Second, called Frederick the Great*. By John S. C. Abbott. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Large octavo, pp. 584.

We have seldom taken up a book which we have less willingly laid down, than this; and we

have seldom been as much interested in any work which was not devoted to our own *specialt  *.

It is devoted to a most graphic narrative of the life and military services of the great Frederic of Prussia; and, in view of Prussia's recent exploits, in arms, it possesses a more than ordinary interest to the general reader. It is, besides, a most beautiful volume in its typography, enbellishments, and binding; and it is well calculated, therefore, to serve the double purpose of ornament and entertainment.

9.—*A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical, with Exposition of the Principles and Methods*. By John Peter Lange, D.D. Translated from the German, revised, enlarged, and edited by Philip Schaff, D.D., in connection with American scholars of various evangelical denominations. Vol. III. of the New Testament: containing the Gospel of John. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871.

The Gospel according to John. By John Peter Lange, D.D. Translated from the German, revised, enlarged, and edited by Philip Schaff, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871. Large octavo, pp. 654. Price \$5.

The exact character of this Commentary has been so often and so minutely described that it seems to be unnecessary to say more of it, now, than that it is, by far, the most elaborate, in its details, of the various expositions of the Scriptures with which we are acquainted. Indeed, it sometimes seems that the Author and Editors have aimed to make their volumes as complicated as possible, and to hide the subjects of which they treat, under the varied mass of learning of all kinds which they heap on them, rather than to expose those subjects and to make their authors' meaning more apparent. Be this as it may, the work is, certainly, an arsenal of biblical literature, from which the "soldiers of the Cross" may draw such weapons as shall best suit their present purposes, without sensibly diminishing the supply which they may leave for the next comers.

In the volume before us, we have the Commentary on John's Gospel, edited by the venerable Editor himself; and it will, unquestionably, be welcomed by all who are accustomed to resort to this repository of modern biblical learning.

10.—*The Holy Bible according to the authorized version (A. D. 1611), with an explanatory and critical Commentary and a Revision of the Translation, by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church*. Edited by F. C. Cook, A.M., Canon of Exeter. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871. Octavo, pp. [Vol. I. Part I.] xii., 1—492; [Vol. I. Part II.] 493—928. Price \$5.

This is the first volume of what is known, in England, as "The Speaker's Commentary;"

and, as it is intended less for the Scholar than for the general reader, it is exactly opposite in its character from the elaborate exposition of Lange, to which we have just referred.

Without those painfully profound essays which only few can follow and not as many care for, this Commentary presents, in simple words and brief sentences, the results of modern biblical investigation; and it will be vastly more welcome, on that account, to the great body of readers who care less for the possibilities of the case than for the well-established and evident facts respecting it.

As a pattern of extreme neatness, we may say, also, of beauty, of typography, and of judicious illustration, also, this work is worthy of all praise.

11.—*Systematic Theology*. By Charles Hodge, D.D. Vol. I. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872. Octavo pp. xlii., 648.

If theology may be termed, in any of its relations, a mere Science, this volume, surely, is as much the first of a purely scientific work as it would be were it a volume of Astronomy or Chemistry. And yet, strange as it may appear to some old-fashioned church-goers, all these premises are strictly true. There is science in theology, as well as facts; and there is, and always will be, a stern necessity to take the recognized facts, as revealed in the Scriptures or exhibited in the experience, and to arrange them, systematically, and ascertain their relative value and importance. All this may be considered a cold, worldly operation—an operation, too, which needs neither vital godliness nor even an open profession of faith, to ensure its reasonable success—but it is absolutely essential, in order to vindicate the truth from objections, to expose falsehood, and to convince the unwilling consciences of cavilling men.

The volume before us is just one of those cold, dispassionate, scientific treatises, having Theology for its subject, which thinking men delight to ponder over and impulsive men shrink from. It is as rigid as it very well can be; and no surgeon ever handled a scalpel with a steadier hand, or clearer head, or less excited mind, than Professor Hodge, in this volume, has handled the several subjects which have, therein, successively come before him.

We shall await the appearance of the succeeding volumes before examining, in detail, the peculiarities of Professor Hodge's system; meanwhile, we can say that, as far as we have yet examined it, the present work will more completely fill the measure of what we conceive to be necessary in such a work than any modern work of this class has done: we have yet to learn, however, that, with the exception of here

and there a difference, it will supercede, in our estimate of merit and usefulness, the good old *Body of Divinity* by John Gill.

The volume is an exceedingly handsome one, from the Riverside Press.

12.—*Chronicle of a Border Town*. History of Rye Westchester County New York 1660—1870 Including Harrison and the White Plains till 1788 By Charles W Baird Illustrated by Abram Hosier New York Anson D F Randolph and Company 1871 Octavo, pp. xvii., 570.

In the Autumn of 1865, the excellent Pastor of the Presbyterian-church at Rye, delivered a historical discourse commemorative of the bi-centennial anniversary of the settlement of the town; and his hearers, very handsomely, requested the manuscript of the discourse for the purpose of publishing it. In order to make the paper more worthy of himself and of those who had thus sought to lay it before the world, Mr. Baird added to the labors which necessarily belong to his office those which, quite as necessarily, devolve on all who honestly take up a particular subject, no matter what, for the purpose of faithfully ascertaining all that may be known and of telling fairly what he shall thus learn concerning it. This portly volume, crammed with information of men and doings in the border-town of this County, is the result of that commendable determination of this modest country Pastor; and when it shall be remembered that he has steadily prosecuted his design during at least six years, leaving little unoccupied "leisure," during that long period, and hoping for nothing else than to discharge his authorial duty properly, the measure of the author's merit may be readily ascertained.

As it should, the narrative begins in the wilderness; traces the original purchases of the territory from the aborigines and their settlement by the whites; presents, in graphic detail, the settlers' hardships, the beginnings of a village, the differences of unsocial neighbors, the threatenings of distant enemies, and the construction and maintainance of rustic defences; and, with affectionate regard, records the municipal doings of the town, concerning town-officers, records, admission of freemen, licenses, grants of land, pasturing of sheep, lawsuits, the village stocks and whipping-post, and other such matters. The mails, newspapers, modes of travel, the proprietors of the lands, the attempt of Connecticut to seize Rye and that of Rye to be thus seized, Harrison's purchase, the boundary-dispute between New York and Connecticut, the manners and customs of "the olden times," prices of labor and commodities, the train-band, the identification of old names and old places, "the Old Boston Road," the Village Inn, the

White Plains, the occupation of the inhabitants, the town-poor, the old lawyers and doctors, the schools of the town, slavery, the remnants of the aboriginal tribes, the town burying-places, the taxes and imposts to which the Rye folks have been subjected, a description of the town in 1770-1771, the Revolutionary history of the town, its post-revolutionary history, the village of Saw-pit (now Port-chester) the various churches of Rye, the recent town-history, successively occupy the most careful attention of this diligent annalist; and he closes his narrative with sketches of the various families who have made Rye their home, from 1600 until 1800—an Appendix, containing a Record of Streets, the four Patents of the town, a complete Roster of the Town-officers, and *three* Indices, respectively, of Dates, Persons, and incidents, completes the work.

With this glance at its leading subjects, our readers will understand how complete this volume is, in the range of its description of Rye and her inhabitants; and as we were privileged to become acquainted with Mr. Baird, while he was at work, and to witness the manner of his doing it, we can testify to his stern fidelity, as a working historian, as well as to the skilful use he has made of the materials which he has thus so earnestly sought and so carefully secured. He has given to us one of the very best of our local histories—one of which Westchester-county and Rye may be proud:—we can say no more.

As a specimen of typography, this volume presents one of the neatest of the productions of the Riverside Press.

13.—*History of the State of New York.* By John Romeyn Brodhead. Second Volume. First Edition. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Octavo, pp. xv., 680.

The history of New York requires no ornament of style in order to make it attractive; and there is no need of rhetoric to divert the reader's attention from the naked subject of the narrative. Her people were not of that class whose real purposes, in order to secure the good opinion of honest republicans, required concealment; and there is no necessity, therefore, for any screen of fine words or meaningless paragraphs, in order to mask its action and make that appear commendable which was not, in fact, even respectable. There was no necessity, therefore, for her historian to fill his pages with useless words; and a sturdy people happily finds, in Mr. Brodhead, an equally resolute and plainspoken historian.

It has been our privilege to witness the unwearied care which has been bestowed on this important work; and we know how patiently the learned author has searched for the truth, while writing it, and how faithfully he has

represented it, in the narrative which is before us. We know, too, how honestly he has presented, at the foot of his pages, the authorities on which he has relied; and the carefully-considered judgments, on disputed questions of Colonial history, which the author has pronounced, are marked with a rigid impartiality and an earnest respect for the testimony.

The period of time to which this volume relates extends from 1664 to the execution of Liesler, in May, 1691; and it embraces the surrenders of the Colony, by and to the Dutch, in 1664 and 1673; the restoration of it to Great Britain, in 1674; the administration of its affairs by Nicolls, Lovelace, Colve, Andros, Brockholls, Dongan, Andros, Nicholson, and Leisler; and the great events to which those in authority as well as the great body of the Colonists were, during that period, active parties. The succeeding volumes of the series, "should the public manifest a desire to learn more of early "New York," as the author says, will carry the subject "down to the inauguration of Washington."

Every student of American history, the world over, will anxiously look for the continuation of this really great work; and we earnestly pray that the broken health of the learned author may be restored, and that he may long live to enjoy the honor which his perfected work will surely secure for him.

Typographically considered, this volume is a very neat one; and the ample index at its close adds vastly to its usefulness among busy men.

14.—*Insects at home.* Being a popular account of Insects, their Structure, Habits, and Transformations. By the Rev. J. G. Wood, M.A., F.L.S., etc. With upwards of 700 figures by E. A. Smith and J. B. Zwecker, engraved by G. Pearson. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. xx., 670. Price \$5.

This is one of those works which combine the useful with the ornamental; which impart instruction while they also gratify the eye. It is a scientific work; and yet it is designed for the use of those who are not, properly considered, entomologists; and it avoids those startling and staggering technicalities which repel so many from the paths of science.

It treats, most elaborately, of the *habits* of insects, although it does not entirely abstain from noticing their *structure*; and the abundant and well-executed engravings add to the usefulness of the work, while they also add to its attractions.

It is from the Riverside Press; and it is quite a handsome specimen of typography.

15.—*Songs of the Heart*. Selected from many sources, with numerous illustrations from original designs, by T. Moran, R. S. Pecked, J. B. H. Bach, Miss Leidy, Folger, Hopkin, McEnery, Elen, &c. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. 13, 160. Price 5.

This elegant volume forms the third of the series in which, with many improvements, the celebrated *Folk Songs* have been re-issued; and the beauty of the typography, the appropriate and well-executed illustrations, and the judicious selection of subjects combine to make it one of the most attractive gift-books for any season, and from any giver.

16.—*The Poets of the World*. Selected and Edited by the Rev. Robert Aris Wilbert. With English and American additions arranged by Eben A. Bayclinch. Illustrated with one hundred and forty-one engravings, drawn by eminent artists. New York: Harper & Bros. 1872. Octavo, pp. xvi, 641.

In this beautiful volume we find an admirable selection from the poetry which England has produced during the past one hundred years, made by one of England's most judicious critics, and illustrated by one of England's most skillful artists, together with nearly three hundred pages of additional matter, from English and American pens, arranged by one of New York's most capable sons, and illustrated by many of America's best artists. As if these attractions were insufficient, the excellent publishers have thrown their extensive typographical resources into the balance; and, the combination of the English and the American Editors, the English and the American artists, and the Messrs. Harpers, has produced a volume of rare excellence of matter and rare beauty of workmanship. It appeals to those who desire excellence of quality as well as typographical beauty: and those who shall resort to its well-filled pages will not be disappointed.

17.—*The Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson*. Compiled from family letters and reminiscences, by his great-granddaughter, Sarah N. Randolph. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Octavo, pp. 432. Price \$2.50.

Miss Randolph has not written, in this volume, of either a great man or a statesman, as such; but Mr. Jefferson, as he was, at home, in his family-circle, is lovingly portrayed, by a great-granddaughter, from the family traditions and his own writings, many of the latter hitherto unpublished. The advantage which her relationship to her distinguished subject has thus given to her, has been employed with admirable judgment; and her skill, as a writer of biography, is worthy of all praise—indeed, we do not remember a volume of biography which

has offered greater attractions of style, or of subjects, or of good taste and skill in authorship, to oneself, than this—and we have laid the volume down with great unwillingness.

It is an addition to the supply of Jeffersonian literature—Randolph, Tucker, Washington, Randall, &c.—already on our shelves, which will be very welcome to all who shall desire to know of this distinguished man; and, at the same time, it will afford a most charming volume for those who read only for mere amusement.

Typographically, it is very handsome; and the wood cuts add very much to its attractiveness.

18.—*Life and Letters of Catherine M. S. Sedgwick*. Edited by Mary E. Dewey. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 416. Price \$2.

Miss Sedgwick's name and reputation are so widely known that it is not necessary for us to do more than state that the very neat volume before us contains a memoir of her life, as far as that life was presented in her own correspondence, which has evidently been placed at the disposal of the Editress by the family of the distinguished authoress.

We confess we are not satisfied with the work, as it has been presented. The letters and extracts are very well; but they need a broader band of connection than the Editress has given to them; and, consequently, they very often fail to tell as much of Miss Sedgwick as we desire to know, and quite as often they are almost unintelligible, because the key to their meaning is somewhere else than in the volume before us.

It is a very mistaken notion that the letters of a person are sufficient, in themselves, to tell all that is necessary of the life and services of that person. Every writer does not tell the whole story of his own life and labors, to his correspondents; and no writer fails to deal with others and other subjects more than with himself. It requires something else, therefore, than one's own letters to tell the story of one's own life, as it should be written, if written at all; and, in the case before us, there remains just as much room for a judicious memoir of Miss Sedgwick as there was before this volume was written. We do not intend to impeach the intention of the Editress: we only regret that her regard for her subject led her to attach an importance to the letters of Miss Sedgwick, considering them as biography instead of materials for biography, which the writer of them unquestionably never intended they should obtain.

The volume is neatly printed; its binding is a pattern of good taste.

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FEBRUARY, 1872.

[No. 2.

—THE MORRISTOWN GHOST.—CON-
CLUDED.

BY JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D.D., PRESIDENT OF WA-
BASH UNIVERSITY, INDIANA.

Colonel H.—— was elected the Treasurer of the association: and this eventually proved a costly business to him. All the members agreed to pay the specified sum of twelve pounds, in silver or gold, as soon as possible; but Rogers, seeing that some of them could not obtain so large a sum, allowed such to pay six pounds, and such as could not pay six to pay four pounds. The poverty of the County, at that period, is seen in the fact that these men, many of them in good circumstances, found it exceedingly difficult to obtain the reasonable sum demanded by the ghost. The entire Winter was consumed by them, in efforts to borrow that money. Some of them mortgaged their farms, and others sold their cattle and horses for half their value, so that, when the operation was finished, they were greatly embarrassed. But, whilst they were raising this money, frequent meetings were held; and, as fast as the money was obtained, it was delivered to the spirits. "Whenever they met in a secret room, the door and window-shutters being made fast, unusual noises would be heard about the house that would cause great timidity, groanings, and rappings upon the house, the falling of boards in the chamber, the jingling of money at the window, and a voice speaking, "Press forward!" The superficial machine that was over the mouth of him who spoke, so much altered his voice, that no one could detect him." The ghostly visitants continually asserted, at these interviews, "that they were sent to deliver that society great riches; that they could have no rest until they had given it up; but the money they requested was only an acknowledgement for such immense treasures!" Occasionally, some of the dupes would be called out of their beds by the ghost, and directed to convene the whole circle, at some specified place, on which occasion, says

my informant, "the pretended spirits were outside of the house, groaning, jingling money, telling them to have faith, be of good cheer, and keep secret all transactions, and, in *May next, they should receive the treasure.*" So the grand consummation was at hand; and the greedy expectants were impatiently awaiting the day. But, "Rogers and his associates having received the greater part of the money," were not anxious for that day. Their study was "how to postpone the next meeting; for all the dupes expected to proceed to School-ey's mountain, the next May, and receive the treasure."

So well has my old pamphleteer told this part of the story that I will not abridge nor alter his account. "The night appointed being now arrived, they all convened in a large circle, in an open field, waiting for the ghosts to appear and give them further directions, and proceed with them to the place where the money was deposited. Immediately, the ghosts appeared without the circle, with great choler, and *hedeous* groanings, wreathing themselves, in various positions that appeared most ghastly in the night—then upbraiding the company, declaring they had not proceeded regular, and some of them was faithless, and had divulged many things that ought to have been kept secret; and by their wicked dispositions and animosities that had taken place among them, debarred them, at present, from obtaining the treasures. The pretended ghosts, raged to that degree, at the misconduct of the company, that Rogers appeared or pretended to be much frightened, with the rest, and with all his art and pleading was scarcely able to pacify the raging ghosts! At this, the company, confiding in Rogers, looked to him for protection. The ghosts informed them they must wait, patiently, until some future period. They were now so much intimidated, that they thought little about money. At length, Rogers, after a variety of ceremonies, by his art and power, dispelled the frightful apparitions; and tranquility once more resides within the circle."

Thus far this cunning rogue and his fellows had prospered in their game, as much as the most sanguine could desire; and had they stopped, here, and kept their counsels, to this day, there would have been heard as ghostly stories and as well authenticated, in Morristown as in any of the haunted localities in the old world. In fact, our old historian waxes almost pathetic on this point, asserting that "had Rogers now halted, and not proceeded upon another project, he would have been feared and respected; and the capricious notions of witchcraft, hobgoblins, and the devil would have prevailed among them, with prejudice, fear, and ignorance, until this day. But this diabolical intrigue and the succeeding one has diffused light and eradicated ignorance from the minds of many."

Up to this time, the proceedings of "the Spirit Batch" were known only among themselves. Even their wives were not let into the secret, Rogers having prohibited them from divulging it to any one, under the most severe penalties. That some strange enterprise was on foot, was suspected by more than one wife, whose slumbers had been disturbed by the visits of the ghost, and whose husband was absent from home, so much and so mysteriously. It was said, that some of these women compared notes and concluded "that something was wrong." There were also some vague rumors afloat, in the community, during that Winter; but nothing was definitely known, outside the circle of forty men who were sure of getting the buried treasures in Schooley's mountain.

At this stage of the proceedings, Rogers wished to stop, having already filched some eight hundred or a thousand dollars from his dupes. All further steps would be attended with risks, as he well knew, because the circle of those acquainted with his pretensions must be enlarged. As my chronicler states the fact, Rogers's secret became known to two smart young Yankees, who were teaching school in Morris-county. They were probably privy to the ghostly scenes of that Winter and Spring; and, Rogers having taken the lion's share of the proceeds, they insisted on his undertaking another similar imposture. He had removed to Morristown, in the Winter of 1788-9, and was teaching a select school near the Presbyterian-church. The tradition is, that these young men forced Rogers into the second game, by threatening to expose his previous fraud, of which they were actual witnesses and abettors. In addition to this inducement, Rogers was both enterprising and covetous; so that, in the end, he went to work with energy. His two accomplices, in the Spring of 1789, removed twenty miles from

Morristown, "but still kept up a correspondence with him, by letters and frequent visits." This gave them a "favorable opportunity to gain proselytes, as it is evident they seduced many, and some eminent characters, that would have joined the company; but Rogers thought it not proper to admit them, as appeared from the corresponding letters with Rogers and the fire club." This sentence looks as if Rogers himself furnished the materials for this pamphlet, as I have found no other intimation of this correspondence.

As soon as the plan was arranged, the associates, "only five in number," began to operate in various localities. I find traces of them in Morristown, Bottle-hill, Hanover, Rockaway, Dover, Rockaway-valley, and other places. The greatest caution was observed in selecting those who were to be seduced. Sometimes a prayer-meeting was made the occasion for displaying some mysterious signs of his ghostship. As already intimated, credulity was made easy by the social apple-whiskey; and the strange occurrences of the previous Winter were carefully related, so as to silence doubt. That the statements of such men as were involved in these transactions should have carried conviction to many unbelievers is not strange. Rogers, himself, was not idle, but sought to insinuate himself into the confidence of such as he supposed could be gulled. Many ridiculous and incredible stories got afloat in the community; and, among them, this, which was firmly believed by many. The Court-house then stood in the North-west corner of the Green; and, one night, according to the rumor, a figure, in white raiment, was seen gliding from the roof of the Court-house to the opposite tavern; and as it moved it warned those present to flee from the wrath to come! Some people explained it as a performance on the tight-rope; but the safer explanation is, that it was a story manufactured for use in "the rural districts," where it would be likely to find believers who could not easily correct the lie by examination. At any rate, people were found to believe the silly rumor. Another somewhat more credible story was this. A young woman, in the employ of a farmer, near Morristown, was milking, after dark. There was ice on the ground. Some noise attracted her attention; when she saw, standing on the ridge of the barn, a sheeted ghost. She fled, shrieking, to the house. The next day, Rogers was complaining of a bruise he had received, as he afterwards confessed, by slipping too fast from the barn to the ground. One report says that he broke his arm in this fall.

An anecdote of Rogers's labors still survives, and is good enough to be preserved. Below the Church, in the valley, lived an Irishman, named Stevenson, who was reputed to have money in hand; and him Rogers would convert to his faith. Accordingly, he often visited him, in a friendly way, and sought to win his confidence, in various ways. Among the topics of conversation, incidentally introduced, was one concerning witches, ghosts, and apparitions. Many anecdotes were related by Rogers, some of which were professedly part of his own experience. The state of popular opinion, in the region, and the vague rumors of witchcraft then abroad, he hoped, would aid him in the proposed conversation; but Stevenson was very incredulous; and no progress was made in the desired direction. One evening, after a long talk about the matter, Rogers said, "Suppose, Mr. Stevenson, you should see, some night, a white figure gliding along, above the ground, as if it did not touch the ground, or walk, but moving along like a mist or ghost, what would you do?" "Bejabers, I would use my shelaleh on him!" was the very emphatic answer. It is said that Stevenson never saw the ghost!

But I must recur to the old chronicle for some facts relating to the new enterprise of Rogers and his fellows. The first meeting numbered but five persons. "They proceed upon various manœuvres, rotating the room in order to raise the spirit: while they were performing many ceremonies, various noises were heard around the house: the rattling of a wagon, groaning, striking upon the windows, etc. Then each one taking a sheet of paper, extending his arm, holding the paper out at the door, waiting for the spirit to write upon one of the papers how they should proceed! After waiting for some time, each one folding his paper, proceeding regularly around a table, then opening their papers, on one of them was a writing, directing them to convene upon such a night, and the spirit would give further directions how they must proceed. Previous to this, Rogers had prepared the writing, but wanted more time for consideration: therefore, they were dismissed with orders to convene on such a night. The night arrived."** After they had all convened, the first manœuvre was, both the deceiver and the deceived united in prayer, on their bended knees. Then parading, according to their age, they proceed rotating the room, as many times as there were persons in number: then parading around a table, each one drew a sheet of paper from a quire, which Rogers folded and delivered to each man one; then they pro-

ceeded, in order, a small distance from the house, and drawing a circle about twelve feet in diameter, they all stepped within it, unfolding their papers, extending them with one arm, fell with their faces to the earth, continuing in prayer with their eyes closed, that the spirit might enter within the circle, and write their directions on the papers: then Rogers giving the word, *Amen!* prayer ended, and each one folded his paper, rose, and marched into the house; then having unfolded their papers, the writing appeared upon one of them to the great astonishment of most of the company."

This paper was preserved, by one of the company, as a sort of miracle to be used in making converts. "The contents of the paper were, that the company must be increased to eleven members, and each one must deposit to the spirit the sum of twelve pounds, silver or gold." It is supposed that this meeting was held in Solitude, at L——'s house. Subsequent meetings were held elsewhere. Thus I find that one meeting was held in "Reeves's Swamp;" and that each one deposited his money by a certain stump which the ghost had named. As one of the company was returning, he missed his foothold and plunged into the mud. Angered by the accident, he resolved to go back and get his money; but found that the spirit had been too quick for him.

Another meeting, as I was told by the late venerable Isaac Whitehead, of Jersey, Ohio, was held at B—— H——'s tanyard. It seems that, by dint of much persuasion, a new member had been introduced into the circle, that night. In common with the others, he had deposited his money in the place pointed out; and then, as the custom was, knelt for prayer. Each one was to keep his eyes closed till Rogers said "Amen." Meanwhile, the ghost glided in and took away the money. This night, the new member feeling somewhat incredulous, and also burning with curiosity to see a 'live ghost,' did not close his eyes; but watched the movements, through his fingers. The ghost saw this, and was displeased; for he glided along, slow as fate, toward the disobedient reprobate. He, on his part, was too much under the influence of his superstitious dread "to use his shelaleh on him;" and, rising, he began to retreat backwards from the advancing spirit. His retreat was suddenly checked by a most unexpected and ludicrous adventure, for he backed into a large vat of bark liquor, into which he plunged, heels over head. His companions rescued him, in a woeful plight; but they found the ghost had vanished, of course, not forgetting to take the money!

Like a discreet ghost, Rogers selected dark nights for his appearances; and, if the facts were not fully authenticated, it could hardly be believed how boldly he carried on his fraud, and how credulously his dupes put faith in him. Take the following case, stated in the old pamphlet. "Rogers and his associates now finding the minds of many flexible, resolved to proceed upon some new project, that might have a tendency to prove more lucrative. Accordingly, wrapping himself up in a sheet, he went to the house of a certain gentleman, in the night, and called him up, by rapping at the doors and windows, and conversed with him, in such disguise, that the gentleman thought he was a spirit. The pretended spirit related to him that he had vast treasures in his possession and that a company was in pursuit of it; and he could not give it up unless some of THE MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH joined them, such as I shall mention; for, said he, *'I am the spirit of a just man, and am sent to give you information how to proceed, and put the conducting of it into your hands; and I will ever be with you and give you directions when you go amiss; therefore, fear not, but go to Rogers and inform him of your interview with me—Fear not, I am ever with you!'*"

And our historian adds, with admirable simplicity, that "this gentleman, not apprehending any deception, believed it to be a spirit. Early in the morning, he went to see Rogers, and found everything that the spirit related to be fact; he, therefore, was convinced that it was from supernatural power!"

It seems, from the narrative, that the spirit named certain members of the Church whom "this gentleman" was to visit; and he did as commanded, finding them "very flexible—giving great heed to his declaration, and anxious to see curiosities." "After this, none were admitted to join the company, only those of a truly moral character, either belonging to the church or abstaining from profane company and walking circumspectly. This was in June, 1789. The company now increased, daily, of aged, abstemious, honest, judicious, simple church-members. It is now in a religious line; and Rogers having put it into the hands of another to conduct, he and his associates were busy, every night, in disguise, appearing to particular persons, especially those who were most weak in faith, calling them up, in the night, and ordering them to *pray without ceasing*, for they were just spirits sent unto them, to inform them that they should have great possessions if they would persevere in faith."

The gentleman to whom our ghost appeared, as already mentioned, acted as "Conductor;" and, through him, it was revealed that the company must be increased to the number of thirty-seven, each of whom must give the spirit twelve pounds, in specie, equal to thirty dollars. The associates and their deceivers gradually attained the required number; but found it difficult to confirm the faith of some and to obtain the money of others. To overcome these difficulties, a meeting was held in order that the ghost might make some sign that could not be doubted.

One cannot well restrain laughter to think of a room full of men who were showing gray hairs, solemnly waiting for the Morristown Ghost, who was that night "to show his hand!" The first part of the time was spent in devout prayer; but not until another sort of spiritual influence had been invoked, for, says my chronicler, with a grim sort of raillery, describing one of the meetings, "a sufficient quantity of liquor was also prepared, which the spirit had ordered to be used *very freely*; then each one taking a hearty dram, they all united in fervent prayer, after which the meeting was concluded. It is very obvious that spirituous liquors, when taken in large quantities, will augment the ideas of men to anticipate profit and pleasure, although they are inaccessible in futurity. Some of the members caused great disturbance by their drinking, inadvertently, to excess that powerful stimulus; but it is something pleasing to see aged, sober, abstemious men, with their ideas raised, put on cheerfulness and vivacity."

With this very clear insight into the spirit which gave life to the meeting, we are prepared for the sequel. It was not strange that men, "with their ideas raised" by applejack, should be powerfully impressed by the spirit-rappings at the door and windows, and on the sides and roof of the house. How impressive to men, in such elevated mood, the ominous jingling of money and the hopeful admonition, addressed them by the invisible ghost, "Look to God!" "They were all amazed at such things; and Rogers, with the rest, wondered! and they all fell on their knees to pray!" Behold them now "rotating the room five times," each having a blank sheet of paper. Behold each one "tying a white handkerchief round his head and loins," and thus, symbolically arrayed, they all marched, with great decorum, into a meadow, about one hundred yards from the house." * * * * "After they arrived in the meadow, Rogers put his blank paper into his pocket and took a writing (previously prepared) out, unnoticed, by any of the com-

"pany. They rotated a circle, thirty feet in diameter, five times—then they all stepped within the circle, and, unfolding their papers, they all fell, with their faces to the earth, with one arm extended, holding the paper, that the spirit might enter within the circle and write upon one of their papers how they must proceed. They were ordered not to look up, upon their peril, but to continue fervent in prayer!" This continued ten minutes, when the leader said "Amen;" and all went back to the house, to find what the spirit had written. Sure enough, on Rogers's paper, the writing was seen, "so elegant that they were all astonished, thinking it a miracle!" But "the contents of the paper" still more astonished our "Spirit batch," animated by "hearty drams" of pure apple-jack. Thus did the ghost dash into the midst of affairs, *in medius res*, in right gallant style: "*O faithless man! What more need I exhibit unto you! I am the spirit of a just man, sent from Heaven to declare these things unto you; and I can have no rest until I have delivered great possessions into your hands; but look to God, there is greater treasures in Heaven for you! O faithless men! Press forward, in faith, and the prize is yours!*" And, then, the devout ghost mentioned various Chapters in the Bible that "the members must peruse, and particular "Psalms for them to sing!" Guiding them to incalculable wealth, in silver and gold, the ghost was too ghostly to forget their spiritual interests; and yet it was a shrewd and calculating ghost, for it told the associates that their number must be thirty-seven, each of whom must deposit, in precious metal, not more than twelve pounds (considerate ghost), nor less than six pounds, "and the money must be given up, as soon as possible, in order to relieve the spirit from his exigencies, that he might return whence he came!"

A few days after this, twelve of the associates met and paid the ghost about forty pounds. The payment was made in a certain meadow, with due "rotating the circle," devout prayer, and "large drams" of apple-whiskey. This time, the ghost displayed a new talent; for when about sixty yards from the circle, he set up a great "*whistling*." And when, according to orders, the money had been placed at the foot of a certain tree, "the spirit appeared about twenty yards distant from the tree, with a sheet around him, jumping and stamping, repeating these words, '*Look to God!*' "Those that stood by the tree, made a short complicated prayer, and laying the money at the root of the tree, retired to the company. "They all returned to the house, observing the

"greatest order, trembling at every noise, and gazing in every direction, supposing they were surrounded by hobgoblins, apparitions, witches, and the devil," which latter supposition was not much astray from the truth!

To deepen the delusion, another trick was performed. Rogers gave each one a *charm*, which he pretended contained some of the dust of their bodies. It was simply bone-dust. This precious and potent powder they were to keep very secret, and no one was to touch it upon his peril; and, besides this, writes my chronicler, with a sardonic grin, "every means were taken in order to make the members use liquor freely." In order to promote so desirable an end, "the spirits gave unto the commander a compounded mass that was to be made into pills, and each one to take a pill at every meeting; and, except he used very freely of liquor, it would operate in making his mouth and lips swell; thus they caused some to drink to excess through fear, although they before observed the greatest temperance, and in fact some drank to that degree to obviate the effects of the pill, that they were almost incapable of navigating in the night!"

In due time, the number of associates amounted to the required thirty-seven; and the most of the money had been paid over to the spirits. Fancy the animation which prevailed in the circle as, with imaginations quickened by "large drams," they thought of the ghost-guarded treasures as already within their reach. But "there is many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip," as was proved in this case. The mystic *charm*, already alluded to, was to work mischief to the scheme. A prominent member of the circle lived about half way between Morristown and Speedwell, where he owned a grist-mill. He was a man considerably past middle age; of excellent repute in the community; but infected with the superstitious notions of the times. He had fallen an easy victim to the tricks of Rogers; and had given his money and influence to forward a scheme in which he had full confidence. His wife was not admitted to his confidence, in this respect. She was aware that some unusual proceedings were in progress; but what they were she did not know. She was anxious about the evident signs of "large drams" which, in some way, seemed connected with his movements. She and her neighbor, who was similarly exercised, had frequent conferences about the matter, with no very satisfactory results, until, fortunately, an unexpected clue to the mystery was obtained. On this point my authorities do not agree. The old pamphlet says that "one of the aged members, having occasion to leave

"home, for a short time, on some emergency, through forgetfulness, left his paper—the mysterious dust—in one of his pockets, at home. His wife happened to find it; and, out of curiosity, broke it open; but perceiving the contents, she feared to touch it, lest, peradventure, it should have some connection with witchcraft. She went immediately to Mr. ———, the pious clergyman of the congregation, for his advice on the subject; who, not knowing its composition, was unwilling to touch it, lest it might have some operation upon him, and knew not what advice to give her. When her husband was returned, and had discovered what she had done, he was much terrified, declaring that she had ruined him, forever, by breaking open that paper. This terror increased her anxiety to know the contents; wherefore, upon her promising not to divulge any thing, he related to her the whole of their proceedings. She having heard the account—sensible woman—declared they were serving the devil; and that, notwithstanding her promise, she thought it her duty to put an end to such proceedings."

My other authorities—one remembers the scenes, and the other had it direct from the family where the fraud began to be found out—say that the good wife was so disturbed at her husband's singular conduct, that she was on "the look out for opportunities;" and that she found what she looked for, one night, after a late sitting of the "Spirit-batch." "Her man" came home, very tired; and, no doubt, in his stupor, increased by "large drams," he slept very soundly, so that his wife securely examined his pockets. Finding the charm, she opened it; and, that very night, carried it to Doctor Jones, the Minister, as already narrated. The next morning, the man found out what happened and told his wife the affair. This, I suspect, is the correct version; and it is well to be very accurate in so grave a matter!

The fact that one of the members had revealed the affair to his wife was soon known to Rogers, his accomplices, and their dupes. The impostors realized that they were on dangerous ground, for, although they had received the greater part of the money, yet there was a considerable sum yet expected. They could not endure the thought of losing this. There was a brace of dangers not very pleasant to think of meeting, viz., lynch-law, at the hands of their victims, and penalty, at the hands of the law, as very great rogues. In order to steer among these breakers ahead, the impostors thought it necessary to make special ghostly visits to particular persons, whose faith was evidently shaken. Accordingly, "Rogers and his accomplices were in dis-

"guise, every night, appearing, as spirits, to particular persons, endeavoring to confirm them in the faith, and thus, if possible, to prevent a discovery." Tradition says that, for some time, these visits were very successful; but the full discovery of the fraud was owing to another custom of the spirit-circle, far more effective than the charm which the good wife found in her husband's pocket. "The large drams" of liquor had told powerfully on the temperance of Rogers as well as his victims. Now that his situation was becoming desperate, he sought inspiration in the bottle. "At last, one evening, Rogers having drank too freely, taking a sheet with him, he rode to the house of a certain gentleman for the purpose of conversing with him, as a spirit. During the conversation, he committed several blunders, which the woman sagaciously observed. She concluded, from this circumstance, that it must be a man. The gentleman, however, at the close of the conversation, went to prayer; after which Rogers departed, declaring himself to be the spirit of a just man. In the morning, as soon as it was light, the gentleman went out to the place where the spirit had appeared; and there having fallen a heavy dew that night, he observed the footsteps of a man. He then followed the tracks to a fence, where perceived that a horse had been fastened; and, from thence, he pursued the tracks of the horse to the house where Rogers lived. Rogers being absent, he continued to follow the same horse's tracks, by which he was conducted to the house of a certain gentleman, where he found Rogers. This gentleman had, on the preceding evening, lent a horse to Rogers."

The fraud was now apparent; and the impostor was lodged in jail. The members of "the Spirit-batch" were agitated with conflicting feelings. They could not, at once, convince themselves of Rogers's duplicity in the matter; nor could they readily give up the hope of the promised treasures for which they had already spent many sleepless nights and paid "to the spirit" such large retaining-fees. With these feelings were mingled shame and chagrin to find the whole community in a broad laugh over these hidden things of darkness, which were being brought to the light. Perhaps, never did a jail hold a prisoner whose confederates or dupes so ardently desired him to be set at large. With consummate impudence, Rogers declared his innocence and, in a short time, one of his friends bailed him out of prison. But his enemies, finding that "he thought prudent to rescue himself by a clandestine departure from New Jersey," had him arrested the second time, "when he acknowledged his faults and confessed that, for

"his conduct and the declarations he had made in the prosecution of his schemes, he deserved punishment."

He was not detained long in prison; but how he escaped is not known—probably he was let out, on easy bail, out of deference to the feelings of his dupes; and that, being released, he left the region, or, as my old pamphleteer says, grandiloquently, "he accordingly absconded," and, under the auspices of Fortune, saved "himself by flight from the malice of a host."

The profits of this enterprising adventure cannot be positively known. Those who had been deceived into paying "ghost-money" were too much chagrined and mortified to enter into a very accurate inventory of their lost property. It is a tradition that the payments made one night did not reach "the spirit," inasmuch as one of the incredulous members, whose name is still repeated, believing more in watching than in prayer, slyly took the money from the place of deposit, before his ghostship entered the charmed ring. It is currently reported that the Treasurer, a very worthy man, in most respects, but extremely superstitious, suffered so largely as to be embarrassed the remainder of his lifetime. It is said that, as Treasurer of the associates, he gave receipts for the money paid by them; and that, after the affair exploded, he was compelled to refund a considerable portion of this money.

Rogers returned to Connecticut, and was accustomed to boast that "he made ten thousand dollars out of the Morristown Ghost;" but this, probably, was like many other statements from the same source. The common opinion, at the time, was that "the whole amount of money obtained by Rogers and his associates, in these nefarious plots, was about five hundred pounds, or upwards of thirteen hundred dollars." There is a tradition, which I have directly from a person who lived among these singular scenes, that Rogers, for safe-keeping, had his ill-earned money deposited in a box, which he buried "at the foot of a white-oak tree, back of Squire B—— L——'s house." When the fraud was discovered, and Rogers was released from prison, the popular indignation against him was so great that he had to fly the country without carrying with him the buried box. After a time, he sent a man to Morristown with directions to the place in which the money was hid. This man, on a certain evening, coming to a tavern in the vicinity, put up for the night. During the evening, there being no one present but a young man apparently drunk and asleep, the stranger confidentially asked the landlord if he could tell him where one Squire B—— L—— lived, and if there were, near his house, a certain white-oak tree, which he described. The young man,

supposed to be both drunk and asleep, was awake, and heard every word. From some previous knowledge of Rogers's movements, he was led to suspect that this man was there after buried money. Not long after, he arose and left the room as if nothing had happened. But, once fairly outside the tavern, he hurried to the white-oak tree and secured the treasure. Before midnight, the other man came to the same place, on a similar errand, but found the nest robbed. I give the story as I heard it, without pretending to vouch for its truth.

Such are the main facts in this curious delusion, practised on some four score or more middle-aged and respectable men. The whole region was convulsed with merriment, when the facts were known; and it is said that they furnished the materials for an amusing Comedy, which was played at a public exhibition in Newark, a few years afterwards. The narrative is a curious one, and would be incredible if it were not authenticated in all its main particulars.

CRAWFORDSVILLE, IND.

J. F. T.

II.—REMINISCENCES OF EARLY OHIO STATESMEN.

A LETTER BY THE LATE HON. THOMAS EWING.

COMMUNICATED BY THE LATE A. T. GOODMAN, ESQ., OF CLEVELAND, OHIO.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May, 1870.

A. T. GOODMAN, ESQ., CLEVELAND, OHIO:

DEAR SIR: I remember Return Jonathan Meigs, at an early day, but did not then know him personally. He was a gentleman of distinction, in Marietta, and well-esteemed by men in the country. I saw him for the first time on his return from Mississippi Territory, where he had been sent as Judge. He conversed with my father, of the Territory and its condition, of which I, a boy-listener, remember nothing special. He was then a man of commanding person and, as I thought, fine intellect.

Many years after, I dined with him, in Marietta, about the time of Mr. Adams's election to the Presidency—he was depressed in spirits; thought the Government had fallen into feeble hands; spoke much of Mr. Monroe as the *ultimus Romanorum*; and of his own wish to retire with him to the shades of private life. It seemed to me that his mental vigor was much impaired, and that he "lagged superfluous on the stage." Mrs. Meigs was a bright, intelligent lady; conversed very handsomely of all things at Washington of which a stranger wished to be informed; and was quite a favorite in the circle in which she moved.

Ethan Allen Brown was a Judge of the Supreme Court, and afterwards Governor of Ohio. He was somnolent on the bench, and did not rank high as a lawyer and a Judge. He conversed well, had literary taste, and was fond of discussing the merits and construction of the English classics. I remember his reciting some lines of a coarse critique on Walter Scott, by Horace in London: the following are some of the lines:

"He that would rival Walter Scott,
"Like Sancho from the blanket shot,
"Must soar in devious sprawl."

He served as Governor of Ohio two terms, and was afterwards Commissioner of the General Land Office, where he acquitted himself most creditably, but was, at last, invited to resign, because he set his face against the questionable speculations of some patriots high in influence. When he was about to leave the office, I addressed to him a letter, in which I called his attention to the indignant exclamation of Doctor Caius, when he finds Simple in his closet, "Dare shall no *honest man* come into my closet." Governor Brown retired silently; and I lost sight of him.

I knew little of Governor Worthington, personally, while in public life. He was one of the leaders of the Republican party in the Convention which formed the Constitution of Ohio, and was much censured for giving her a feeble Executive. After his retirement from office, and after I began to be known, he sought my acquaintance and explained to me, very fully, the causes which influenced his political course. He told me that General Arthur St. Clair, who was Governor of the North-western Territory, treated the members of his Council with great contempt. Having the veto power, he allowed them little share in legislation, and was, indeed, an autocrat. He instanced a case which, he said, indicated the general spirit of his bearing toward them.

The early Ordinance gave the Governor a tax of seventy-five cents on each marriage license. The Council thought the people should be relieved from this very objectionable burden; and, unwilling to ask the Governor to surrender the perquisite without an equivalent, they drew up a Bill giving him an annual sum, a little larger than the amount received for marriage licenses, and a Bill relieving the marriage license of the tax, and offered them, at the same time, for his signature. He took and read them; signed the one giving him the salary; put his veto upon the other; and, with a bow and a smile, which the Council considered contemptuous, handed back the two Bills. Governor Worthington said that, when they formed the Constitution of Ohio, they were smarting under the tyranny and contempt of their late Governor; and that he and a

majority of the Convention acted under the impulse. He said time and experience had satisfied him that he had been mistaken; and that the Government would be safer and better with a stronger Executive. I was, on the whole, well satisfied with his explanation. He was a man of vigorous intellect, great industry and force of character, and he left a favorable impression when he retired from public life.

Duncan McArthur was an admirable specimen of the backwoodsman. He was a Ranger, betwixt boy and man, in the Indian War, from 1790 to 1795. He was once out alone, on the northwestern frontier of Kentucky, when he approached a deer-lick, and saw in it three Indians apparently looking for tracks. He instantly crouched, took deliberate aim, and fired at the Indian whom he took for the most athletic, and rose and ran. The Indian fell. Another instantly fired at him, and the ball passed through his powder-horn. He supposed he was pursued; but no Indian got near enough to be seen; and he reached the camp of his companions, unhurt. He once told me a story illustrative of the rude morals of the frontier Rangers.

Lewis Wetzel who preceded McArthur, by several years, was the terror of the Indians, on the Wheeling frontier. He was a little, active fellow; and it happened that he was fired at and missed so often that they considered him under a spell. The usual remedy, a piece of silver driven into the bullet, failed, and he was deemed proof, even against magic; but, at last, in one of their excursions, he was surprised and captured; and they bore him off in triumph to Sandusky, where they held a Council, and sentenced him to be burnt. An old Indian who had lost his son on the expedition, wanted to adopt, and tried to save, him. The night before he was to be burnt, he slept between two Indians, his legs and arms tied, with thongs, to stakes driven into the ground—the Indians lying on the thongs. Late at night, when all were asleep, the old Indian came; cut the thongs; got him out, without disturbing the sleepers; gave him the gun of his lost son; took his own; mounted a horse; and led the way, signing to Wetzel to follow. They travelled two or three days, without interruption, when they came to the two branches of the Muskingum, at Coshocton. The old man carried Wetzel across behind him, on his horse; and when over the East-branch, said he now knew the way, and turned with his horse and gun to return to Sandusky. When he had fairly entered the river, Wetzel shot him, and he fell dead; took his scalp and his horse and gun—it being the best of the two—and made his way home in safety. Wetzel told the story himself, without an apparent perception of its atrocity; but his brother Rangers refused to shake hands or

in any manner to associate with him afterwards.

I knew Governor McArthur long and intimately. He was a man of vigorous intellect, but crude and uncultivated. His daughters, of whom he was fond, grew up to be fine women; but his sons were ruined by the austerity and distance of his bearing towards them. He was their monitor, but not their companion and confidential friend.

I sat with Benjamin Ruggles, two years, in the United States Senate. He was a highly respectable member; and I perhaps thought the better of him as we agreed entirely in our political opinions. He spoke seldom, and briefly; and always with deliberation and judgment. He was a man of mark, in his part of Ohio, many years after he ceased to be Senator.

Thomas Morris succeeded Benjamin Ruggles in the Senate. He was a decided Democrat, and generally fierce in his opinions. When he first came into professional life, he waged a violent war with most of the other members of the profession in his County and Judicial Circuit, in which my somewhat loose information induced me to believe he was the assailed and injured party. He was indicted for a rape, on the complaint of a loose woman; was tried and acquitted; but taunted in all conceivable provoking ways with it, afterwards. About that time, the agricultural journals strongly recommended the turnip or *Rape* as a Fall crop for Winter sheep-pasture; and, as the farmers knew little about it, by the latter name, it was a subject of much inquiry. Morris's persecutors got up a report that he kept a quantity of the seed for the accommodation of his friends; and, for a week or two, he was daily assailed by honest, well-meaning countrymen with enquiries for *Rape-seed*, until, made furious by this and like modes of annoyance, he stood at bay—always for open and unsparing war. He was a man of considerable intellectual power and a good debater, though somewhat harsh and not always courteous. He evidently came to the Senate impressed with the opinion that his mission was to attack me. From this he was diverted by a trivial incident, in an early debate, to which I attached no importance. He attacked, somewhat harshly, a proposition of Mr. Walker, of Mississippi, as to the Public Lands. Walker replied, contemptuously; and Morris, much excited, attempted to get the floor when Walker sat down. I caught the eye of the President, in advance of him, simply for the purpose of giving him time to be deliberate: said a few words in reply to Mr. Grundy; and that I would deliver over the gentleman from Mississippi to the friendly care of my colleague, who evidently wished to cultivate his acquaintance. Morris got the floor. I asked him to yield it to me, for a moment; and I moved an adjournment, which gave him ample

time to prepare his batteries against Walker; and he acquitted himself admirably. My whole object was to see that he had fair play, a thing to which he had been so little used, that it seemed as if he could never cease being grateful. We were afterwards on the very best of terms. I left him in the Senate, and lost sight of him, afterwards.

I knew Allen Trimble very well, as Governor of Ohio, and somewhat, though not intimately, in private life. He was prompt and sagacious, in the discharge of his official duties, and, in his private intercourse, a pleasing, unassuming gentleman. He passed through life without censure, and without an excess of praise.

Jessup N. Couch was one of our early Judges. He was kind and courteous to young members of the Bar, but did not rank high in the profession. In intellect and force of character, he was much below the average of the Bench.

Very respectfully, yours,

T. EWING.

III.—EARLY RECORDS OF TRINITY-CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 14.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, NOW FIRST PRINTED.

Att a Meeting of the Church
Wardens and Vestry men on
Munday y^e 18th day of Octo-
ber Anno Dom. 1697

Present	Thomas Wenham Church Warden	
	Will Merrett	} Vestry men
	Will Morris	
	Thomas Clarke	
	John Crooke	
	Michael Howdon	
	William Janeway	
	Will Sharpas	
	David Jameson	

Order'd that the Persons hereafter
Named be Overseers of the Church
building for the Ensueing Week

October	19 th	Tuesday	Gabriel Ludlow
	20 th	Wensday	Thomas Burroughs
	21 th	Thursday	W ^m Huddleston
	22	Fryday	John Merrett
	23 ^d	Saturday	W ^m Janeway
	25 th	Munday	Thos Wenham

Citty of New Yorke }
Att A Meeting of the Church
Wardens & Vestry Men on
Munday the 25th day of Octo-
ber 1697

Present Thomas Wenham Church Warden
Will Merrett Esq^r Gab^l Ludlow

David Jamison Nath^l Marston
 Thomas Clarke Will Huddleston
 John Crooke Michael Howdon
 Will Morris Will Sharpas
 Thomas Burroughs
 Sam^l Burte

Order'd that Mr David Jameson & Mr Thomas Clarke doe with all Convenient Expedition Cause his Excell Arms to be Engraved in Stone with an Inscription to be placed underneath them in these words following

[*Blank half page.*]

And the same when finished to be placed Over the South door on the Out Side of [*The*] Trinity Church & that the Charge thereof be Defrayed out of the Publick Stock

Orderd the Persons hereafter Named be Overseers of the Church building for the week following (*Viz*)

Tuesday	October 26 th	Coll Heatheote
Wensday	-	27 th Will Merrett Esq ^r
Thursday		28 th John Tudor
Fryday		29 th James Emott
Satuday		30 th Will Morris
Munday	Nov ^r	1 st Thomas Clarke

Orderd Capt Wenham Mr Mayor Capt Morris and Capt Clarke be A Committee to Advise with Mr Evetts what quantity of Timber Boards &c: will be Convenient to be purchased for the Making the Pews of the Church & make Report thereof [*this day*] on Munday Next

Capt Wenham Informed this board that [*Among*] Notwithstanding the Many Signal Gifts [*and favors*] his Excell has bestowed for the Encouragem^t of Piety & Religion Amongst us in the Carrying on of the building of Trinity Church his Excell has been further pleased for the better Effecting of the Same to Grant [*to the Grant*] to the Present Church Wardens & Managers of the said building A Commission for all Weifts Wrecks and Drift Whales &c: which Commission was read in these words following (*Viz*)

[*Blank page.*]

[*Order'd that*] Capt Thomas Clarke [*be*] is hereby Commissionated to [*Appoint*] Depute such proper Persons on the Island of Nassau as he shall See meet for the Securing Cutting up & trying of all such Drift Whales &c as shall Come on Shore on y^e S^d Island

and that for their Care and labour therein he Allow them Reasonable Encouragement.

Order'd that Mr Poroughs Mr Huddleston and Mr Crooke & Mr Howdon doe for the week following use their Endeavours to gett what Contributions & Subscriptions they Can gett for the better Carrying of the Church & that they also Collect. what they Can of y^e: former Subscriptions.

Mr Thomas Clarke Infoms the board that Nicolas Fielding (A Person Reputed of honest Behaviour & Conversation has offer'd his Service to be Sexton of Trinity Church & that till the [*Order of the*] Corporation of the Church be formally Established & A Sallery Allowed for y^t Service he will Serve the Order of this board Gratis itt is therefore Ordered and he is hereby Appointed Sexton of the Said Church,

Order'd that After the Expiration of four weeks from the Date hereof No Negroes be buried within the bounds & Limitts of the Church Yard of Trinity Church that is to say in the Rear of the Present burying place and that No [*Negroe*] Person or Negro whatsoever doe Presume (After the time Above Limited [*doe Presume*] to break up any Ground for the burying of Any Negro as they will Answer itt att their Perill. & that this Order be faithfully Published.

Citty of } ss Att A Meeting of y^e: Church
 N: Yorke } Wardens And Vestry men on
 Munday y^e: 1st day of November 1697

Present Thomas Wenham Church Warden
 Will Merrett Esq^r Gab^l Ludlow
 David Jameson Thomas Burroughs
 Eben: Willson Will Sharpas
 Mich Howdon John Crooke
 Nath Marston

their being a Nessesity of paying of the Labourers of the Church & the Money in Banke being not Sufficient to doe the Same Cap^t Thomas Wenham did therefore Voluntary lend ten pounds to the Church for the said Service w^{ch} was paid to Cap^t Willson who is to Acc^t for the Same & all the Said Labourers that Came for their Money were Accordingly paid.

The Undernamed Persons are Appoint-

ed Overseers of the Church building
for y^e following week

- Nov^r 2^d Tuesday Cap^t Willson
3^d Wensday Mr Burte
4 Thursday Mr Evetts
4th Fryday Mr Marston
6th Satuday Mr Howdon
8th Munday Mr Crooke

Citty of) ss Att a Meeting of the Church
N: Yorke) Wardens & Vestry men on
Monday the 15th day of Nov^r
1697

- Present Thomas Wenham } Church
Rob^t Lurting } Wardens
William Merrett Esq }
William Morris }
David Jameson } Vestry
Nathaniel Marston } men
Mich Hawdon }
Will Sharpas }
John Crooke }
Gabriel Ludlow }

Mr David Jameson Pursuant to the
Order of this Board brought A Copy
of the Inscription to be placed under
his Excells Arms in Trinity Church
which was [*Read*] Approved & Read
in these words following (Viz^t)

Hoc Trinatatiss templum fundatum est
Anno Regni Illustrissimi Supremi
Domini GUILIELMI Tertii dei Gratiâ
Angliæ Scotiæ Franciæ & Hiberniæ
Regis fidei Defensoris &c: Octavo
Anno Dom: 1696 ac Voluntariâ quo-
rundam Contributione & Donis Æd-
ificantum, maxime autem dilecti Regis
Chiliarchæ BENJAMINI FLETCHER
hujus Provinciæ Strategî & Imper-
atoris munificentia Animatum & Auc-
tantic Cupiis Tempore moderanisuis
hujus Civitatis incolæ Religionem
Protestantem Exlesia Anglicanæ ut
Secundum legem Nunc Stabilete
profitentes quodam Diplomate Sub
Sigello Provinciæ incorporati Sunt
Atq Alias Plurimas ex re lia familiari
donationes Notabiles eidem dedit

which being Englished is

This Trinity Church was founded in
the Eighth year of the Reign of the
most Illustrious Sovereign Lord Wil-
liam the third by the Grace of God
King of England Scotland France and
Ireland Defender of the faith &c:
And in the year of our Lord 1696 And
built by the Voluntary Contribution &
Gifts of Some Persons And Chiefly

Encouraged and Promoted by the
bounty of his Excell: Collonell Benja-
min Fletcher Cap^t Generall and Gov-
ernour in Chiefe of this Province in
the time of whose Government the In-
habitants of this Citty of the Protest-
ant Religion of the Church of England
as now Established by Law were In-
corporated by a Charter under the
Seale of the Province and many other
Valuable Gifts he gave to itt of his
Private Fortune.

Ordered that Mr Marston & Will Sharp-
as doe Collect the Contributions in
the Church for the four Sabbath days
following.

Att A Meeting of y^e Church
Wardens And Vestry men of
y^e Trinity Church on Munday
y^e 6th day of Dec^r 1697

- Present Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens
Rob^t Lurting }
Will Merrett Esq^r } Nathaniel Marston
Will Morris } Will Sharpas
David Jameson } Thomas Clarke
Michael Howden } Thomas Burroughs
Ebenezer Willson } Gab^l Ludlow
James Evetts }

Nathaniel Marston & Will Sharpas
paid to Capt Willson this Night Seav-
en pounds Eleven Shilings & three
pence being Money Collected in the
Church the three last Sabbath days.
Capt Wenham & Capt Morris paid to
Capt Willson the Sum of thirteen
pounds Seaventeen Shilings & three
pence for five weeks Contribution in
the Church by them Collected.

Ordered that Mr Mayor & Mr Evetts
doe take Care that the Scaffold of y^e
Steeple of y^e: Church be Struck & Also
Such Other things as will be Nesses-
sary and Covenant for y^e: Preserva-
tion of the Church

Citty of) ss At A Meeting of y^e: Church
New Yorke) Wardens & Vestry men of the
Said Citty on Tuesday y^e:
29th day of Dec^r 1697

- Present Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens
Will Merrett Esq } James Evetts
Ebenezer Willson } Will Huddleston
William Morris } Thomas Clarke
Sam^l Burte } Will Sharpas
David Jameson
Mich Howden
Gab^l Ludlow

Nathaniel Marston & William Sharpas this Night paid to Capt Willson the Sum of four pounds five Shilings & Six pence which they Collected in the Church the two last Sabbath days Order'd that Capt Thomas Clarke and Mr Gab^l Ludlow Collect y^e: Contributions of y^e: English Church Congregation for the four Sabbath days following.

Att A Meeting of y^e Rector
 --- Church Wardens &
 Vestry men of Trinity Church
 on Munday y^e: 17th day of
 January Anno Dom 1697
 Present The Reverend Mr
 William Vessey Rector

Citty of { ss	Thomas Wenham	} Church Wardens
New Yorke	Robert Lurting	
	William Merrett Esq	} Nathaniel Marston
	William Morris	
	David Jameson	} William Sharpas
	James Evetts	
	William Janeway	} Vestrymen
	Ebenezer Willson	
	John Crooke	
	Michael Howden	

Ordered that the Church Wardens & Mr James Evetts doe with all Convenient Expedition Purchase Planke & boards Suitable for y^e making Doors for the Church & make Reporte of his Acting therein to the Next Vestry

The board having Considered the Necessity their is for A Clarke to Execute that office for the Service of the Congregation of Trinity Church & being Sencible of the good Services Mr William Huddleston has done in that office for Some years past & his readiness Still to officiate in the Said Office have Nominated & Appointed the said William Huddleston Clerke of the Said Church for the Year Ensueing to Commence from the 11th day of this Instant Month of January and that for his Encouragement for y^e due Execution of the Said Office he have A Salary of twenty pounds [*per Annum*] Curr^t Money of New Yorke & that the Same be paid Quarterly.

Order'd that Mr John Crooke & Mr William Janeway doe Collect the Contributions of the Church for four Sabbath days following.

Citty of { ss Att A Meeting of y^e: Rector
 New Yorke } Church Wardens & Vestry men

of the Said Citty on Munday
 y^e: 31th day of January 1697

Present The Reverend Mr William Vezey Rector

Thomas Wenham	} Church Wardens
Robert Lurting	
William Merrett Esq	} Thomas Burroughs
William Morris	
Thomas Clarke	} [Michael H]
David Jameson	
Samuel Burte	} William Sharpas
James Evetts	
Michael Howdon	} Ebenezer Willson
	} Vestry men

His Excellency Benjamin Fletcher Cap^t Gen^l & Gov^r in Chief of this Province being the founder & Chiefe promoter of Trinity Church & being Desirous att his own Charge to Erect A Private Pew for the use of his family &c: [*and after the Removal of his family for any Gent*] this board having A due Sense of all his Excellencies favours have Ordered that Mr James Evetts doe lay out the Ground for the Same in the [*South*] East parte of the Church next to the [*Wall Over against the*] Chancell to Remaine for Ever to the Aforesaid use [*or Such other use*] or the use of Others as his Excellency shall [*direct Shall*] thinke fitt to Direct.

Ordered that Trinity Church be Cleaned to-morrow [*and put in Order that*] Divine Service being to be Read therein the Next [*Sabbath day*] Sunday Mr Jeremiah Tothill having Accepted to Oversee y^e: performance thereof, this board promissing to Refund him in the Expence thereof.

Order'd that Mr Thomas Wenham & Mr Rob^t Lurting Church Wardens & Major William Merrett [*&*] Capt. William Morris [*be*] & Capt Thomas Clarke be a Committee for y^e: Procurring of Glass & other Materials for the finishing of y^e: Windows of Trinity Church & also for the making of y^e Doors thereof & that they perform the Same with all Convenient Expedition Ordered that Capt William Morris & Capt Thomas Clarke doe goe About with y^e: list of Subscriptions for the Glass, for Trinity Church for y^e: following week

Capt Thomas Clarke one y^e Collectors of the Contributions of y^e Church in Christmas week &c: this Night paid to Capt Ebenezer Willson the Sum of Six pounds Nine Shilings & Nine

pence Curr^t Money of New Yorke & Order'd he Acc^{ts} for y^e: Same.

Odered that Mr Robert Lurting pay to Capt Ebenezer Willson the Sum of ten pounds three Shillings & Seaven pence halfe penny Curr^t Money itt being Money Collected by him & Michael Howdon for three Sabbath days ending the 16th Justant.

Citty of } ss Att Meeting of the [Managers
New Yorke } of'] Church Wardens & Vestry men of Trinity Church on Munday y^e 7th day of February Anno Dom 1697

Present Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens

Will Merrett Esq James Evetts
Ebenezer Willson Nath Marston
William Morris Will Sharpas
Thomas Charke
Michael Howdon

Order'd that all Persons that have Received or Disbursted Money on account of the Church doe Carry their Accouts to Mr Giles Stollard in Order that they be duely Stated

Ordered that Mr James Evetts & Mr Jeremiah Tothill doe take Care to Level y^e: Ground in the Church & to provide Such Materialls as will be Nessessary for the Setting up of y^e: pulpit [in the Church.]

Citty of } ss Att A Meeting of y^e: Rector
New Yorke } Church Wardens & Vestry men of y^e: Said Citty on munday y^e: 14th day of February Anno Dom: 1697

Present [The Reverend Mr William Vesey]

Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens
Robert Lurting }

William Merrett Esq } Vestry men
David Jameson }
Ebenezer Willson }

William Morris }
Thomas Clarke }

James Evetts }
Sam^l Burte }

Thomas Burroughs } Vestry men
John Crooke }

William Huddleston }
Michael Howdon }

William Janeway }
Nath Marston }

Will Sharpas }
John Tudor }

[Mr James Evetts brought in A Draft of

the Pews of the Church which [by Lotts] were [divided] allotted as followeth Viz^t
The Pew 45 for y^e: Rector for the time being
46 William Merrett Esqr & John his Son &e
47 Coll Caleb Heathcote & Will Nicolls Esqr
48 James Graham Esqr & Lewis Morris Esqr
49 Thomas Winham & Robt Lurting
15 Will Huddleston & Gabriel Ludloe
16 James Emott & Will Kidd
17 Thomas Clarke & Edward Graham
18 Nathan Marston & Daniel Honan
44 David Jameson & Will Anderson
43 Ebenezer Willson & Will Sharpas
42 John Tudor & Giles Stollard
40 Will Morris & John Tudor Junr
39 Peter Matthews & Thomas Monsey
36 Matthew Clarkson & Will
34 James Evetts & John Crooke
33 Will Janeway & Jerem Tothill
35 Michael Howdon & Thomas Jurcy
32 Law: Reade & Edward Antill
9 Sam^l Burte & Will Barker
10 Thomas Burroughs & Thos Molton

And itt is Agreed that the Above persons Shall build the Respective Pews att their own Charge wch Respective pews are to Remaine to them Respectirely & their Respective Heirs for Eeer provided that the Said Respective Pews be maintained in good Repair bey the Said Respective persons att their own Charge, and that in Case of Neglect thereof for one twelve Months Next after due warning is Given by the Church Wardens for the time being that then Such Pews Soe Neglected Shall Revert & Return to the Church Wardens of y^e: Said Church for y^e: time being & thereafter be Solely & Wholly att their Disposall.]

Mr William Janeway & Mr John Crooke this Night paid to Capt Ebenezer Willson the Sum of Nine pounds Eighteen Shilings & Six pence Curr^t Money of New Yorke itt being Money by them Collected in the Church for y^e: four Sabbath days last past.

Ordered that Cap^t Thomas Clarke & Cap^t Jeremiah Tothill doe Collect y^e: Contributions of y^e: Church for the four Sabbath days following

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

IV.—THE ATTACK ON FORT MIFFLIN, 1777.

TWO UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF THE BARON D'ARENDT.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINALS, AND COMMUNICATED BY COLONEL T. BAILEY MYERS, OF NEW YORK CITY.

SIR:

You will have the kindness to inform his Excellency that I have received to-day the

ammunition for which Colonel Smith asked, and that I have made arrangements to take enough, here, so that we may not run short in an attack, and the rest is to be given to the fleet to take care of. I have had several repairs made, in order to strengthen the weak places as much as possible: I would progress much faster, if the obstacles mentioned in my last letter, did not prevent me. I am still very certain that the garrison is a great deal too feeble to resist an attack with one line of soldiers, we need yet 800 more men. Major Fleury has the same opinion; we cannot form a vigorous resistance with the present garrison: (this will be seen by his Excellency).

To remedy in some way this defect, and to protect the fort from a surprise in the night, which is the most dangerous for us, I have asked Colonel Green to send here every evening 100 men from the Red Bank, who will return there at day-break. The greatest defense of this place consists, (according to my opinion) in preventing the enemy from landing; but, as we can see nothing in the night, and the cannon cannot be aimed straight, the entire part of this defense depends on the fleet.

It would be very just if all of our fleet were here every night to be on hand, otherwise they would be too late for the signal. The Commodore sends us sometimes a few boats, sometimes nothing but an armed battery, which is good for a guard but not for a defense, and yet, they only arrive in the night. For this reason, I have recommended him to be more punctual.

Last night, we had a false alarm, and we heard boats rowing on the river. I at once placed my men under arms; but it seemed to me that they were some of the enemy's boats on guard. I have learned to-day however that 16 of the enemy's boats full of troops, (the number of which I do not know) have passed the Schuylkill at Prood Island landing. If this be true, we shall have to be on the watch to-night, especially as it will be very dark, it being rainy weather. I shall be on the look out so that the enemy may not surprise us, and have sent warning to the Commodore.

I am quite unwell, much more so than usual, nothing but honor has kept me here till the present, for I cannot walk and I drag myself along with much difficulty, and I fear I have got a mortal sickness. I have been examined by the Surgeons here, who find my case very bad. I have resolved to go to a house near Red Bank, to remain several days, perhaps the solitude of the place and the pure air will benefit me, (and then I shall return to my post) because I suffer too much to remain here, any longer, as I am entirely ruining my health. The news of which I have written you has retarded me yet for to-day, and to-morrow I shall leave. I am very sure that his

Excellency will not blame me for doing so. Colonel Smith who knows this locality very well as well as its defense and my plans, will see to everything during my absence, and will do everything he can, to prevent discord between himself and Lieut. Colonel Green. I will render him justice by saying, that he is an excellent officer, and that I would wish for many more of his kind in America. I render the same justice to Major Fleury who is brave and active.

Give my respects to his Excellency,

I am your most humble servant

BARON ARENDT.

FORT MIFFLIN

October 26. 1777.

I have just learned that the fleet has kept all the ammunition saying that it was meant for them and not for us. At present, the garrison of this fort consists of only 300 able men, who could fight in case of an attack, as there are some sick ones among us. I have given Captain Treat of the Artillery about 30 men to assist him, but he tells me that he needs 70 more, and it would be a very good idea, if there were a Company of Artillery here.

We should have, therefore, according to my absolute ideas of reinforcement, 500 soldiers

70 artillery-men

570 men

Among the cannons of the battery, and the others, there are some which cannot be used on account of their chambers.

At 8 o'clock in the evening:

I have just received a letter from the Commodore in which he says, that he sends four armed batteries, but says, at the same time, that if the wind blows, the boats cannot remain and sustain us, and we must rely on ourselves: see the inclosed letter.

P. S. Excuse my writing so badly: I can write no more on account of pain. In case that I become better in a few days I shall return instantly to the fort, and I would wish that I may become better here this Winter in order that I may do better in future

[Addressed:]

Colonel Hamilton

his absence

Colonel John Laurens

Head Quarters

pr Express

[Endorsed:]

Baron d' Arendt

26 October 1777

at Fort Mifflin

In a house near the Fort.
Red-Beach. October 29th 1777.

SIR,

I was obliged to be removed to a house about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from the Red Beach and I have made arrangements to be informed of all events occurring during my absence and also have instructed Colonel Smith and Major Fleury what work they must take charge of. In case the enemy should attack this coast, I would retire to Haddenfield via Burlington, if my sickness prevents me from entering the fort. Notwithstanding I feel great pain, being obliged to write this letter in bed, my sufferings are only bodily and my mind is continually thinking of the best method of defending the post which has been entrusted to me. It is my opinion that it could be attacked in two ways, either by an assault or by settling on a part of the island whence they could open a breach. It would be easier to repulse the enemy if they made an assault than by the last method. I will not speak to you of the assault, although you are unacquainted with the fortifications of this place, which consist of a wall on one side and wooden fortifications on the other three; the general idea, as it is given, will suffice you, I will then speak to you but of the other kind of attack, at present. Major Fleury informed me that he had sent to His Excellency a representation of this island and of the fort: be kind enough to see him, having this letter. You will find that but one point of this island opposite Province Island at a place where the enemy has a battery which we call "the hospital battery" for I think it was meant for that. If the enemy wishes to make an attack by rule, they would only have to land at this place, for, notwithstanding it is swampy, they could remedy this by fascines and gabions. They could then fight with us at a distance of 500 feet; and, as this side of the fort is surrounded but by wooden fortifications, they would soon make a large breach and reduce us to a great extremity on account of the condition of this side of the fort and by bombs from the opposite side of the river, particularly as we cannot resist them but with two cannons of which, the second is unprotected from the bombardment. The idea of this attack has so struck me that it seems that if the enemy knows our position; and they must know it, if it is true that the engineer who has commenced to fortify this island, is from the enemies' side, they would attack us in this way, for notwithstanding they would lose a little more time, the attack would be more certain and it would not expose the army as much as in an assault; especially as they do not know our forces perfectly, or the works which we have at present. I leave it to your Excellency to judge if my reflections are well-founded or not, but what confirms me in

my opinion is the news which was received yesterday that a large number of cars filled with fascines have passed from Philadelphia to the Schuylkill, and that they were to be used in the attack on Fort Mifflin. A person who was in this place on Sunday last, told me himself that he had seen these cars and had counted about 200. Now if this news be true what is the use of all these fascines but for the attack beforenamed?

If the enemy will post itself in this fatal place we must do everything to defeat them during the day; but particularly in the night when they will make false attacks, it will be very difficult to do this; and once stationed it will be almost impossible to force them to retreat. But I repeat and will continue to repeat, that the defense of the fort consists in preventing the enemy from landing, and it is the fleet which can prevent this, especially during the night when the cannons of the fort would not be very useful. I do not know if His Excellency will order the Commodore to join the fleet, neither do I know if it will be convenient or not; but I am sure that if the enemies' ships should protect the descent of the troops, our ships should not engage with them but should attack the boats which contain the troops; for I have been assured that it was not advisable to remove the chevaux de frise. You will be kind enough to translate the important points to His Excellency, for it is he who will weigh and judge of my remarks.

I will not repeat that a reinforcement of 300 men and 70 artillery men at least are necessary, if we have to defend ourselves; but as I do not know our General's intentions, I will not insist upon it. You will decide if it is not possible to prevent the enemy from sending troops against this fort or against Province Island. If they determine to remain at Philadelphia, they will try hard to take it. I have already informed you that the enemy has landed at Botlingsport with 300 soldiers. I flatter myself that His Excellency is convinced without the certifying of it by doctors, that I did not leave my post without great necessity. Be kind enough to answer me concerning this, as I would suffer in mind as well as body if I thought you doubted this.

With profound respect to His Excellency, I am,
with all my heart,

Sir Your humble servant
BARON ARENDT.

I forgot to mention that
there are 40 men in the hospital
not in fighting condition.

[Addressed:]

To Colonel Hamilton
A. D. C.

[Endorsed:]

Baron Arendt
29 Oct 1777

VI.—“THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS”
OF VERMONT.

MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THEIR
CONVENTIONS.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 22.

NOW FIRST PRINTED, WITHOUT MUTILATION, AL-
TERATION, OR INTERPOLATION, FROM THE ORIG-
INAL MANUSCRIPTS.

WARRANT. 24th June 1776.

These are to Warn the several Inhabitants
of the N Hampshire grants on the West
side, and to Desire those on the East Side
the Range of Green Mountain's, That they
Meet by their several Delegates, in General
Convention, to be held at the Dwelling
House of M^r Cephas Kent inholder in Dor-
set, on Wednesday the Twenty fourth day
of Iuly Next at 8 oClock in the forenoon to
Act on the Following Articles (viz).

- 1st to Choose a Moderator & Secondly a Clerk
for said Convention
- 3^d to Recieve the Report of Cap^t Heman Allen
from the Continental Congress, he having
been previously Appointed to transact Busi-
ness in behalf of the inhabitants of said
Grants.
- 4th To know the Minds of the Convention, Rel-
ative to their Associating with the province
of N. Hampshire.
- 5th In case the last Article be Objected to; Wheth-
er said Convention, will agree to an Associ-
ation, (Not Repugnant to that of the Conti-
nental Congress) and Subscribe thereto, to do
Duty [*with the Con*] in Conjunction with the
Continental Troops (Only) as Members of the
District of Land which they Inhabit.
- 6th To see if said Convention will earnestly Re-
commend it to the several Field officers here-
tofore nominated on said Grants, to see that
their men be forthwith furnished with Suit-
able Arms, Ammunition and Accoutrements
&c. agreeable to a Resolve of the hon^{bl} the
Continental Congress.
- 7th To See if said Convention will make Prepara-
tion, and Settle with Cap^t Heman Allen for
his Expences and Services for the publick.
And 8th to transact any other that shall be
thought Necessary in the power of S^d Con-
vention for the Safety of the Liberties of
the Colonies in General and the N. Hamp-
shire Grants in particular

James Breakenridge }
Simeon Hatheway } Commi
Elijah Dewey } appointed

Coppy Examined p^r Ionas Fay Clk

Dorset July 24th 1776

In Consequence of the foregoing Warrant
the following Persons being Delegated, met
at this place to Transact the Business of S^d
Warrant (viz.)

Towns Names—Delegates Names

Pownall	Cap ^t Sam ^l Wright
Bennington	Simeon Hatheway
	Ionas Fay
Shaftsbury	In ^o Burnam Iun ^r
	Maj ^r Jeremiah Clark
Sunderland	M ^r John Burnam
	Ioseph Bradley
Manchester	Col ^o W ^m Marsh
	L ^t Martin Powell
	Gideon Ormsby
Dorset	John Manly
	Abr ^m Underhill
Rupert	Reuben Harmen
	Amos Curtis
Pawlet	Cap ^t William Fitch
	Maj ^r Roger Rose
Wells	Daniel Culver
	Ogden Mallery
Poultney	Nehemiah How
	William Ward
Castleton	Ephraim Buell
	Jesse Belknap
Hubberton	Ben ^{ja} Hitchcock
Sudbury	John Gage
Brigport	Samuel Benton
Addison	Col ^o John Strong
Cornwall	James Bentley
Burlington	Lemuel Bradley
Stanford	Thomas Morgan
Williston	Col ^o Tho ^s Chittenden
Jerico	Brown Chamberlin
Colchester	Ira Allen
Hindsburgh & Mongton	Isaac Lawrance
Neshobeh	John Mott.
	Aaron Powers
Pittsford	Ion ^a Rowley
	Jonathan Fassett
Rutland	Asa Johnson
	Ioseph Bowker
Clarindon	Thomas Braten
	Matthew Lyon
N. Wallingford	Abr ^m Jackson
	Eben ^r Allen
Tinmouth	Stephen Royce

Danbee } Cap^t Micah Veal
 } William Gage
 Townshend } Cap^t Sam^l Fletcher
 } Josiah Fish

Cap^t Heman Allen } for Middleborough
 Voted Unanimously, that the above persons
 be admitted as Legal Members of this Con-
 vention. Copy Examined
 J^r Jonas Fay Clerk

Proceeded (viz)

Choose Captain Joseph Bowker Chairman.

Choose Doctor Jonas Fay Clerk. after which
 on a Motion being made and agreed to by the
 House, the Clerk proceeded to read the fol-
 lowing Address, Remonstrance & Petition of
 the inhabitants of the N Hampshire Grants
 to the honorable the Continental Congress,
 which was exhibited to that board by Cap^t
 Heman Allen in the latter part of the Month
 of April, or in the beginning of the Month
 of May AD. 1776. (VIZ)

To the honorable John Hancock Esq^r
 President of the honorable the Continental
 Congress &c. &c, now Assembled at PHIL-
 ADELPHIA.

The Humble Address, Remonstrance and
 Petition of that part of America being Situ-
 ate South of Canada line, West of Connecti-
 cut River, North of the Massachusetts Bay
 and East of a twenty Mile line from Hud-
 son's River commonly called, and known by
 the name of the N. Hampshire Grants Hum-
 bly Sheweth,

That your honors Petitioners being fully
 Sensible and Deeply Affected with the very
 Alarming Situation in which the United Col-
 onies are involved, by means of a designing
 Ministry, who have flagrantly Used, and are
 still Using their Utmost efforts to bring the
 inhabitants of this Very extensive Continent
 of America, into a Base & Servile subjection
 to Arbitrary Power; Contrary to all the most
 Sacred ties of Obligation by Covenant and
 the well known Constitution by which the
 British Empire ought to be Governed; Your
 Petitioners (not to be Prolix, or waste time)
 when the whole Continent are in so disagree-
 able Situation, would however beg leave to
 Remonstrate, in as Short terms as possible
 the Very peculiar Situation in which your
 Petitioners have for a Series of Years been
 Exercised, and are still Struggling.

Perhaps Your honors, or at Least some of
 you, are not unacquainted, that at the con-
 clusion of the Last War, the above described
 premises, which your petitioners now inhab-
 it was deemed, and reputed to be in the

province of New Hampshire, and conse-
 quently within the jurisdiction of the same,
 Whereupon applications were freely made
 to Benning Wentworth Esq^r the then Gov-
 ernor of the province of N. Hampshire, who
 with the Advice of his Council, did Grant
 under the Great Seal of said province to
 your honors Petitioners a Large Number of
 Townships of the contents of six Miles
 Square each, in Consequence of which a
 great number of your Petitioners, who were
 men of Considerable Substance disposed of
 their intrests in their Native Places and
 with their Numerous Families Proceeded
 many of them two hundred Miles, Encoun-
 tering many Dangers, Fatigues and great
 Hardships to inhabit a Desolate Wilderness,
 which has now become a well Settled Fron-
 tier to three Governments, this was not All
 our Trouble, for soon after the Commenc-
 ment of those Settlements, the Monopolis-
 ing Land-traders of New York, being ap-
 prised that the province of N. Hampshire
 had granted the said Lands, and that settle-
 ments were actually Making, did present a
 petition (as we have often heard and Verily
 beleive) in your Petitioners Names praying
 that his Majesty would annex the said Lands
 Granted by the Authority of N. Hampshire
 to N. York, on account of its Local and
 other Circumstances for the benefit of the
 inhabitants.

Your Petitioners not being apprised of the
 intrigue (in this Case) were Mute, therefore
 as no Objection was made why the prayer of
 the petition should not be Granted his
 Majesty was pleased with the Advice of
 his Council on the fourth day of July
 A D. 1764 to Grant the Same, immediately
 after which the Land Traders of N. York
 Petitioned the then Governor of that prov-
 ince for grants of Land, some part of which
 had been previously granted to your peti-
 tioners, by the Governor and Council of N.
 Hampshire: The Dispute then became Seri-
 ous, and your Petitioners, then Petitioned
 his Majesty for Relief in the Premises, His
 Majesty was pleased to appoint a Commit-
 tee, who reported to his Majesty in the
 premises, and his Majesty was pleased to
 pass order in the following Words (viz)

"At a Court held at Saint James's the
 "24th day of July 1767.

"Present

"The Kings most Excellent Majesty
 "The Arch Bishop of Canterbury
 "Lord Chancellor
 "Duke of Queensborough
 "Duke of Ancaster

" Lord Chamberlain
 " Earl of Litchfield
 " Earl of Bristol
 " Earl of Shelburn
 " Viscount Falmouth
 " Viscount Barrington
 " Viscount Clark
 " Bishop of London
 " Mr Secy Conway
 " Hans Stanley Esq^r

" His Majesty taking the said Report into
 " Consideration was pleased with the
 " Advice of his privy Council to approve
 " thereof and doth hereby Strictly Charge,
 " Require and Command, that the Gov-
 " ernor, or Commander in Chief of his
 " Majesties province of N. York for the
 " time being, do not upon pain of His
 " Majesties highest displeasure presume to
 " make any grant whatsoever of any part
 " of the Land discribed in the said Re-
 " port Untill his Majesties further pleas-
 " ure should be known concerning the
 " Same

" William Sharp

" a True Copy Attest Go. Banyar Dept^y Sec^y

The many intervening and Unhappy Disputes which since have happened between those Land Traders and your Petitioners would take up too much time under the present situation of Publick Affairs to Recite, as Cap^t Heman Allen and Doct^r Jonas Fay who we have appointed to present this to your honors will be furnished therewith should they find your honors admittance, and such particulars be thought necessary; let it suffice here only to mention that the Oppressions from those overgrown Land Traders were so Greivous that your Petitioners were again induced, at a great expence to Petition his Majesty; in consequence of which a Committee was appointed and made a Report in favour of your Petitioners, which is too prolix to be inserted here.

We are Called on this moment by the Committee of Safety for the County of Albany to Surpress a dangerous insurrection in Tryon County, upwards of ninety Soldiers were on their March within twelve hours after Receiving the News, all inhabitants of one Town inhabited by your Petitioners, all furnished with Arms, Ammunition, Accoutrements, provisions &c.—Again we are Allarmed by Express from General Worcester Commanding at Montreal—with the disagreeable News of the Unfortunate Attack on Quebec, (Unfortunate indeed to Loose so brave a Commander) Requiring our immediate Assistance by Troops; in conse-

quence of which a considerable number immediately Marched for Quebec, and more are daily following their Example; Yet while we your Petitioners are thus earnestly engaged we beg Leave to say that we are intirely willing to do all in our Power in the General Cause under the Continental Congress, and have been ever since the taking Ticonderoga &c. in which your petitioners were principally Active, under the Command of Col^l Ethan Allen, but are not willing to put ourselves under the honorable the provincial Congress of N. York in such manner as might in future be Detrimental to our private property; as the Oath to be Administered to those, who are, or shall be entrusted with Commissions from said Congress, and the Association agreed upon by the same Authority, together with some particular Restrictions, and Orders for Regulating the Militia of said province (if conformed to by the inhabitants of the said N Hampshire Grants) will (as we apprehend) be detrimental to your Petitioners, in the determination of the dispute now subsisting between your said Petitioners and certain Claimants under N. York. And that your Petitioners ardent desires of exerting themselves, in the present struggle for freedom, may not be Restrained, and that we might engage in the Glorious Cause, without fear of giving our opponents any Advantage in the said Land Dispute, which we would wish to have Lie dormant, until a General Restoration of Tranquillity shall allow us the Opportunity for an equitable desicion of the Same.

Another Reason that much hinders us from joining N. York hand in hand in the General Cause, is, they will not own us in our property, but on the Contrary, the judges of their Supreme Court, have expressly declared the Charters, Conveyances &c of your Petitioners Lands to be null and Void.

Therefore we Your honors Humble Petitioners most earnestly pray your honors to take our Case into your Wise Consideration and order that for the future your petitioners shall do Duty in the Continental service (if Required) as inhabitants of said N. Hampshire Grants, and not as inhabitants of the province of N. York, or Subject to the Limitations, Restrictions, or Regulations of the Militia of said province, and that Commissions as your honors shall judge Meet be Granted Accordingly, and as in Duty bound

your honors Petitioners shall ever pray.

At a Meeting of the Representatives of the different Towns on the N Hampshire Grants legally Warned and convened

at the House of Mr Cephas Kent's innholder in Dorset on the sixteenth day of January A D. 1776.

Captain Joseph Woodward Chairman.

Doct^r Jonas Fay Clerk.—This Meeting after due consideration agreed to prefer to the honorable the Continental Congress a humble Petition setting forth the peculiar Circumstance of this part of the Country. Accordingly a Committee was appointed to draw up the Same, who drew up the foregoing and Reported it to the house in the Evening, and the Clerk Read the same in his place and afterwards Delivered it in at the Table; the House then Adjourned, till tomorrow 9 o'Clock.

January 17th Met According to Adjournment.

The said Petition being a second time Read was agreed to by the whole House, then Lieutenant James Breakenridge and Capt. Heman Allen was Nominated to Prefer the said Petition, a Vote was Called and passed in the affirmative Nem. Con., then Doctor Jonas Fay was Nominated and a Vote Called passed in the Affirmative Nem. Con.

Joseph Woodward Chairman

Attest Jonas Fay Clerk

A True Copy from the Original

Errors excepted

Doct^r Jonas Fay } Committee
Ira Allen } appointed

Captain Heman Allen, appointed to Prefer the foregoing to the honorable the Continental Congress, being present, and on a Motion being made and Seconded, Reported to the Convention as follows (viz^t)

That in consequence of his Appointment, for that purpose, he had delivered the said foregoing Remonstrance, Address and Petition to the honorable John Hancock Esq^r the President of the Congress then sitting at Philadelphia, and that by the directions of the honorable House, it was Read in his Place at the Board by the Secretary.

That the Delegates from the province of N. York endeavoured to Oppose the said petition, but that it was entered on file and ordered to lie on the Table for further Consideration.

That on the Advice of Several Gentlemen, be made a Motion to withdraw the said petition, that the Delegates from N. York should not have it in their Power to bring the matter to a final Decision, at a time when the Convention in the Grants had no Proper Deligate in the House, that in

consequence thereof the Motion was Entered on the Minutes, the Petition not being Ready at hand at that time.

That he had many private Conferences with sundry Members of Congress and Other Gentlemen of Distinction Relating to the particular Circumstances and Situation of the New Hampshire Grants, who did Severally earnestly Recommend that the inhabitants of said grants Exert themselves to their Utmost Abilities to Repel, by force, the Hostile invasions of the British Fleets and Armies against the Colonies of America, and that said inhabitants do not by any way, or Means whatsoever connect, or Associate with the honorable Provincial Congress of New York, or any Authority derived from by, or under them directly or indirectly, but that the said inhabitants do forthwith consult suitable Measures to Associate and Unite the whole of the inhabitants of said Grants together.

Proceeded VIZ

This Convention being fully Sensible that the importance of the business which Occasions their Meeting at this time Requires the most Serious deliberation, are therefore disposed to make the following Votes viz^t.

- 1st That not more than One person be Allowed to Speak at the Same time, and only by leave of the Chairman.
- 2^d That the business of the Meeting be closely Attended to, and that the several Articles contained in the Warrant for this Meeting, be severally followed in Course (Except otherwise Over-ruled.
- 3^d Voted to pass over the fourth, fifth and sixth Articles of the Warrant till tomorrow at 10 o'Clock at this place.

Voted Col^o William Marsh, Col^o Thomas Chittenden, John Burnum jun^r, Cap^t Micah Veal and Lieu^t Joseph Bradley, be a Committee to examine the Account of Cap^t Heman Allen for his Service for the Publick, and Report their Opinion thereon to this Convention 9 o'Clock tomorrow Morning.

adjourn'd to 7 o'Clock tomorrow Morning at this place.

Meeting Opened at time and place.

Proceeded to the Consideration of the fourth Article of the Warrant and after due Consideration it was dismissed.

Proceeded to the Consideration of the fifth Article of the Warrant and Resolved that Application be made to the inhabitants of Said Grants to form the same into a Separate

District, dissentients only One.

Proceeded to the Consideration of the sixth Article of the Warrant, and Voted to Recommend it Accordingly

Voted to Choose a Committee to Treat with the inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants on the East side the Range of Green Mountains, Relative to their Associating with this Body.

Voted that Capt. Heman Allen, Col^o William Marsh and Doct^r Jonas Fay in Conjunction with Cap^t Samuel Fletcher and Mr Joshua Fish, be a Committee to exhibit the Proceedings of this Convention, to said inhabitants, and to do the Business as Above.

Voted Doct^r Jonas Fay, Col^o Thomas Chittenden and Lieut. Ira Allen a Committee to prepare instructions for the Above said Committee.

Voted that Col^o Seth Warner and Col^o Thomas Chittenden be a Committee to present a petition to the General and Commander in Chief of the Northern Department, Requesting his Assistance, in Guarding the Frontiers to the Northward on the said New Hampshire Grants.

Voted that Doct^r Jonas Fay and Col^o William Marsh be a Committee to prepare the Above petition.

Adjourned one hour

The Meeting Opened at time and place.

Proceeded to the Consideration of the following Association viz^t

This Convention being fully Sensible that it is the Will and Pleasure, of the honorable the Continental Congress, that every honest Friend to the Liberties of America in the several United States thereof, should Subscribe an Association, binding themselves as Members of Some Body, or Community, to stand in the Defence of those Liberties; And Whereas it has been the Usual Custom for individuals to Associate with the Colony, or State which they are Reputed to be Members of. Yet Nevertheless the long and Spirited Conflict, which has for many Years Subsisted, between the Colony, or State of New York and the inhabitants of that District of Land, Commonly Called and known by the name of the New Hampshire Grants, Relative to the Title of the Land on said District Renders it inconvenient in many Respects to Associate with that Province; or State, which has hitherto been the Sole Reason of our not Subscribing an Association before this.

The better therefore to convince the Pub-

lick of our Readiness to join in the the common Defence of the aforesaid Liberties, We do Publish and Subscribe the following Association VIZ^t

We the Subscribers inhabitants of that District of Land, commonly called and known by the name of the New-Hampshire Grants, do Voluntarily and Solemnly Engage under all the ties held sacred amongst Mankind at the Risque of our Lives and fortunes to Defend, by Arms, the United American States against the Hostile Attempts of the British Fleets and Armies, Until the present Unhappy Controversy between the two Countries shall be Settled.

SIGNERS NAMES VIZ^t

Joseph Bowker	Benjamin Hicock
Thomas Chittenden	Isaac Lawrance
Simcon Hatheway	Daniel Culver
Jeremiah Clark	John Burnum
Joseph Bradley	John Strong
Michl Veal	Lemuel Bradley
William Gage	John Gage
Reuben Harmon	John Mott
John Manley	Jonathan Rowlee
Seth Warner	Isaac Fassett
William Marsh	Aaron Parsons
Gideon Ormsby	William Ward
Stephen Royce	James Bentle
Amos Curtis	Thomas Morgan
Ira Allen	Heman Allen
Nehemiah How	John Burnum Jr
Asa Johnson	Matthew Lyon
Brown Chamberlin	William Fitch
Abraham Jackson	Ogden Mallery
Samuel Wright	Jonas Fay
Samuel Benton	Martin Powell
Jesse Belknap	Roger Rose
Abraham Underhill	Samuel Fletcher
Ephraim Bewell	Isosiah Fish
Eben ^r Allen	

The above are the Names of the Delegates.

Thomas Braten of Clarendon the only Disencient

Resolved that it be and it is hereby Recommended to the Several inhabitants on the N. Hampshire Grants (who are friends to the Liberties of the United States of America, that they Subscribe the Association agreed on, and Signed by the several Members of this Convention, and Return the Same to the Clerk thereof as soon as may be.

Resolved Unanimously, that any person, or Persons inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants that shall in future Subscribe, and Return an Association to any the Committee, or Committee's of Safety for either

of the Counties in the province of N. York, or to the provincial Congress thereof. Otherwise than the Association contained in these Records and Subscribed by the Several Delegates of this Convention, shall be Deemed Enemies to the Common Cause of the N Hampshire Grants.

Resolved that nine persons be Chosen as a Committee of Appeals, who are to hear and determine such Matters as may be properly Exhibited to them (in writing) by any of the inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants Relative to the Cause of American Liberty, by way of proper Appeal from the judgment of either of the Committee's of Safety on said Grants, any five of which Committee to be a Quorum.

Resolved that Doctor Jonas Fay, Col^o Timothy Brownson, Col^o William Marsh, Cap^t Joseph Bowker, Cap^t Joseph Woodward, Cap^t Micah Veal, Col^o Thomas Chittenden, Major Stephen Royse, and Cap^t Abraham Underhill, be and are herely Unanimously Appointed a Committee for the Above purpose.

Lastly Resolved to Adjourn this Convention, and to Meet at this place on—Wednesday the 25th day of September next at 8 o'Clock in the Morning

Joseph Bowker $\frac{1}{2}$ Chairman

Attest Jonas Fay Clerk

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VII.—THE ANCIENT PENOBSCOT, OR PANAWANSKEK.

By HON. JOHN E. GODFREY, OF BANGOR, MAINE.

The spelling of the original name of Penobscot was a difficult matter with the early French, in this country, for it was spelled by them, as our late Secretary, Doctor Ballard, discovered, in not far from sixty different ways—Panouamske, Panawanskék, Panmaouamske, Panaham-sequet, Panamske, Panaomske, Panaouamsde, Panaouamske, Panouamske, Panoumsque, Panouske are some of the forms. The English did better; they caught the sound, Penobscot, and kept it.

It is difficult to determine when the English established that pronunciation. We find it thus spelled, in Strachey's account of the expedition that sailed from England, in 1606, to establish the Popham Colony. He says that, on the eighth of September, "Captain Gilbert, with twenty-two others, departed in the shallop for the river of Penobscot.*" Strachey, however,

wrote in 1618. Captain John Smith was upon the coast, in 1614, and visited Penobscot. The name does not appear in the journal of Weymouth's voyage, in 1605, although it is believed, by many, that the Penobscot was the river he visited.

At the time Champlain sailed up the river, in the Autumn of 1605, it was called, by the savages, "Pentagoët." Mount Desert was called "Pematig," or "Pematig;" and from this, it is said, the waters of the bay and river, westward, acquired the name Pematigoët, and, finally, "Pentagoët." This name the French afterward applied to the Peninsula of Matchebiguatus—commonly called Bagaduce—now a part of Castine; the English applying, to the same locality, the name, Penobscot.

It would relieve curiosity to know if there was a permanent Abenakis village, prior to the advent of the French, bearing the name of Panawanskek. The Abenakis, according to La Hontan, were a wandering people. They must have been so by necessity, for, depending upon the woods and waters for their supplies of food, they could not long remain in one place and subsist. That they had temporary camping-grounds, at the mouths of nearly all the tributaries of the Penobscot, is evident from the fact, that great numbers of arrow-heads, stone axes, and other Indian implements, have been found there. But there are three localities upon the river, which, it is said, were their particular places of rendezvous—Mattawamkeag, Passadumkeag, and Penobscot Falls—which latter locality was, probably, the beginning or principal point of the ancient Panawanskek. It may be, that that name, in its several forms, was applied to the different camping-grounds, or it might have been applied to the whole territory. At Passadumkeag and Penobscot Falls were French forts, with French and Indian villages. The fort at Passadumkeag was destroyed, by Colonel Thomas Westbrook, in 1722-3, the inhabitants having retired to Mattawamkeag. The fort and village at Penobscot Falls were destroyed by Captain Henth, in 1725.*

A French "Memoir," of 1723, says there were then five villages of the Abenakis. Two were on the River St. Lawrence, near Three Rivers. "The three others are in the direction of Acadia, "and are called, Narantsouak, on the River Kan-beckky; Panouamsde, on the River Pentagoët, "and Medoctee, on the River St. John. The village of Narantsouak is nearest New England; that of Medoctee nearest Acadia; and "that of Panouamské nearly in the centre.†"

Narantsouak was Norridgewock; Medoctee was

* Williamson's *History of Maine*, II., 143.

† *New York Colonial Documents*, v., 240.

* *Maine Historical Collections*, III., 308.

about East from the town of Hodgdon; and Panauamke was probably at Penobscot Falls, as stated before, and opposite the mouth of the Mantawassue stream, (near Eddington,) which was celebrated for the immense quantities of fish that were taken there, in early times.

Although the forces of Westbrook and Heath were quite large—there being with Westbrook, two hundred and forty men—yet no mention is made by them of a village at Oldtown. Westbrook was five days examining the river and searching for a fort between the place of his landing and Passadumkeag; but he found none, until he reached what is now called Nicola's Island, at the latter place; and he mentions no other village. Williamson thinks the village at Penobscot Falls was not built until 1723-4.* He says, "it was a resting-place and resort of the "Indians, before the village was built."

Father Chambault wrote a letter, dated Panawauskek, September 24, 1697, in which he gives an account of an expedition of one hundred and twenty men leaving there, in canoes, on the thirtieth of September, with the design of joining the Indians of "Kinibekki, in order to form, "all together, a large party, which might strike "a considerable blow at the enemy," and of its going beyond Pemaquid, and being driven back by the enemy, who came in "five English vessels.†" Major Benjamin Church says, in his report of his expedition, East, in 1696, that he "found many rendezvous and fire-places where "the Indians had been." The pilot, "Joseph "York, informed the Major, that fifty or sixty "miles up that river, at the great falls, the enemy had a great rendezvous, and planted a "quantity of corn when he was with them, four "years ago.‡"

It was from this place, probably, that Father Lauerjait wrote a letter, dated "PANOUAMSKE, "8th July, 1728," in which he says, "The insolence of the Messrs. de St. Castin" [*the Baron's sons*] "has become so excessive, that they have "no respect for God or myself. The eldest, "who will no many, and is not satisfied with "spreading corruption through the village, has "now set up a public traffic in *aude vie*, with "his nephew, the son of M. de Bell Isle. They "have already drowned one man by it, and "think to destroy many others. The youngest "of the Castin's never comes into the village "but he gets publicly drunk, and sets the village "in a flame."

Governor Pownall, with his expedition up the Penobscot, in 1759, landed on the East side of the river, with one hundred and thirty-six men,

and proceeded to the head of the first falls, "about four miles and a quarter from the first "Ledge" [*Champlain's rocks, off the foot of Newbury-street, Bangor*]. * * "Clear land "on the left for near four miles.*" "The "Plains," in Veazie, opposite the spot where Governor Pownall established his bound, were doubtless the corn lands of the Indians from time immemorial. The soil is a sandy loam; and has always been esteemed for its peculiar adaptability to the culture of Indian corn.

A Penobscot Indian, of some intelligence, says, that the aboriginal name of the present Indian village on Oldtown-island, is Panawauske. This Island is within the territory to which that name was applied, centuries ago; but the village is comparatively modern. Captain Francis, an intelligent Chief of the tribe, of some note, in the former part of this century, said that the Penobscots removed from above, on the river, and established themselves there, in order to have advantages from the swift water in their rencontres with the Mohawks, their chief enemies.

Father Vetromile, in his little work, entitled *The Abnakis*, says, that the meaning of Panawauskek is "it forks upon the white rocks.†" The Indians say that it means, "it opens or "widens upon the rocks."

If there is any part of the river to which this definition applies, it is that part at the "Head "of the Tide." Great boulders and ledges, in great numbers, are there exposed, when the tide is out, and the river truly "opens upon the "rocks." Between that place and Oldtown, the river is rapid and difficult of navigation; whereas, from there, in the direction of the ocean, the navigation is easy and agreeable, and it really must have been the *point de portance* of the natives in their expeditions down the river.

The Indians made peculiar claim to the territory extending from that point up the river, and held it, with wonderful tenacity, for years, against the efforts of the white settlers and the Government to obtain it.

On the twenty-first of June, 1775, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts recognized their claim to "territories or possessions, beginning at "the Head of the Tide, on the Penobscot-river, "extending six miles on each side of said "river.‡"

Bangor was first settled in 1769; and its principal settlement, for several years, was near the head of the tide. A truck-house was built a little below the Penjajawock stream, near Mount Hope; and, in September, 1775, a Conference with Chiefs of the Penobscot and St. John

* Williamson's *History of Maine*, li., 143.

† Murdoch's *Nova Scotia*, i., 235.

‡ Drake's *Indian Wars*, 223.

* *Maine Historical Collections*, v., 382.

† *The Abnakis*, 24.

‡ Kidder's *Eastern Maine*, 58.

Tribes was held in that house, and a Treaty entered into, which was reduced to writing by Colonel Jonathan Lowder, then late Gunner at Fort Pownall. They resolved to stand together with "our Brethren of Massachusetts and oppose the people of Old England that are endeavoring to take yours and our Lands and Libertys from us."

After the War, it was found that the Indian claim to this tract was an obstacle to the settlement of the country. The whites encroached upon it, and some ill-feeling was likely to prevail, unless the Indian title could be extinguished; therefore, the Massachusetts Government commenced negotiations, in order to obtain a release of it.

Massachusetts appointed three Commissioners—General Benjamin Lincoln, General Rufus Putnam, and Doctor Thomas Rice—to obtain a cession of the territory. They arrived at Condukeag, [*Bangor*] on the twenty-sixth of August, 1786, and, on the same day, sent Mr. John Marsh, the original settler upon Marsh's-island, to Oldtown, to invite the Indians to a Conference. The answer was favorable; and, on the next day, which was Sunday, twenty-one canoes, with sixty-four natives, arrived at Condukeag. The Conference was held on the next day.

Reverend Daniel Little, of Kennebunk, who was a Missionary in the region, at the time, was present, and gives the following interesting account of the Conference.

"Aug. 28, at 10 o'clock. The Indians were desired to parade themselves in the place and manner they should choose. In about ten minutes, the Commissioners received word that they were ready to wait upon them. Four of their chieftains, Orono, Orsong, Neptune, Neptonbovitt, seated on the ground, close together, in the front, on an elegant green, near the river, the others promiscuously in the rear. The Commissioners, with the two Interpreters, Messrs. Treat and Marsh, walked up to the parade; and the Conference began in the presence of a number of spectators.

"Com^r General Lincoln addressed them with the kind intentions of the Government, in their appointment to settle their landed claims to mutual satisfaction; and congratulated them upon the happy close of the War in which they had been our faithful friends and brethren.

"INDIANS. We desire to bless God that you are come; and are glad that our hearts are linked with the Americans. We will now answer you to what you demand.

"COM^r. We wish to know your claims [*Commissioners retired*].

"INDIANS. The Indians signify they are ready to answer.

"COM^r. [*The Commissioners returned.*]

"IND. We claim down to a small stream below Oldtown, one mile above Colburn's. If the English come nearer, our dogs will do them damage and make a quarrel. [*Then the Indians handed the Comm. a bundle of papers, upon which the Comm. retired.—Comm. returned and replied.*]

"COMM. We are glad you express so much satisfaction in seeing us here. We wish you to remember you relinquished your right to this part of the country to Governor Pownall; and that what you now hold is, by the doings of the Provincial Congress, in the year 1775, which is six miles on each side of the river, from the head of the tide. On this you all now rest your claims. If you hold only six miles next the river, when we settle our land back of that, it will destroy your hunting-ground, which we shall be unwilling to do. We propose to give you a larger tract up the river, better for hunting, and two islands in the Bay. [*Comrs give them time for a deliberate consideration.*]

"IND. ANSWER. We dont think it right to remove further up the river—we wish to do nothing but what is right.

"[*The Comrs retired for deliberation.*]

"COM. REPLY. We are willing you should hold all the Islands in the river, you now improve, from Sunkhole to Passadunké, which is three miles above Oldtown,* together with Oldtown Islands and the lands on all the branches of the river above Passatagness,† on the West side, and Montawan-keag,‡ on the East side, of the river, together with White-island and Black-island in the Bay, if you will quit your right to the six miles wide from the river below.

"[*Comm. leave their proposal some time for deliberation.*]

"IND. We desire to cross line at Passadunké for our bounds.

"COMM. You have our proposals from which we shall not depart.

"[*Comm. leave the proposals and retire.*]

"IND. After some deliberation, the Indians signify that the six miles was their land; and if they moved the bound further up, they expected to be paid for it.

"COMM. We do give you more land and better for hunting. What further consideration do you desire?

"IND. We all want Blankets, Powder, and

* Sunkhole (now Sankhare) is three miles above Oldtown. Passadunkéag is from sixteen to twenty miles above.

† Piscataquis.

‡ Mattawamkeag.

"Shot, and Flints.

"COMM. How many blankets will give each of your tribe one?

"ANS. 350.

"COMM. You shall have 350 Blankets, 200 lbs Powder, and Shot and Flints in proportion, at the time when you sign the papers, for the ratification of the agreement.

"To which the Indians consented with general satisfaction. Then General Lincoln called upon four persons present as witnesses, which were received and accepted by the Indians, viz., the Rev. Messrs. Little & Noble, Colo. Eddy and Mr. Colburn.

"The Conference closed at two o'clock with an admonition to the Indians not to spread groundless reports of hostile intentions, but carefully inform the Inhabitants of any thing necessary for their safety. Upon which they shook hands with the Commissioners and parted with general joy.

"The Commissioners sent on shore both Breakfast and Dinner. And the Indians regaled themselves, and then went in different parties up the river.

"Through the whole time of the Conference, the Indians never moved from the spot upon which they first seated themselves, and never rose except when they spoke to the Commissioners, till just at the close, when the four public speakers rose together."

In June, 1788, the Governor of Massachusetts appointed Rev. Daniel Little a Commissioner, to complete the agreement with the Indians, by delivering to them the blankets and ammunition, and obtaining their release of the desired territory. The Reverend gentleman, in his capacity of Governmental Minister, used considerable more formality than he used as Gospel Minister; and, when he arrived at Condeskeag, with his supplies, gave the following letter of Instructions to Major Robert Treat, who acted as an Interpreter.

"June 17, 1788. Major Treat, on Penobscot-river, near the head of the tide, SIR. I hereby, in the name of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, desire you to repair, as soon as possible, to Indian Oldtown, or any other suitable place, where you have the highest probability of meeting with the Penobscot Tribe of Indians, and inform the Chiefs, that the Gov^t & Council have appointed me a Commissioner to bring forward and complete the Treaty the Commissioners made with them at Condeskeag; and that I desire the Indians, especially their Chiefs, to meet me at Condeskeag, on next Tuesday forenoon, and to receive the blankets which we have now brought up from Major-baguaduce, by order of the Governor and Council, to be delivered to them when they

"shall sign the papers for the confirmation of the agreement. Of your doings you will make return to me at Condeskeag. You are also directed to take some other suitable person whom you shall choose, to assist you and to accompany the Indians to Condeskeag.

"DANIEL LITTLE, Comr

"SUNBURY, ON PENOBSCOT, June 17, 1788."

Mr. Treat's Return. "SIR: I met Mr. Colburn, proceeded according to the within to Indian Oldtown, called Penobscot, and found all the Chiefs of the Tribe there, with a considerable part of the Tribe, to whom, agreeable to my trust, I delivered your message, and the Chiefs told me they would have me withdraw from them and they would give me their answer. Mr. Colburn and myself left their Council; and in about an hour they sent for us to return, and they told us they would not send their answer in writing but they must depend on me to return their answer. They said they had considered on the matter; and that they had been down a number of times, on public business; and that their young men were apt to drink, and that their number was large, and that it was most proper to meet at their town, and that they should be glad to meet Mr. Little and any other gentlemen, as every thing might be done calmly and coolly with us.

"ROBERT TREAT,

"SUNBURY, PENOBSCOT-RIVER

"near the Head of the Tide

"June 19, 1788."

Mr. Little was in doubt whether he might not compromise the dignity of the Government by yielding to their proposition. He, therefore, conferred with "some of the principal gentlemen on the river," who thought, with him, that "our condescension with respect to the circumstances of place might be consistent with the honor of Government, especially as it was a condition not to be dispensed with without the loss of the only probability of a Conference." In other words, to make a virtue of necessity. Accordingly, he notified them that he would meet them, at their town, on the next Saturday.

He felt it important to the success of the mission that the "gentlemen of character" of the region should accompany him; he therefore made up a party, consisting of Major Treat, Reverend Seth Noble, Colonel Lowder, Colonel Brewer, Mr. John Lee, and Mr. William Colburn.

The party left Major Treat's, near the mouth of the Penjejawock stream, on the nineteenth of June, at about two o'clock; reached Mr. Colburn's, at Deadwater, [now Stillwater] and staid over night. Mr. Little gives the following account of the succeeding transactions.

"SAT., JUNE 21. Set off about sunrise, passed a Western branch of the river to an island seven miles long," [*Marsh Island*] "walked upon said Island through a trackless wood about six miles, when Indian Oldtown, about two hundred acres, opened to view, with a thicket of houses on the lower point of said Island, just above the great Falls. Immediately upon our arrival, in open view of the town, a number of their canoes were manned with sprightly young men, in which they came over (about forty rods) to transport us into town. As we landed, their shore was lined with women and children. We walked up to their parade, about fifteen rods from the shore, (a walk very smooth, about three rods in width, lined, on each side, with a range of houses built with poles about six inches diameter, and the same asunder, placed perpendicularly and covered very neatly with bark, in shingle form,) was introduced into their capital house by a waiter, who stood at the door; only one Sachem in the house of conference, who made us very welcome, directing us to take possession of one half the room, 20 x 40, which was carpeted with fur. Very soon, came in all the Sachems and placed themselves on the opposite side, which being divided by two poles from one end of the house to the other. Then about forty of their men of years place themselves in rank next the Sachems; and lastly an old man, about a hundred years, a former Sachem, was introduced in memory of past services. They then fired a cannon abroad.

"The Sachems declare they are ready, I addressed them in written words, declaring the design of my visit to them, by the appointment of Government, which was to bring forward and complete the Treaty made at Conduskeag by Genl Lincoln, &c., 26 Aug. 1786; informing them that I had brought up the articles to be given to them, Blankets, &c., which they should receive at Conduskeag from aboard Capt. Holbrook's [*vessel*] as soon as they would sign the paper which contains the land we buy of them. I then stated the agreement; explained the purport of each paper of conveyance; and observed that Government had done every thing, on their part of the agreement, and expected that they would make their mark against the seals—holding them open to view—upon their doing this I should give them the parchment in my hand containing the gift of land to them, together with 300 blankets.

"The Sachems desired to withdraw, about half an hour, for consideration, and returned punctually in order, appointing Orsong Nep-tune their speaker, who addressed me in the following words:

"We are thankful to see Mr. Little here, and desire to be remembered by the Governor and Council, and are glad to see all well here together. The King of France says, we are all one—it is all peace; and the King of England says it is peace, though it was War sometime ago.

"BROTHERS, we are all one; we don't talk of hunting one another. We live here to serve God; we all live together. We and our children mean to help each other. We don't mean to take any lands from you. If any body takes any land from us it must be King George, for General Court and General Washington promised we should enjoy this country. General Washington and General Court told us, if any body was going to take our lands from us, they would let us know it. They told us, if they knew any thing was doing against us, they would tell us.

"BROTHER, now we are here together—when we were at Conduskeag, we had not a right understanding of matters; and the young men were not all collected, and we were pressed to make that Treaty contrary to our inclinations.

"BROTHER, God put us here. It was not King of France or King George. We mean to stay on this Island. The great God put us here; and we have been on this Island 500 years. And we have been of the French King's religion, and mean to be so always. From this land we make our living. This is the general speech of all our young men. We don't know any thing about writing. All that we know, we mean to have a right heart, and a right tongue.

"BROTHER, we don't incline to do any thing about the Treaty made at Conduskeag, or that writing," [*pointing to the paper I held open to them, with full explanation of it.*]

"Then closed the first address of their chief speaker, in the following words, turning to my Interpreter:

"Is not Mr. Little a Minister?

"Yes," said the Interpreter. Then turning to me, said,

"BROTHER, Ministers ought not to have any thing to do with public business."

"My Reply. 'FATHERS AND BROTHERS OF THE PENOBSCOT TRIBE,' [*for there were about forty men, and half of them old men, placed in regular order.*] 'It is true, the Great God placed you here to serve him; and it is true, that the King of France, and the King of England, and we all one, all at peace, now. But you must remember that the lands you now hold is by the doings of the Massachusetts Government. At Conduskeag, Genl Lincoln told you, in Gov Pownall's day, in

“a former War, against us, you lost all your lands in this part of the country. That, in the year '75, the Massachusetts Government gave you six miles on each side of the river, from the head of the tide, on which you must rest your claims, to which you there consented; and you must remember, Genl Lincoln called witnesses to what was then said and done, Colonel Eddy, Captain Colburn, Mr. Noble, and myself. Here are three of those witnesses present,” [*The witnesses were called forward and presented*]. “For those two strips of land, by the river, Massachusetts Government, according to the agreement made by Genl. Lincoln, now gives you, up in the country, four times as much land for hunting, two Islands in the Bay, with all the town and Islands in the river you now occupy, with three hundred and fifty blankets, &c. You shall be assured of the enjoyment of the religion of the King of France, without interruption, as long as you please. I am not here, to-day, as a Minister but a Commissioner. I saw the Governor and Council, less than twenty days ago; what they then spake, I have now a right to speak. You are sensible Government has fulfilled all, on their part, of the Treaty made at Conduckuskeag. You say your young men were not present, then. Your fathers used to ask for the children. The same Fathers and Sachems that were there are now here. Will you make your marks for your names against the seals on this paper, which tells what land you give to Government, and accept of this parchment, which is the act of the General Court, giving land to you, and then receive the blankets, &c? Will you do this or not?”

“ANSWER. ‘We don’t know any thing about writing. We have put our hands to many papers, at Albany, New York, and elsewhere; but we will not put our hands to this paper, now, nor any more papers now; nor any other time forever hereafter.’”

“To this explicit declaration of theirs, I replied:

“BROTHER SACHEMS: Although you refuse to put your hand to the agreement made at Conduckuskeag by words and witnesses, yet you may expect Government will abide by it, and expect the same from you. If you break such solemn agreements, you must not expect prosperity from Heaven or any future favors from Government; but if you fulfill Treaties, faithfully, in time of any future want or distress, you might expect Government would be kind to you and help you.”

Mr. Little made some remarks upon another subject, and, at their conclusion, the Conference closed.

“We then,” Mr. Little continues, “wished them all well and took our leave of them at the house of conference: but their Chiefs asked leave of us to wait upon us to the water side, when I repeated a former declaration to impress their minds with a sense of the authority of Government, viz: that, although they refused to put their hand to any paper for the confirmation of the Treaty made at Conduckuskeag, yet they might expect that Government would abide by that agreement, made by words and witnesses, and expect the same from them, to which they made no reply. They provided young men and canoes to carry us off the Island; and, as we left their shore, they fired their cannon and gave us other marks of friendship with us.

“The Conference about four hours. Not a drop of rum by us or them while in the town. The Conference began between eight and nine o’clock. About fifty, mostly their heads of families, who occupied one side of the house. Not a word spoke or a smile expressed by any of them, except their Moderator or orator, and a few directing words by the Council to assist their speaker. In the midst of the Conference, about twelve o’clock, the bell rung and they made a composed mental prayer, for about ten minutes. When they appealed to Heaven as given them a right to the soil, all the Sachems rose up from the ground on which they sat and stood in a posture, for a minute, expressive of an appeal to the Great God, of the truth of their declarations. Four men were distinguished as their acting Chiefs, viz: Orono, Orsong, Esq., Neptunebovitt, Orsong Neptune. No women or children seen or heard through the Conference. They declined giving us liberty to see the Tribe paraded and numbered; but those who were most acquainted with the Tribe judged, as they appeared on the shore, at our landing, to be present about two hundred.”

Mr. Little and his party returned, the same day. Orono, the chief Sachem, with his wife, followed them to Conduckuskeag, and to Colonel Brewer’s, at Segeundundunk, now Brewer village; but he gave no encouragement that the Tribe would ratify the Treaty. Mr. Little told him that he should be on the river about a week or ten days; and that any of the Sachems might renew the Conference with him, if thought fit, at Orrington or Majorbagaduce. Mr. Little lingered upon the river, with the hope that the Tribe would change their mind; but he was disappointed, and was obliged to report to the Government his want of success.

No further efforts were made to obtain a settlement of this business, until 1796. Then, a controversy arose between the settlers and the Indi-

ians, in relation to the title to the territory above the Head of the Tide—the former supposing it to have been relinquished to the whites. The Government then appointed another Commission to quiet the Indians and bring the matter to a conclusion. The Commission consisted of William Shepherd, of Westfield, Nathan Dane, of Beverly, and Daniel Davis, of Portland. They succeeded in obtaining a release of all the claims of the Tribe to the territory above Nichols's Rock, at "The Bend," near the Head of the Tide, excepting Oldtown Island and the islands, in the river, above it, for thirty miles. The consideration for the release was one hundred and fifty yards of blue woollens, four hundred pounds of shot, one hundred pounds of powder, one hundred bushels of corn, thirteen bushels of salt, thirty six hats, one barrel of rum, and an annual stipend of three hundred bushels of Indian corn, fifty pounds of powder, two hundred pounds of shot, and seventy-five yards of blue woolen cloth, fit for garments. The territory relinquished by the Indians embraced one hundred and eighty-nine thousand, four hundred and twenty-six acres,* which was afterwards surveyed into nine townships, in 1797, by S. Towne.

The Indians, however, afterwards claimed title to the territory six miles wide, on both sides of the river, above the thirty miles relinquished in 1796, to an indefinite extent, and assumed to sell the timber from it. To prevent this, the Government of Massachusetts appointed another Commission, in 1818, consisting of Edward H. Robbins, Daniel Davis, and Mark L. Hill, who met Governor Etienne, Lieutenant-governor Neptune, Captain Francis, and other Chiefs of the Tribe—in all twenty-seven—on the twenty-fourth of June, at Bangor.

A Masonic celebration occurred at this time; and it was deemed expedient, by the Municipal Officers, to make the occasion memorable by a general celebration. Accordingly, they provided for a holiday and a procession. The Freemasons gave the Commissioners a dinner, at Lambert's then famous hotel, on Hancock-street; after which the procession, consisting of the Municipal Officers, Magistrates of the County, Military Officers. Rev. Thomas Williams, Strangers, and Citizens, escorted them to the Court-house, ["ancient City Hall"] where a large audience of ladies and gentlemen was assembled. The Chiefs, who were rather noble looking sons of the forest and slowly dressed, accompanied by General John Blake [Indian Agent], Major Treat, and Captain Webster, afterwards entered the house. As they entered, the Commissioners arose to receive them. Solicitor-general Davis—who, tradition says, had a kindly regard for the fairer

portion of the Tribe—addressed them. Lieutenant-governor Neptune, a Chief of commanding figure, of great dignity of manner and extensive influence among his people, made the reply. The result of the conference was, that Massachusetts obtained a release of all the Indians' interest in the territory, excepting four townships, six miles square, two contiguous to the nine townships formerly released, and two near the mouth of the Mattawamkeag-river—one on each side of the Penobscot and opposite each other—which, with the Islands in the river, above Oldtown Falls, were to belong to the Indians, for occupation, forever. As compensation for this relinquishment, the Commissioners agreed that the Indians should have, also, for occupation, two acres of land in Brewer, opposite Kenduskeag-point; to employ a suitable man to teach them husbandry; to repair their church, at Oldtown; to deliver there, in October, yearly, five hundred bushels of corn, fifteen barrels of flour, seven barrels of clear pork, one hoghead of molasses, one hundred yards of broadcloth, of blue and red, fifty blankets, one hundred pounds of gunpowder, four hundred pounds of shot, one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, six boxes of chocolate, and fifty dollars in silver. At the time, they made them a present of one six-pound gun, one swivel, one box of pipes, fifty knives, six brass kettles, two hundred yards of calico, two drums, four fifes, and three hundred yards of ribbon. An annual stipend of three hundred and fifty dollars was appropriated by the Government for their religious teacher.⁺

After the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, Maine assumed the obligations of Massachusetts to the Indians, and renewed the Treaty, at the Court-house, in Bangor, on the seventeenth of August, 1820.

The Commissioner, on the part of Maine, was Hon. Lathrop Lewis. The first meeting was on the fifteenth of August, when the Commissioner made the proposition that Maine would take upon itself the obligations of Massachusetts, provided the Tribe would release Massachusetts. The Chiefs—who were the same who made the last Treaty with Massachusetts—took time to consider. On the seventeenth, the Conference was renewed. The Chiefs were dressed in scarlet coats or robes, ornamented with silver brooches and with beads, after the Indian mode of that day, and made quite a distinguished appearance. Captain Francis made a speech; and, in behalf of the Tribe, accepted the proposition of Commissioner Lewis, to which Colonel Lewis replied. After the Treaty was signed, Colonel Lewis presented, from Governor King to Governor Etienne and Lieutenant-governor Neptune, a fine

* Williamson's *History of Maine*, II., 571.

+ Williamson's *History of Maine*, II., 669, 670.

piece of scarlet broadcloth, for each a coat. To each of the other Chiefs, he gave a silver breast-plate, upon which was engraved the Arms of the State of Maine. The presents were received with great apparent pleasure.

From the facts above-stated, and from the great attachment of the Tribe to the strip of territory extending from the Head of the Tide, up the river, we may conclude that that was the ancient and original Penobscot or Panawanskek; and that the chief resort of the Tribe, anciently, was at the Head of the Tide.

The French, doubtless, set the Indians the example of having permanent villages. They established Missions; built churches, and forts, and houses; and the Indians clustered about them. The village on Oldtown Island probably originated in that way. It might have been occupied by the Indians, as a camping-ground, five hundred years, as Orsong Neptune said; but the Indian who stated that the village was Panawanskek, and, at the same time, stated that it was a hundred years old, was probably nearly correct.

VIII.—MAJOR-GENERAL BENJAMIN MOOERS, OF PLATTSBURG, N. Y.

[DES MOINES, IOWA, Feb. 19th, 1872.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq.,

Editor of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,

DEAR SIR: I have read, with great interest, the following sketch, as given by himself, in 1833, when he was seventy-five years of age, of Major-general Mooers, late of Plattsburg, New York. It has been furnished to me by C. S. Mooers, Esqr., a venerable gentleman now a resident of this city and a son of General Mooers.

The General Orders of "Head Quarters of New York, "July 31st, 1813," will be found in the *Republican*, published at Plattsburg, N. Y., on the fourteenth of August, 1813. I suppose you have that paper, or some paper, which has the General Orders referred to. These General Orders state that "Major-general Mooers will have the immediate command of the whole detachment, subject to the orders and direction of the Commander-in-chief."

Truly, Yours,

N. B. BAKER.]

BIOGRAPHY OF MAJOR-GENERAL BENJAMIN MOOERS OF PLATTSBURG, CLINTON-COUNTY, N. Y., WRITTEN, IN 1833, BY REQUEST OF HIS SON, BENJAMIN H. MOOERS.

I was born, April 1st, 1758, at Haverhill, Massachusetts. My father was born at Newburyport, Massachusetts. My mother's maiden name was Abigail Hazen, sister of General Moses Hazen, of Albany, New York, and John L. and William Hazen. * * * When about fifteen years old, I went to live with Mr. John White, who was a merchant, and imported largely, at that period. His son went, about the same time,

to live with my father, to learn the trade of tanning leather. My father carried on a considerable business, at that time; but neither of us remained a considerable time, owing to the commencement of the Revolution, about that time.

Previous to the commencement of the Revolutionary War, a Company of Volunteers, of which I was one, met frequently for exercise with arms, and was drilled by a British Sergeant, generally before sunrise. In 1776, the Militia was called out; a Company was formed, about the first of June, which I joined, as a private, for five months. The Brigade to which our Company was attached, joined the Army, under Colonel Gates, at Ticonderoga, in 1776. Our Army, that Spring, retreated out of Canada and made their Headquarters at Ticonderoga. After our arrival, General Arnold was defeated on the Lake and his Fleet dispersed—part taken back and destroyed. While laying at Ticonderoga, the troops were called together and the Declaration of Independence read, which occasioned loud hurrahs. In the Fall of 1777, the Militia was requested, by the Legislature of Massachusetts, to Volunteer and join the Army under General Gates, to stop the progress of General Burgoyne. A Company was soon formed. I was one of them. We marched to Saratoga and arrived there, about two days before Burgoyne's surrender. A part of the prisoners were sent South, the others East, to the barracks near Boston, under a guard of Militia, to which the Company to which I belonged was attached. On the twentieth of March, following, I was appointed Ensign in a Regiment commanded by Colonel Moses Hazen, formed on a plan different from any other Regiment in the service, having one Colonel, one Lieutenant colonel, four Majors with twenty Companies, a Captain, Lieutenant, and Ensign to each. I joined the Regiment at Peekskill, New York, about the first of June, 1778, and took the oath of allegiance before Brigadier-general James Clinton. In 1780, I was appointed Lieutenant and Adjutant of the Regiment; and continued in that capacity to the end of the War. Our Winter-Quarters, for 1778 and 1779, were near Danbury, in Connecticut, with a New Hampshire Regiment. We were marched into the woods and built our Huts, where we remained until the next May, when Colonel Hazen's Regiment was ordered to march up the Connecticut-river, to Haverhill, New Hampshire, from which place the most of the Regiment were employed, during the Summer, to cut a road, through the wilderness, to Canada.

In the month of August, I was spoken to by Colonel Hazen, to take charge of a small party and go to Canada. Eleven of us set out together. After approaching within the sound of drum and fife, at St. John's, we turned our course to the

right and went to St. Trois. My written orders were to take a prisoner and bring him out; but secret orders were to get from the inhabitants information relative to the enemy, their numbers, stations, etc. I was two nights in the vicinity of St. Trois, and saw a Captain of Militia of Chambly, who was a particular friend of Colonel Hazen. From him, I obtained, also from a Mr. Monty, who was brother of Lieutenant Monty, in our Regiment. When we returned, all supposed an excursion was to be made into Canada; but the event proved it was only to draw the attention of the enemy that way.

In the Fall, the Regiment returned and joined the Army, and made our Winter Quarters near Morristown, New Jersey, in Huts made by the troops, in the woods. It was a cold and distressing Winter, we being nearly out of provisions, for three or four days at a time. A part of this Winter, I was in command, at Elizabethtown and about the land between Staten-island and the river.

A large detachment, under Major-general Lord Stirling, went over, on the ice, to Staten-island, which detachment I was ordered to join and lay on the heights, a very cold night, and many were frost-bitten. The enemy from New York came over, on the ice, with cannon. After some skirmishing, we returned without much effect.

I formed the Life-guard of General Washington, with my detachment, a few days, in the Winter, at which time I dined, as also the other Officers, with the General. The Life-guard was commanded by Major Gills and Captain Colfax.

In the Orders of General Green, dated September 25, 1780, at Orangetown, New Jersey, he mentions treason of the blackest dye was yesterday discovered. General Arnold, the commander at West Point, lost to every sense of honor, of private and public obligations, was about to deliver up that post into the hands of the enemy. This Order was given in the absence of General Washington, who had gone to Hartford, to meet the French General officers, whose troops were at Boston or Rhode Island. Arnold has made his escape to the enemy; but Major Andre, the Adjutant-general to the British Army, who came out as a Spy, to negotiate the treason, is our prisoner.

In a General Order of October 1st, 1780, at Orangetown, by a Board of Officers, to examine into Major Andre's case, reported that he ought to be considered as a Spy, on which the Commander-in-chief directed the execution of said Andre, in the usual way. This afternoon, at 5 o'clock, precisely, Captain Hughes of our Regiment commanded the guard; the prisoner walked between the Captain and Lieutenant, arm in arm, to the place of execution. One hundred of our Regiment, as also myself, as Adjutant, on

horse-back, and was near to see the execution of the prisoner, a most affecting scene, after which the Army returned to, and near, West Point.

Colonel Hazen's Regiment went into Winter Quarters, in the barracks, at Fishkill.

January, 1781, a detachment, under command of Major-general Parsons, a part of which (one hundred) was taken from Colonel Hazen's Regiment, I was with the number, (the whole number about one thousand) to Westchester county. In the Order of General Washington of 30 January, 1781, he expresses his thanks to Major-general Parsons, for his prudent and military disposition, and to Colonel Hull, and the officers and men, under his command, for burning the enemy's barracks and a large quantity of forage, and bringing across the Hudson-river, near the enemy's redoubt, fifty-two prisoners, and horses, and cattle, with inconsiderable loss, except the death of Ensign Thompson. The General also thanks Colonel Hazen and his party for their conduct and bravery in covering Colonel Hull's retreat, and repelling the enemy; and in Colonel Hazen's Orders, of 28 January, says he is directed by Major-general Parsons to inform the officers and soldiers of the Regiment, lately in detachment, under the General's command, that the Commander-in-chief has expressed great satisfaction in the enterprise, and assures them of his fullest approbation of their behavior; and Colonel Hazen, in his Orders, thanks the detachment.

In 1781, Colonel Hazen's Regiment remained at Fishkill, during the Winter. The next Summer, in July, we moved to West Point, for a short period; and then on to Dobbs's-ferry—in August—East side of the Hudson; from there, the Army crossed to Haverstraw; and thence to Philadelphia, where we received a month's pay in French Crowns.

The Army generally embarked on board of vessels, except Colonel Hazen's and a Rhode Island Regiment, commanded by Colonel Olney. These Regiments embarked on board of batteaus, taken from the North-river, and went down the Chesapeake, to James-river, and went up the river to Williamsburgh. From there, the Army moved on to the siege of Yorktown, in Virginia, which continued until the nineteenth of October, when Cornwallis surrendered. During the siege, a number were killed and wounded in our Regiment. At one shot, a Sergeant, Corporal, and a number of men were killed. When our Regiment had been relieved and was going out of the trenches, one more was killed, a little behind me. I was in front, with officers leading the troops. After arriving at camp, I found, on my pantaloons, blood and brains, I suppose from the soldier killed while coming out of the trenches.

I was at the storming of one of the enemy's

redoubts, during the siege, which was taken. The French were on our left, and stormed a redoubt, the same night, and took it.

After the capture of Cornwallis, our Regiment returned up the Chesapeake, and was ordered to Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, where we lay about ten months, guarding the prisoners of War, at that post, Yorktown and Reading, in that State.

While there, an Order was received by General Hazen, that if any British refugee Captain was to be found within his command, to send him to Philadelphia. The British had taken a Militia Captain; given him a sham trial; and hung him for a spy; and this was intended to retaliate.

September, 1782, our Regiment received orders to move from Pennsylvania to New York, at — Plains, at which place we were quartered through the Winter and Spring. In the month of June, 1783, our Regiment began to be furloughed. It marched to near the Hudson and joined the Army of General Washington, at White Plains. Our Regiment was then furloughed and disbanded, with a small pittance of pay up to November, 1783.

The Army was paid on what was called Final Settlement Certificates, worth only one eighth of a dollar or 2/6 on the pound. This we were obliged to take, or nothing. No means could have been devised to break up an Army without pay, better adapted to the feelings than to be permitted to go on furlough, under pay, with their arms in their hands.

There was an anonymous letter thrown out, said to have been written by General Armstrong, (who was subsequently Secretary of War in 1812 and 1814) advising the Army to hold together until Congress had passed a law, or made payment to the Army; but it did not have the desired effect. The Commander-in-chief, General Washington, was so much beloved by the Army, that every thing settled down quietly, or nearly so, according to his wishes.

In July, 1783, I was requested, by General Hazen, to take under my charge, a batteau and ten men, one of whom was an Ensign Peasley, a nephew of General Hazen and cousin of mine; another was Lieutenant Francis Monty, a refugee from Canada; the others, all Canadians. We embarked on board the batteau, and made our way up the Hudson, to Albany; from thence, up the North-river, to Fort Edward; from that place, our boat was taken on wheels and carried to Lake George (about fourteen miles). On our arrival at Lake George, I bought another batteau and proceeded across the Lake to the North end. Our boats were again taken on wheels to Lake Champlain, near Ticonderoga. From there, we proceeded down the Lake, the borders of which were almost a perfect wilderness. Burlington and almost all the other ports were a wilderness.

We arrived at Point au Roche; and immediately commenced putting up comfortable log-houses. After our arrival on Lake Champlain, we often saw British vessels of war sailing about our Lake; and I often boarded and asked questions. An Officer says to me, "I suppose you was a Colonel in the Army?" I said "No, but I had 'the honor to be a Lieutenant," which, I believe, was the office he held. The British held Point au Fair at the time, and until Mr. Jay's Treaty of 1794. Also another Fort, called Dutchman's Point, at the North end of Grand Isle, opposite Point au Roche. General Hazen arrived here, in September, 1783. Mr. Peasley and myself returned with him to Whitehall. General Hazen went South, and Peasley and I went to Haverhill, New Hampshire; and thence to Haverhill, Massachusetts, my native place, where I spent the Winter, and returned to Lake Champlain in May following, and spent my Summers on the Lake, and Winters at Haverhill, until 1786, after which I continued my residence on the borders of the Lake.

At this time, this section was in Washington-county. In 1773, a new County was formed, embracing the territory of Essex, Clinton, and Franklin; and called Clinton-county. I was appointed Sheriff, and held the office four years. The twenty-fourth of April, I was married to Hannah Platt, daughter of Nathaniel Platt, who moved to Plattsburgh, about a year previous. Passing through the several grades in the Militia, from Lieutenant-colonel, I was commissioned, in 1811, a Major-general, at which time I had six Brigades in my Division, extending from Franklin to Albany-counties, including them, and all between. I was principal Assessor, under the direct tax of 1798; and, in 1799, I was the Republican candidate for the Assembly. Daniel Ross was the Federal candidate. We having an even number of votes, neither claimed a seat. I was elected to the Assembly, in 1804, or 1805. In 1808, I was an Elector to choose a President and Vice President of the United States.

* * * * *

[NOTE.—General Mooers died on the eighteenth of February, 1838, in his eightieth year.]

IX.—MANNERS OF AMERICAN JUDGES AND LAWYERS.

EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS ON MANNERS OF THE BENCH AND BAR, DELIVERED BEFORE THE LAWSCHOOL OF THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, DECEMBER 22, 1871.

BY CHARLES H. HUNT, ESQ., OF THE NEW YORK BAR.

In this discourse, after dwelling at considerable length upon forensic traits and anecdotes of the Bench and Bar,

of Antiquity, Modern Continental Europe, England, Scotland, and Ireland, Mr. Hunt proceeded as follows:

On crossing the Atlantic and coming home, we find ourselves, perhaps, on more delicate ground. But I will say, at once, that I hold the American Bar and the American Bench to have been, and still to be, a well-bred Bar and a well-bred Bench. It may be that English Barristers and Judges commonly exhibit a conventional polish which is the exception and not the rule in our Courts; but I maintain that, on the whole, the best traditions of judicial and professional decorum are, in substance, as much respected and as well observed here as elsewhere. We have notorious advocates who are never satisfied unless they are brow-beating witnesses, bullying Courts, and outraging the best public sentiment. We have Judges who, every morning, take their seats upon the Bench with an air of conscious, low-bred defiance; and who, after taking their seats, habitually act the part of cynical buffoons, in open Court. Others, less culpable, from vanity and like infirmities, appear to find the official dignity an uncomfortable burden. There are Judges, here, as there have been in all countries, whose manners suggest a resemblance, more or less faithful, to the manners of certain animals, as the bear, the wolf, the monkey, and so forth. Many uncounted stories might be collected of rough and indecent judicial and professional antics, in some of the Courts, between here and the Pacific coast; and even our metropolitan jurists are sometimes under-bred, by nature, habit, and principle. Illustrations of this remark might be verified, I suppose, by the testimony of men still living. But, as a general rule, in our cities and rural districts, Judges and Lawyers seem habitually impressed with a becoming sense of the obligations to dignity and good manners.

In a country so large as ours, with a population so heterogeneous, where poverty is but a fragile bar to entrance, success, and eminence, in any profession or business; where liberty constantly hits the verge of license; and where the tenure of judicial office hangs upon the changeable popular will or, more yet, upon the will of low-bred politicians, it would not be surprising if coarse and uncultivated majorities were found invading the Courts of Justice, and marring their proceedings. But no such result happens, at least, not yet. God knows what may be in store for us; but, up to the present time, decent manners prevail and give the tone in our forum.

This fact, I take it, results from the universal and peculiar education of our people. There are, properly speaking, no boors in this coun-

try. An ordinary son of the humblest citizen or backwoodsman, however limited his study of books, acquires, insensibly and, as it were, instinctively, in our atmosphere, a smattering of many things, including the theory of civic rights and obligations, the methods of public business, parliamentary and other law, and, incidentally, a smattering of good-breeding. It is a training in common sense, applied to the art of getting on. Such a training teaches the lusty youths who leave the farm and workshop, planning to, eventually, lead at the Bar or preside on the Bench—teaches them the value of decorum; and makes them, at least, as ambitious to master the proprieties of professional life as to learn law. And so it comes about, that, in this free and easy, democratic nation, the great majority of aspirants to forensic honors do their best to cultivate a becoming deportment, as incidental to success. All circumstances considered, our standard of forensic courtesy is most creditable. Doubtless there is much room for improving it. Even the average example of the Bench is far from perfect; for, in manners, as in virtue, the wisest and best men must remain, in this life, always at school.

The late Ogden Hoffman, some years before his death, visited Europe; and, on his return, was, one day, surrounded by a group of lawyers to whom he descanted, with much vivacity, upon the note-worthy things he had observed abroad—the wonders of nature and art, society, manners, and so forth. A gentleman present abruptly inquired, "What did you see 'that struck you with most surprise?' " Mr. Hoffman replied, "Well, that which impressed 'me more than any other one thing, was the 'deference which the English Judges pay to 'the Barristers.' " This eminent and polished advocate, of course, thought, at the time he thus spoke, that, in this particular form of courtesy, the mother-country had the start of us. We have overtaken our trans-atlantic cousins, in other races; and it is to be hoped that we shall, in due time, come up with them in this.

The history of the American Bench presents a good array of names of men who, to the lustre of their judgment and learning, have superadded the distinction of excellent manners. Two or three may be passingly mentioned, as examples of a great number.

Of John Marshall, a biographer says: "The 'courtesy of the Judge was one of his most 'beautiful traits. It was the spontaneous exhibition of the simple and kindly emotions of 'his heart. Pure benevolence displayed itself 'in every word which he uttered. He gave his 'hand to the plain yeoman, clad in homespun, 'as courteously and sincerely as to the greatest 'personage in the country. He had the same

"simple smile and good-humored jest for both; and seemed to recognize no difference between them. It was instructive to estimate, in the good Chief Justice, the basis and character of true politeness. John Randolph, one of the most fastidious and aristocratic of men, left his opinion that Marshall's manner was perfect good-breeding."

We need not linger to inquire how such a man bore himself in the public exercise of his high functions.

Our own great Chancellor Kent, was, at all periods of his long life, one of the most simple, genial, cheerful, playful of men. He manifested, in public and in private, a perennial, bubbling gaiety. One might think, from the anecdotes of him, that this trait would have, sometimes, led to a momentary compromise of dignity. But it seems that such a mishap never occurred. His intellect and sturdy character were too commanding to permit any real trifling.

Of Kent's peculiar manners, just seeming, at times, to border upon eccentric levity, I can give no better sample than that shown in the following passage which I find in the unpublished Memoirs of Martin Van Buren. "On one occasion that I was present at his Chambers," writes the late ex-President, "a young Attorney was applying for admission as Solicitor-in-Chancery. Finding (as was very evident) that he could not bring his case within the Rules, he referred to the admission, under similar circumstances, of an Attorney from a neighboring city whose rough manners were notorious. Before he had finished his statement, his Honor interrupted him in the following strain: 'I deny it, Sir! It is not true! I did not admit him. He broke in. How would you keep such a fellow out? But you are a gentleman, and must not try to imitate such a bad example. Wait till the proper time, and I will admit you, with pleasure.'

"At an earlier period, he had been holding a tedious Circuit, in Columbia; and, on the last day, tried an action for an Assault and Battery on a negro. It appeared that the negro's conduct had been improper; and the Jury gave him only six cents damages. He had brought another suit against another Defendant for the same assault. That was also on the Calendar, but had been passed. The Plaintiff wished to have it tried at the close of the Circuit; and the Judge refused, saying that he had had his chance; but, on the representation of the Plaintiff's Counsel that his client was poor and would be liable to heavy costs, the Judge consented, with an admonition to the Counsel that if he did not recover more than six cents in that case, he would not

"give him a certificate to entitle him to costs. The Clerk commenced calling a Jury, when the Judge looked at his watch and exclaimed, 'Stop, Clerk! I'll be hanged if I will try the other cause. The negro was saucy and deserved to be whipped. Crier! adjoin the Court.'

"The unfeigned respect entertained for the Chancellor, by all who knew him," continues Mr. Van Buren, "was strikingly exemplified by the fact that the playful effusions of a mind conscious of its real dignity and its independence of external ceremonies to maintain it, never served to encourage the slightest trifling on the part of the Bar, or the least disposition to notice them in a way inconsistent with the relation in which they stood to each other."

The late William Kent, the Chancellor's only son, himself a Judge and one of the noblest gentlemen of the age, related to me this anecdote of his more celebrated father. The Chancellor once, in his old age, climbed a cherry-tree, and, with his foot upon one branch whilst holding by another, was enjoying the fruits. William, standing upon the ground, beneath, grew nervous and begged his father to come down, and to be careful to avoid a fall in doing so. "No, Sir!" said the old gentleman, "I'd have you to know that I am accustomed to elevated situations: I can maintain myself in them with safety and descend from them with dignity."

The late Chief Justice Bronson, of this State, was an exquisite product of our peculiar institutions. With a slender education, acquired under difficulties, he was not only a great jurist but a model gentleman. He presided in Court with a superb, because a quiet, unaffected, and unconscious, dignity. His opinions, broad and untechnical, in substance, and incisive, in style, indicate a positive thinker and hard-headed writer; while his demeanor, on or off the Bench, was most simple, genial, and pleasing. After retiring from the Court of Appeals and joining the innumerable caravan of ex-Judges, he practiced, as Counsel, again, as others do. At that period, his sociability, urbanity, and boyish freedom with young men were delightful.

I might touch upon the traits of many other representative American Judges, and might, without impropriety, say what the subject would suggest of some of our departed leaders at the Bar. But I will content myself with referring to a single noble example of American forensic breeding. In the prize case of the *Ship Nereide*, argued in the Supreme Court of the United States and reported in 8 *Cranch*, Thomas Addis Emmet appeared as leading Counsel on one side, and William Pinkney on

the other. They had been pitted against each other, in the same Court, in a previous case, when Pinkney, having the advantage, had made the most of it, and, in a momentary elation, had used expressions towards Emmet which seemed harsh, arrogant, and overbearing. When the argument in the case of the *Nereide* came on, Mr. Emmet spoke of the great abilities of his adversary and alluded to what had occurred on the previous argument, without asperity or complaint, but in a manner to show that his sensitive nature had been hurt. He then alluded to his own misfortunes, in terms which, it is said, drew tears from the eyes of all present. When Mr. Pinkney came to begin his reply, after some general allusions to the Counsel who were opposed to him, he turned to Mr. Emmet and remarked: "To one of them, indeed, I have heretofore given unintentional pain, by observations to which the influence of accidental excitement imparted the appearance of unkind criticism. The manner in which he replied to those observations reproached me by its forbearance and urbanity, and could not fail to hasten the repentance which reflection alone would have produced, and which I am glad to have so public an occasion for avowing. I offer him a gratuitous and cheerful atonement—cheerful, because it puts me to rights with myself, and because it is tendered, not to ignorance and prejudice, but to the highest worth in intellect and morals, enhanced by such eloquence as few may hope to equal; to an interesting stranger whom adversity has tried and affliction struck severely to the heart; to an exile whom our country may be proud to receive and every man of a generous temper would be ashamed to offend. I feel relieved by this atonement and proceed with more alacrity."

Of course, American advocates, even the most eminent, have not always behaved so handsomely as did Mr. Pinkney on this occasion.

Our Courts have, at times, witnessed scenes of coarse insult, bitter speech, and unseemly wrangling. In 1845, John Van Buren, Attorney-general of this State, and a very distinguished opponent, Ambrose L. Jordan, came to blows, in open Court, in the course of an important public trial. But the fact that this was not deemed a common or a light offence, appeared from what followed. The presiding Judge, Edmonds, immediately imprisoned both offenders. They, in their turn, offered to the just and prevailing public opinion, all the atonement in their power, by acknowledging the flagrancy of their fault and the justice of their punishment. Neither harbored resent-

ment against the Court; and Mr. Van Buren promptly tendered to the Governor of the State, a resignation of his office.

The peculiar peril to which the manners of the young lawyer or the new-made Judge are exposed, is the taking advantage of his privilege and position, to trifle with the sensibilities of the timid and helpless who may come within his power. It is a mean and petty tyranny, whether practiced by a Barrister or a Judge, which generous minds will generally steer clear of; but the temptation to this sort of unfairness is sometimes yielded to by very good men. The anecdote-books relate this of Erskine: "A commercial traveller appeared in the witness-box, dressed in the height of fashion and wearing a starched, white neck-tie, folded in the Brummel fold. In an instant, reading the character of the man, on whom he had never before set eyes, and knowing how necessary it was to put him in a state of extreme agitation, before touching upon the facts concerning which he had come to give evidence, Erskine rose, surveyed the coxcomb, and said with an air of careless amusement, 'You were born and bred in Manchester, I perceive!'" Greatly astonished, the man answered, nervously, that he 'was a Manchester-man—born and bred in Manchester.' 'Exactly so,' observed Erskine, 'I knew it from the absurd tie of your neck-cloth.' The roars of laughter which followed this rejoinder so completely effected the speaker's purpose, that the confounded bagman did not know his right hand from his left." Such a trick seems hardly worthy of the illustrious advocate who is here said to have practiced it.

The late Mr. Charles Edwards, in his volume entitled *Pleasantries of the New York Bar*, tells us of the grief which befel a brow-beating advocate of a different order from Erskine, in the rural districts of this State. The story runs thus. "Mark S—— used to try cases in 'Justices' Courts. His principal forte, and that on which he prided himself most, lay in the examination of witnesses. He boasted he could worm truth out of a stone. In consequence of some rather sharp practice, Mark had reasons to suppose that the District-attorney was preparing an indictment against him, for perjury; and so he disappeared from his accustomed haunts, 'on a little law-business,' as he afterwards said, when closely interrogated, sojourning on what was called Snipe Hill, a sort of Alsatia, being the same place of which somebody said the inhabitants had 'broken every law, every Sabbath, and every Sheriff's head, for the last ten years. After his return, he was, one day, trying a cause

"before a Justice; and a boy was called as a witness to whom Mark objected, on the ground "of his simplicity—that he was '*non compost*,' "as Mark safely observed and he insisted on "the *voir dire*. The boy was accordingly sworn, "preliminarily; and Mark assumed his sternest "face, and looking at the boy as though he "would eye him into a fit. 'Boy!' said he, "who made you?' 'The Lord, I thpothe:' "lispd the boy, 'who made you?' 'Never "mind who made me,' said Mark. 'Folks "say you are a fool: how is it?' 'Do they?' "responded the witness, 'thath nothign. Thome "folklh thay! you wont cheat. Folkth will "lie, you thee.' 'Boy! no impertinence,' "shouted Mark, glowering fiercely, as the Jus- "tice checked the subdued giggle that ran "around the room. 'Suppose you were to "commit perjury, do know what that means?' "Yeth, thur, thwearing to a lie, jeth what "you did lath Winter, aint it?' 'The witness "is clearly incompetent,' appealed Mark to the "Court. But the Court could not see it; and "the learned Mark proceeded. 'Well, suppose "you were to commit perjury and swear false- "ly, where would you go to?' 'To Thimpe "Hill, I thuppothe, where you went, lath "Winter.' The boy was admitted as a wit- "ness."

The law has always been a witty profession; and opportunities for saying good things have often been the temptation and excuse for violating the canons of politeness. A spinster of uncertain years being on the stand, as a witness, the cross-examining advocate deemed it material to inquire what her age might be. "I am "not ashamed of my age," answered the lady, spitefully. The lawyer replied, "Certainly, "Madam, you ought not to be ashamed of any "thing you have had so long."

In a County Court, in the interior of this State, a gentlemen, in a soiled white cravat, having given valuable testimony in favor of the party calling him, the cross-examination commenced as follows: COUNSEL, "What is your "occupation?" WITNESS, "I am a small can- "dle in the house of the Lord." COUNSEL, "Oh yes, a dipped candle, I suppose."

I was present, some years since, at Binghamton, at the examination of a witness who was roughly handled by the opposing Counsel. At the end of it, he addressed his cross-examiner, facetiously, with a punning reference to his own trade, that of a dyer. "Now, may I go and "die?" The response was, "Certainly, and be "damned."

The public manners of the Bar and the Judiciary have, for their display, so conspicuous a theatre, and always so interested every class

of the multifarious throngs who attend the Courts, from compulsion or curiosity, that, necessarily, those manners must exert a decided influence upon the general manners of any community. It is not, then, for their own sake, merely, that the Bench and Bar should cultivate a high standard of decorum; but, also, as an example, affecting the tone of society itself.

I do not pretend that there exists any needful connection or inter-dependence between forensic manners and forensic morals. A coarse, crabbed, and insolent lawyer or Magistrate, may be honest. An urbane advocate or decorous Judge is, sometimes, corrupt. Nor, as to relative importance between purity and decorum, is any comparison admissible. The one is simply essential; the other is only important. The absence of the latter, in a community, like personal ugliness, in an individual, is a superficial, though a sad, defect. A want of the former, is rottenness at the core of the social fabric. Society can live with an uncivil administration of Justice, but is close on dissolution whenever the Bar and the Bench are given over to scoundrels, whether rough or polished.

The various offences which are embraced under the expressive head of "sharp-practice," are all peculiar to under-bred practitioners. Those offences are not committed by gentlemen. I could, therefore, without degression, if it suited me, observe upon the different forms of chicanery, which go by that generic name. But I prefer to consider these as belonging to the subject of morals rather than of manners; and thus to evade the discussion of a disagreeable topic.

Our theme is suggestive enough of other remarks and other illustrations. But, I have not undertaken a dissertation and must not be garrulous. The aim of what I have said has been, if possible, to deepen an impression which, I doubt not, is already fixed in the minds of the young gentlemen before me. I take it for granted that they look forward to the filling, worthily, of seats upon the Bench, or leading at the Bar, or, at all events, of maintaining a respectable standing in the profession. Either way, they may well set it down as a maxim, that courtesy is next, in importance, to character and knowledge. Good-breeding is, at least, as essential a quality to the lawyer or Judge, as to the man in any other condition or calling; and ill-breeding, if it does not positively soil the ermine or stain the gown, smirches and disfigures both.

X.—“VERMONT CONTROVERSY.”—CONTINUED.

A SERIES OF UNPUBLISHED PAPERS, CONCERNING THE RELATIONS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE AND THE EARLY VERMONTENSE, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

[4.—*Extract of Governor Wentworth's letter to Governor Tryon, October 19, 1771, disavowing and disapproving the outrages committed in Vermont, and asking the Governor of New York, "as a peculiar favor," to use the greatest severity in his punishment of the offenders.*]

Extract of Governor Wentworth's Letter to Governor Tryon of New York, dated 19th Oct. 1771—

The Information refer'd to in your Excellency's Letter of 2^d Inst' altho' wholly different from the real fact, is not unexpected to me having been often menac'd by a Number of People on Connecticut River who have not only taken great pains to vilify & asperse me in that District, and by the most artful unjust Solicitations to obtain equally injurious Representations not hesitating to scatter Threats of Plans form'd to remove me from his Majesty's Service. These Things I shou'd have neglected in Silence: but their Attempts to convey such prejudicial Insinuations to your Excellency justify my Explanation.

The Surveyor General of the Northern District being in the Course of Duty station'd here for two years, and by the Winter's Rigor precluded from surveying the Sea Coast, I form'd a Design of obtaining, thro' his Assistance a perfect and compleat Survey of this Province—such interior Surveys being recommended in his Official Instructions: Captain Holland very obligingly was dispos'd to employ himself & his party on this Service, if he cou'd be aided by three or four additional Men to assist in the Surveys; Whereupon I recommended to the Assembly but they refused to make any provision for the Expence, altho' it could not amount to fifty Guineas; but as the advantage was so evidently great, and such an invaluable Opp^s might never again happen, to acquire a faithful & exact Map of the Province, unless at a far greater Expence, Capt Holland's Requisition was rais'd by subscription.

He undertook in person to survey the Eastern District— One Deputy, Mr Grant he sent to Connecticut River & one Deputy thro' the Middle of the province— In the Spring Each party made Return to Capt Holland, and this Winter the intermediate parts of those Divisions are to be perfected & a general Map compos'd—

These Gentlemen being strangers the people of the Country naturally jealous of evry thing they don't understand, and the whole Survey depending upon voluntary Assistance I wrote to some Gent^l in this prov: a Circular Letter for Each party, to secure proper Reception & Assistance for them: which Letter in many Instances sav'd them much Distress & Difficulty.

Whether Mr Grant, Mr Whiting had no sort of power or Direction, but merely as One Hand hir'd pursu'd an Easterly Branch of Connect River instead of a Northerly Branch: or which of the Two is properly the Main River I know not: but am inclined to think, so skilful an Officer under the Strictest Injunctions of Care from his principal, and subject to his penetrating Examination, cou'd not well be mistaken, is such a material point as this; yet if it is, the Error is so much injurious to New Hampshire—

The ill tim'd parsimony of the late Assembly refus'd so useful & necessary a Grant altho' requisite to carry into Effect a royal Instruction. I confess it gave me pain, yet I coul'd by no means sollicit Aid of the Govern^r of N: York towards surveying Connect^t River, w^{ch} by His Majesty's Order in Council (whereby the Western District was granted from this to that province) it establish'd expressly to be in N: Hampsh: to its Western Banks—more especially as it is part of a provincial Survey; w^{ch} hath not been forwarded to His Majesty's Ministers of State, neither will it be, until next Spring; when the whole prov: Map is finish'd, and must then obtain what Credit its own truth may merit.

Whatever may be the Consequences of the Conduct held by those people, whom y^r Excell^y is informed are exciting Disturbances on the District formerly in this Province they can not in any Degree be ascrib'd to me; that my Name has been us'd therein, I consider as an Effort of those unworthy Wretches, who daily presume in that Country to calumniate me in y^e rudest & most indecent Terms—

To preclude all possibility of Mistake On my side, I have cautiously & unexceptionably avoided speaking to any man or men upon this Dispute, unless in the presence of some other persons; and have invariably recommended implicit Obedience to the Laws where his Majesty had been pleas'd to assign them, and upon All Occasions positively Disavow'd any Connection with them or even a Desire for their revesting to this Prov: But at all times told them that I have met with occasionally, that submission was their Duty & Interest. Upon Y^r Excell^y's Accession to the Government I was still more explicit & Earnest in public & private recommending those unhappy complaining

people, immediately to refer themselves & their Cause to y^r Decision & in abiding thereby— I was confident they would have Justice, neither might they expect me to reconsider or alter what might be y^r Determination even if that Country should ever be reannexed to this Province; an Event w^{ch} could not be expected, considering the great Disparity in Interest Wealth, Diligence & Ability w^{ch} I grieve to acknowledge is manifestly against N. Hampsh.

Hence it is my Wish to hear that Every Outrage & Violence committed under any pretence whatever may meet the severest Censure of Law w^{ch} I shall see without Concern, but on the contrary rejoice in, as the Avenger of those groundless Aspersions, and still more culpable Conduct practiced by many towards me; in defiance of all Law or Rectitude whatever: and I intreat as a peculiar favor, the greatest Severity may fall on those who presume in any way to ascribe their Conduct to me— The Merits of the Dispute are too tedious for me to enter into at this time— suffice it to Say, that the whole arose upon Representations & Plans from N: York in the year 1762, totally unsuspected & unknown to this province, containing many cruel Reflections on y^e late Governor & Council; whereon N: Hamp: sufferd the Loss, unheard; altho' they labor under a Tax to the year 1774 incurred in the defence of this very Land in Obedience to a royal Instruction, specifying it to be part of this province; and enjoyn^g a penalty of its loss to Massa-bay upon neglect, g to obey: an Event further remarkd by a Dissolution of an Assembly who disapproving the mode of Defence rejected the Recommendation, w^{ch} was acceded to by the next Assembly, I am positively convinced that those people are to a Man certain of my Abhorrence of every species of Outrage or illegality, and that all pretences of my favor are made by a few disaffected persons, merely to vili me— Nor do they even venture openly to avow this among the people in general, who universally know the Contrary; therefore any public Act of mine can not in the least deceive them; but would be considered as an exterior Condescension to two or three wicked men who have been for three years past disseminating the most Mischeivous Measures in that remote Country—

[5.—Governor Tryon's reply to Governor Wentworth's disavowal and disapproval of the outrages committed in Vermont, 23rd December, 1771.]

FORT GEORGE, NEW YORK 23^d Dec^r 1771.

SIR

Having been favored with your Letter of the 19th October I lost no Time in laying it before His Majesty's Council of this Province, by

whose Advice I issued a Proclamation setting forth the Proceedings that have passed, between our Governments, respecting the Lands lying in this Province to the Westward of Connecticut River—a Copy of which Proclamation I have the Honor to transmit to You; requesting if You Sir, see no Objection, that it may be inserted in the public Papers within your Government. The Facts stated therein are taken from original Letters & papers now in the Secretary's Office of this Province. It was thought necessary to prevent the malicious Insinuations of designing men from gaining Credit among the deluded Inhabitants in the Western Frontiers of this Colony to express in the proclamation Your Excellency's Disavowal & Disapprobation of the rash Conduct of those Rioters who so much disturb the Peace of this Government. I still hope You will upon further Reflection, make known by some public Act within your Government, your Dissatisfaction of such injurious Reflections, & that You will consider such a step, rather as a Compliance with my earnest Request, than as an exterior Condescension to a few wicked men.

The Commissioners appointed for runing the partition Line between this Government and the Province of Canada being prevented, this Season, from proceeding any further than Twenty two miles of the Course; I am desirous of informing Your Excellency, as You may possibly consider your Province in some measure effected thereby, that I have fixed upon the first day of March next, for the Commissioners to meet at the House of Col^l Christy's, on the River Cole, about two Leagues to the westward of Point Moore, from whence they are to proceed in Compleating the Extension of the Boundary Line between the two Governments agreeable to His Majestys Instruction.

I am truly sensible of the Politeness of your Sentiments towards me, & wish You may by an early Visit to this City, afford me an Opportunity of renewing an Acquaintance which was begun during your Short Stay in your Tour through North Carolina. I am with much Esteem,

Sir

Your Excellencys

Most Obedient Servant

WM TRYON

P. S. Our Correspondence being of a public Nature I shall communicate the Same to His Majesty's Secretary of State for American Affairs.

His Excellency JOHN WENTWORTH Esq^r Gov^r &c. &c.

[6.—*Declaration and Petition to the Continental Congress, by the insurgents in Vermont, January, 15, 1777.*]

15 Jan. 1777. To the Hon^{ble} the Continental Congress.

The declaration and petition of the inhabitants of that part of North America, situate south of Canada Line, west of Connecticut River, North of the Massachusetts bay and east of a Twenty mile line from Hudson's River, containing about one hundred and forty four townships, of the contents of six miles square each, granted your petitioners by the authority of New Hampshire, besides several grants made by the authority of New York, and a quantity of vacant land.

Humbly sheweth:

That your petitioners, by virtue of the several Grants made them by the authorities aforesaid, have many years since, with their families become actual settlers and inhabitants of the said described premises, by which it is now become a respectable frontier to their neighbouring states, and is of great importance to our common barrier Ticonderoga, as it has furnished the army there with much provisions, and can muster more than five thousand hardy soldiers capable of bearing arms in defense of American liberty.

That shortly after your petitioners began their settlements, a party of land-jobbers in the city and State of New-York began to claim the lands, and took measures to have them declared to be within that jurisdiction.

That on the fourth day of July 1764 the king of Great-Britain did pass an order in council, extending the jurisdiction of New-York Government to Connecticut River, in consequence of a representation made by the late Lieutenant Governor Colden, that for the convenience of trade and administration of justice, the inhabitants were desirous of being annexed to said state.

That upon this alteration of jurisdiction the s^d Lieutenant Governor Colden did grant several tracts of land in the above described limits, to certain persons living in the state of New-York, which were at that time in the actual possession of your petitioners, and under colour of the lawful authority of said state did proceed against your petitioners as lawless intruders upon the Crown-lands in their province. This produced an application to the king of Great-Britain from your petitioners, setting forth their claims under the Government of New-Hampshire, and the disturbance and interruption they had suffered from said post-claimants under New-York. And on the 24th day of July 1767 an order was passed at St

James prohibiting the the Governors of New-York, for the time being, from granting any part of the said described premises on pain of incurring his Majesty's highest displeasure. Nevertheless the same Lieutenant-Governor Colden, the Governors Dunmore and Tryon have each and every of them in their respective turns of administration, presumed to violate the said royal order, by making several Grants of the prohibited premises, and countenancing an actual invasion of your petitioners to drive them off from their possessions.

These violent proceedings, (with the solemn determination of the supreme Court of the State of New-York that the Charters, Conveyances &c, of your petitioners' lands were utterly null and void, on which they were founded,) reduced your petitioners to the disagreeable necessity of taking up arms as the only means left for the security of their possessions. The consequence of this step was the passing of twelve acts of outlawry by the legislature of New-York on the ninth day of March 1774 which were not intended for the State in general but only for part of the Counties of Albany and Charlotte. Viz such parts thereof as are covered by the New Hampshire charters.

Your petitioners having had no representative in that assembly when the acts were passed, they first came to the knowledge of them by the publick-papers in which they were inserted. By these they were informed, that if three or more of them assembled together to oppose what said assembly called legal authority, that such as should be found assembled to the number of three or more should be adjudged felons; and that in case they or any of them should not surrender himself or themselves to certain officers appointed for the purpose of securing them after a warning of seventy days, that then it should be lawful for the respective judges of the Supreme Court of the Province of New-York to award execution of Death, the same as though he or they had been attainted before a proper Court of Judicatory. These laws were evidently calculated to intimidate your petitioners into a tame surrender of their rights, and such a state of Vassalage as would entail misery to their latest posterity.

It appears to your petitioners that an infringement of their rights is still meditated by the State of New-York, as we find that in their General Convention at Haerlem the Second day of August last, it was unanimously voted "That all the quit-rents formerly due to the Crown of Great-Britain within this State are now due and owing to this Convention, or such future Government as may hereafter be established in this State."

By a submission to the claims of New-York your petitioners would be subjected to the payment of two Shillings and six pence Sterling on every hundred acres annually, which compared with the quit-rents of Livingston's, Philip's and Ransaeler's Manors, and many other enormous tracts in the best situations in the State would lay the most disproportionate Share of the publick expense on your petitioners in all respects the least able to bear it.

The Convention of New-York have now nearly completed a Code of laws for the future government of that State, which, should they be attempted to be put in execution will subject your petitioners to the fatal necessity of opposing them by every means in their power.

When the Declaration of the Honble the Continental Congress of the 4th of July last, reached your petitioners they communicated it throughout the whole of this District, and, being properly apprised of the proposed meeting delegates from the several Counties and towns in the District, described in the Preamble to this petition, did meet at Westminster in said district, and after several adjournments for the purpose of forming themselves into a distinct and separate State, did make and publish a declaration, "That they would at all times thereafter consider themselves as a free and independent State capable of regulating their own internal policies in all and every respect whatsoever; and that the people in said described district have the sole exclusive right of governing themselves in such manner and form as they, in their wisdom should chuse, not repugnant to any resolves of the Honble the Continental Congress; and for the mutual support of each other in the maintenance of the Freedom and Independence of the said district or separate State, the said delegates did jointly and severally pledge themselves to each other by all the ties that are held sacred among men, and resolve and declare, that they were at all times ready in Conjunction with their full proportion towards the maintaining and supporting the present just war against the Fleets and Armies of Great-Britain."

To convey this declaration and resolution to your Honble Body, the Grand representative of the United States were we, your more immediate petitioners, delegated by the united and unanimous voices of the representatives of the whole body of Settlers upon the described premises, in whose name and behalf we Humbly pray, that the said declaration may be received, and the district described therein be ranked by your Honours among the Free and Independent States and delegates there from admitted to

seats in the Grand Continental Congress. And your Petitioners, as in duty bound &c.

NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANTS, WESTMINSTER,
15th January 1777.—

Signed by order and in behalf of the
General Convention]

J. S. J. JONAS FAY
 THOMAS CHITTENDEN } Delegates
 HEMAN ALLEN }
 REUBEN JONES. }

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

XI.—THE SIXTH ARMY CORPS, BEFORE FREDERICKSBURGH, APRIL— MAY, 1863.

AN UNPUBLISHED REPORT OF MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN SEDGEWICK.

COMMUNICATED BY MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM F. SMITH.

HEAD QUARTERS 6th ARMY CORPS,
May 1863.

Brig. Gen^l S. WILLIAMS,
Ass^t Adj^t Gen^l
Army of the Potomac,
GENERAL,

I respectfully submit
the following report of operations on the left.

On Tuesday, the 28th ult, in compliance with the orders of the Comd'g Gen^l, received that morning, the 6th Corps moved to the vicinity of Franklin's crossing, near the mouth of Deep Run. The 1st Corps, Major-Gen^l Reynolds, to a position about one mile further down the river, and the 3^d Corps, Major-Gen^l Sickles, took position slightly to the rear and between the positions of the 6th and 1st Corps. All the troops camped that night without fires behind the heights, and concealed from the observation of the enemy. During the night the pontoons were carried to the river by hand. At the upper crossing, shortly before daylight, Brooks' Division of the 6th Corps crossed in the boats, Russell's Brigade taking the lead, and receiving the fire of the enemy's pickets and reserves. The enemy's rifle pits were immediately occupied, and three bridges were rapidly laid under the direction of Brig. Gen^l Benham. At Reynolds' crossing, one mile further down the passage was delayed by a severe fire from the enemy's sharp shooters, but was at length gallantly accomplished, Gen^l Wadsworth crossing with a portion of his Division in the boats, and driving the enemy from their rifle pits. During the day, Wednesday April 29th, the command was held in readiness to cross, while the enemy was rapidly entrenching on his entire front, and occasionally shelling Reynolds'

position on the left. On Thursday the 30th, Sickles' Corps was detached from my command and ordered to United States Ford, and during the night one of the bridges at the upper, and one at the lower crossing was taken up, under orders from Head Quarters, and sent to Banks' Ford.

On Friday, May 1st at 5 P. M., an order was received from the Comd'g Gen'l, to make a demonstration in force at one o'clock of that same day, to let it be as severe as possible, without being an attack to assume a threatening attitude, and maintain it until further orders. It was already some hours after the time fixed for the movement, but the last clause of the order as stated here determined me to execute it without delay. Reynolds' Corps was accordingly displayed in force. Gen'l Newton was directed to send one Division of the 6th Corps to Reynolds' support to cover his bridges in case of attack, and the Light Brigade across at the upper bridges to support Gen'l Brooks, who was to display his force as if for advance. When these movements had been executed, an order was received countermanding the order for the demonstration.

The following day, Saturday, May 2^d, Reynolds' Corps was withdrawn from my command, and ordered to proceed to Head Quarters of the Army, at or near Chancellorsville. One Division, Gen'l Wheaton's of the 6th Corps, being sent by Gen'l Newton to cover his crossing and take up his bridge. I was also ordered to take up all the bridges at Franklin's crossing and below, before daylight, this order was received after daylight, at 5.25 A. M., and could not of course be executed without attracting the observation of the enemy, and leaving him free to proceed against the forces under Gen'l Hooker. At 6.30 in the evening, the order to pursue the enemy by the Bowling Green road was repeated, and my command was immediately put under arms and advanced upon the right, driving the enemy from the Bowling Green road, pushing him back to the woods. That night, at 11 P. M., I received an order dated at 10.10 P. M., directing me to cross the Rappahannock at Fredericksburgh, immediately upon receipt of the order, and move in the direction of Chancellorsville, until I connected with the Major Gen'l commanding; to attack and destroy any force on the road, and be in vicinity of the Gen'l at daylight. I had been informed repeatedly by Maj. Gen'l Butterfield, Chief of Staff, that the force in front of me was very small, and the whole tenor of his many despatches would have created the impression that the enemy had abandoned my point, and retired from the City and its defences, had there not been more tangible evidence than the despatches in question that the Chief of Staff was misinformed. The order to cross at Freder-

icksburgh found me with my entire command on the south side of the river, ready to pursue by the Bowling Green road. To recross for the purpose of crossing again at Fredericksburgh, where no bridges had been laid, would have occupied until long after daylight. I commenced therefore to move by the flank in the direction of Fredericksburgh, on the Bowling Green road, Gen'l Newton taking the advance, followed by the Light Brigade and Howe's Division. A sharp skirmish commenced as the head of the column moved from the immediate vicinity of the bridges, and continued all the way to the town, the enemy falling slowly back; at the same time a sudden attack was made upon the pickets in front of the Demand House. When the head of the column entered the town, four Regiments from Wadsworth's and Shaler's brigades were sent forward against the rifle-pits, and advanced within 20 yards of the enemy's works, when they received a sudden and destructive fire. An immediate assault was made, but repulsed by the fire of the rifle pits and the batteries on the heights. It was evident that the enemy's line of works was occupied in considerable force, and that his right, as it appeared from reports from Gen'l Brooks, extended beyond my left. It was now daylight, and batteries were placed in position to shell the enemy until the troops could be formed for another attack. Gen'l Gibbon was ordered to cross the river as soon as the bridge opposite the Lacy House was completed, and about 7 o'clock proceeded to take position on my right. Gen'l Howe was directed to move on the left of Hazel Run to turn the enemy's right. Upon advancing as directed he found that the works in his front were occupied, and that the character of the stream between his command and that of Gen'l Newton prevented any movement of his Division to the right. Gen'l Gibbon, upon moving forward to turn the left of the enemy, was checked by the canals and compelled to halt. Nothing remained but to carry the works by direct assault. Two storming columns were formed, composed as follows: Right column, commanded by Col. George C. Spear (who fell while gallantly leading it,) 61st Penn'a Vols., Major Dawson, 43^d New York, Col. Baker. This column was supported by the 67th New York (1st Long Island) Col. Cross, 82^d Penn'a, Major Bassett, under command of Col. Shaler. Left column, 7th Mass, Col. Johns (who fell severely wounded in the assault) and the 36th New York, Lt. Col. Walsh. Line of battle commanded by Col. Burnham, 5th Wisconsin, Col. Allen, as skirmishers, 6th Maine, Lieut. Col. Harris, 31st New York, Col. Jones, and the 23^d Penn'a Vols., Col. Ely, (this latter regiment volunteering). The columns moved on the plank road, and to

the right of it, directly up the heights. The line of battle advanced on the double quick to the left of the plank road, against the rifle-pits, neither halting or firing a shot until they had driven the enemy from their lower line of works. In the mean time the storming columns had pressed forward to the crest, and carried the works in the rear of the rifle pits, capturing the guns and many prisoners. These movements were gallantly executed under a most destructive fire. Meantime, Howe advanced rapidly in three columns of assault on the left of Hazel Run, and forced the enemy from the crest in front, capturing five guns. The entire force was at once put in motion, and moved in pursuit. Considerable resistance was made on the next series of heights, but the position was carried without halting. A section of horse artillery on our right occupied every successive crest upon our line of march, and much annoyed our advance. At Salem Chapel the enemy were reinforced by a Brigade from Banks' Ford, and by troops from the direction of Chancellorsville, and made a determined resistance. Brooks' Division formed rapidly across the road, and Newton's upon his right, and advanced upon the woods, which were strongly held by the enemy. After a sharp and prolonged contest, we gained the heights, but were met by fresh troops pouring in upon the flank of the advanced position of the line. For a short time the crest was held by our troops with obstinate resistance, but at length the line was forced slowly back through the woods. The advance of the enemy is checked by the splendid firing of our batteries, (Williston's, Ransom's and Batters') Wheaton still holds his position on the right, gallantly fighting. On the left, the troops are rapidly re-formed, and after a short interval again advance upon the woods. The enemy is once more forced back in much confusion on our right, but steadily resisting on the left. This is the condition of things when night puts an end to the battle. The troops rested on their arms until morning. During the night the enemy were reinforcing heavily, and our wounded as far as was practicable, were collected and sent to Fredericksburgh. The following morning at an early hour I was informed that a column of the enemy, 15,000 strong, coming from the direction of Richmond, had occupied the heights of Fredericksburgh, cutting off my communication with the town. Expecting a movement of this kind, I had already formed Howe's Division in line of battle to the rear; Genl Howe promptly extended his left to the river, and admirably checked an effort of the enemy to cut us off from Banks' Ford, where a pontoon bridge had been laid the day previous. In this affair he captured 200 prisoners and a battle-flag. While these things

were occurring on my left, I received a despatch from the Major-Genl Comdg, informing me that he had contracted his lines, that I must look well to the safety of my Corps, preserve my communications with Fredericksburgh and Banks' Ford, and suggesting that I fall back upon the latter place, or recross in preference at Banks' Ford, where I could more readily communicate with the main body. To fall back upon Fredericksburgh was out of the question, to adopt the other alternative, except under cover of night, was equally so, for the enemy still maintained his position on Salem Heights, and was threatening my flank and rear from the direction of Fredericksburgh.

My line was formed with the left resting on the river, about midway between Fredericksburgh and Banks' Ford, thence extending slightly beyond the plank road, where it turned at right angles to the right, following the direction of the plank road for a mile, and then again turning to the right, at right angles and recrossing the plank road, in front of Salem Heights, my right resting where it had been placed in the engagement of the previous evening. A line of battle of such length was necessarily weak, yet, to contract it, would inevitably provoke immediate attack from vastly superior forces. Batteries were skillfully posted by Col. Tompkins, Chief of Artillery, to maintain the weaker points, and rendered invaluable service. Thus fronting in 3 directions, I was compelled to wait attack, determined to hold the position until dark, and then to fall back upon Banks' Ford. A despatch from the Major-Genl comdg had informed me that he could not relieve me, as he was in position in which he hoped to be attacked, and that he was too far away to direct my operations. Subsequent despatches directed me to hold a position on the right bank of the river until the following morning. During the day there was more or less skirmishing on the whole front, and in the evening a most determined attack was made upon Howe's line, for the purpose of cutting our communication with the river, and, at the same time, Brooks was attacked further towards the right. The attack on Brooks was readily repulsed. That on Howe was of a more determined character, being made in echelon of battalions, and in column. It was gallantly resisted by our Infantry by a countercharge, while the artillery of the Division played with perfect effect upon their advance. At length our line was forced back upon the left, and Genl Howe directed his right to retire to a less advanced position. The movement was quietly executed, the enemy still pressing fiercely on his front. Wheaton's Brigade, and two regiments of the Light Brigade, had been sent from the extreme right to his support, and Butlers' Battery G. 2^d

U. S. Arty, was sent rapidly by a road through the woods to his rear. The divisions reformed promptly, the batteries keeping up a most effective fire upon the woods. The advance of the enemy was checked, his troops were scattered, and driven back with fearful loss, and the new position easily maintained until nightfall. Several hundred prisoners, including one General officer, and many others of rank, and three battle flags were captured from the enemy in this engagement. As soon as it was dark, Newton's and Brooks' Divisions, with the Light Brigade fell rapidly back upon Banks' Ford, and took position on the Heights in that neighborhood and in the rifle pits. When these movements were completed, Howe was directed to fall back, and at once abandon his position, and move to the river, taking position on Newton's right. On Tuesday the 5th, at 2 o'clock A.M., I received the order of the Comdg Genl. to withdraw from my position, across the river, take up the bridges, and cover the Ford. The order was immediately executed, the enemy meanwhile shelling the bridges from commanding positions above us on the river. When the last of the command was on the bridge, I received a despatch from the Comdg Genl. countermanding the order to withdraw. My command was on the left bank. It could not recross before daylight, and must do it then, if at all, in the face of the enemy, whose batteries completely commanded the bridges. I accordingly went into camp in the vicinity of the Ford, sending an adequate force to guard the river, and watch the Ford.

The losses of the 6th Corps in these operations were 4925, killed, wounded and missing. We captured from the enemy, according to the best information we could obtain, five battle-flags, fifteen pieces of Artillery, and fourteen hundred prisoners, including many officers of rank. No material of any kind belonging to the Corps fell into the hands of the enemy, except two wagons and a forge that were passing through Fredericksburgh at the time of its reoccupation by his forces. I must add in closing that the conduct of the troops, from the first crossing of the river, until our return at Banks' Ford, was such as to merit my heartiest approbation.

[Although the copy of this Report from which we have printed it is unsigned, its authenticity is established in the fact that it was given to Major-general William F. Smith—so widely and so fondly honored as "Baldy"—by its lamented author, General Sedgewick, himself; and General Smith communicated it to us, for publication in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Our readers need not be told that we are proud of the privilege, thus kindly afforded us by our distinguished friend, of presenting such a paper for their use. We have reason to hope that it will be followed by other papers of equal importance, from General Smith's files and pen.]

XII.—NOTABLE PLACES.—CONTINUED.

H.—THE GRAVE OF J. RODMAN DEAKE, M. D.

By the Editor.*

In August, 1865 we availed ourself of one of those days of editorial rest which occasionally present themselves, and of the leisure of one of our sons who was well acquainted with the neighborhood, to visit one of the resting-places of Westchester's honored dead.

Leaving our home, on the eastern border of the village of Morrisania, we passed through the farm-lane which divided the estates of the late Thomas Richardson and William W. Fox, to the road which leads from the village of West Farms to Hunt's Point, on the Sound; and along the dusty line of the latter, skirted on either hand with the elegant country-seats of many of Westchester's wealthiest inhabitants, we continued our pilgrimage.

The heat and the dust were oppressive; and the walk which but for them had furnished an agreeable recreation, soon became a wearisome labor. Very few of those who occupied the neighboring mansions, ventured beyond their piazzas; and of those whose duties led them into the fields or the highway, we scarcely saw enough to give us the information we occasionally sought.

We passed, successively, the residence of the late Thomas Richardson, concealed from the passer-by, by its dense screen of magnificent evergreens, and that of the late William W. Fox, solid and substantial, yet everywhere exhibiting the cheering comforts of a plentifully supplied country home. The elegant mansions of William and John B. Simpson, in the midst of a carefully ornamented lawn which seemed to be held in common by the two well-known brothers, and the grounds of Richard M. Hoe and J. B. Herriek—the residence of the latter approached through a long vista of willows—were next admired, as we passed along the road; while that of Edward G. Faile, with its appropriate appendages of carefully arranged and scrupulously neat farm buildings, and the elegant but narrowly-confined residence of stone, in the style of the Tudors, lately owned by Peter S. Hoe; the densely wooded entrance to the ample grounds of Mr. Dickey; the large, square, old-fashioned frame house of Paul Spofford; and the elegant modern villa, surrounded by elaborately ornamented grounds, of Robert L. Kitching suc-

* This article was written in August, 1865, a few days after our visit to the grave-yard. • We have not since visited it; but we understand from our sons, who frequently pass it, that no other change has since been made than that which time, the certain destroyer of all earthly things, has slowly produced.

sively arrested our attention and commanded our admiration. The distant chateau of our lamented friend, Benjamin M. Whitlock, whose memory is cherished by all who knew him in the broad and manly benevolence of his nature, was occasionally seen, in the distance, through the trees on our right; and, still farther, in the same direction, the business-like structures at Port Morris, flanked by the deep waters of the Sound, added to the varied beauties of the scene: on our left, the heavy foliage which gave an air of coolness and comfort to the carefully-kept grounds and cosey gate-house of Mr. Dickey and to the old-fashioned farm buildings of Mr. Spofford, concealed from our curious enquiries the wide marshes through which the distant Bronx steals its way to the Sound, and from the more distant high lands of the ancient Borough of Westchester.

A turn in the road, near Mr. Kitching's and the termination of the screen of woods on our left, to which we have alluded, suddenly opened, from that point, an extended view of the marshy meadows and the sluggish Bronx, with the unappropriated, if not the unappreciated beauties of Hunt's Point, bounded, in the distance, by the Sound and by the receding shores of Long Island; and, thence, leaving the estate of Francis Barretto, on our right, we descended from the highly cultivated ridge along which we had been passing, to the dreary waste below.

Near the western margin of the marsh, but entirely detached from the main land, by the meadows, frequently overflowed by the tide, which surrounded it, was an islet—a mere knoll, in fact—through which the roadway had been cut; and the northernmost portion of that knoll, on the eastern slope of which, also, a lonely cottage nestles beneath the overshadowing branches of a fine old oak, is mostly occupied by the ancient burial-place which was the object of our search.

A substantial, but unpainted, picket fence separated it from the marsh, and the door-yard of the cottage, and the sandy road; and the gate, without a fastening, offered no resistance to the entrance of those who sought the resting-place, within, of those who had gone before. Three or four stone steps, also, in pretty good order, led from the road to the wilderness above; and we approached the spot, not without some misgivings concerning the correctness of our supposition that this was one of most noteworthy of the shrines of old Westchester. The entire enclosure was covered with a mass of bushes and briars, interwoven with weeds and long coarse grass; and the moss-covered memorials of by-gone generations as well as those which record the names of the more recent occupants, were often obscured by the encroachments of these unbidden and unwelcome tenants.

We wandered over the greater part of the ground, picking our way among the bushes and briars and stopping to read the inscriptions which perpetuate the memory of the Leggetts, the Wards, and the Hunts, who, for more than a hundred years, have garnered their dead in this forbidding place; but we failed to see the stone which, more than all others, had attracted us to that spot. We pushed our way into the thicket on the right of the entrance, and we found, covered over with weeds and briars, only a line of posts and chains which enclosed the marble obelisk of a Leggett and the graves of other members of that ancient family and of the Wards, their neighbors; on the left of the entrance, on the highest spot of the enclosure, a dense mass of trees and bushes offered no apparent inducement for the labor which would be required to penetrate it.

At length, as a last resort, in our anxious search, we pushed through the obstructions, and we were rewarded for our labor by finding the particular object of our visit—a neat marble monument, about eight feet in height, enclosed with an iron, picket fence, overhung by a weeping willow, and bearing the following inscription:

SACRED

to the memory

of

JOSEPH R. DRAKE, M. D.

who died Sept. 21st.

1820,

aged 25 Years.

*None knew him, but to love him,
Nor named him, but to praise.*

The structure of this monument rests on a base or plinth of white marble, three feet four inches square, and nearly eight inches high. It is composed of a simple square paneled pedestal of grey clouded marble, with base moulding and cornice of white, three feet ten inches high and two feet square, from which springs an obelisk, also of grey marble, fourteen inches square at its base and seven at its vertex, with a rise, measured along the center of its face, of three feet six inches. Ten round pickets of iron, three feet five inches in height and three and a half inches distant, from center to center, are set into the white marble base, on each of its four sides, closely enclosing the structure; and a good-sized weeping willow, on the eastern side of the monument, droops over the whole and overtops the knotted moss of foliage which spontaneously conceals the neglected grave from the passer-by.

The monument began to need repair. The iron pickets, for want of paint, were rapidly rusting away, the white marble base being sadly disfigured with the stains; and the whole structure, slightly leaning toward the North, needed a little friendly care from some one of the Poet's many admirers. A few hours labor, bestowed, occasionally, by any of the wealthy and large-hearted citizens who live in the immediate vicinity of this ancient burial-place, would keep it in good order and render it more worthy of the neighborhood and of the youthful bard who rests within its borders—such an evidence of respect for the memory of one of Westchester's sweetest songsters, should at least be shown, by some one, as to secure the removal of the rubbish from his grave and secure his monument from premature destruction.

We have read of the delicate propriety of laying the Poet down on the margin of the Bronx, whose beauties he had made immortal; and we little suspected that so little foundation, in fact, existed for all such nonsense.

It would have been a pleasant close of the Poet's career and a consolation to his friends and admirers, if some shady nook, on the bank of the picturesque streamlet, had been selected as his burial-place: it is an insult to the good sense of the literary world and to the feelings of his dearest friends to insinuate that such a spot has been found in the dreary and deserted graveyard which is the subject of these remarks. There may be poetry as well as propriety in hiding the remains of a departed Poet, on the summit of a barren and useless sandy knoll, in the midst of a wide-spread salt marsh, with a lazy stream flowing *in the distance*; and it may, by an amazing stretch of imagination, be a very appropriate continuation of the imaginary compliment, to let the grave which such a spot contains, thenceforward take care of itself and become obscured, in every direction, by the bushes and weeds which surround it. All these, we say, may be proper and appropriate in the case of a Poet's bones;—we thank God, that we deal only in prose.

Having satisfied ourself concerning the whereabouts and condition of the Poet's grave, we returned home by way of that shady, country-like lane which tradition points out as part of General La Fayette's route on his journey from New York to Boston; and, after a more agreeable walk than that which had led us to the grave, we settled down in our chair, a wiser if not a better man.

—The first railroad in America was built in 1826, to transport Quincy granite to tide water in Neponset-river, a distance of three miles.

XIII.—LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE ASSOCIATION OF THE ORDER OF THE CINCINNATI.

AN UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENT BELONGING TO THE DAUPHIN-COUNTY (PENN.) HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

COMMUNICATED BY DOCTOR WILLIAM H. EGLE, OF HARRISBURG, PENN.

TO JOHN PIERCE, ESQ., PAYMASTER GENERAL TO THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES:

SIR: Please pay to Brigadier Gen'l William Irvine, treasurer, or Colonel Francis Johnston, Assistant-treasurer for the Pennsylvania State Association of the Cincinnati, or his order, one month's pay of our several grades respectively, and deduct the same from the balance which shall be found due to us on the final liquidation of our accounts, for which this shall be your sufficient warrant.

John Armstrong, Lt. 3d Penn. Regt.
Thos Wylie, Capt. P. arty artificers.
Francis White, Lieut. 1st Regt. Penna.
James McLean, Lt. Invalids.
Sam'l Doty, Capt. 1st, Penn'a arty.
W. Ferguson, Capt. Pennsylv'a artly.
David Ziegler, Capt.
P. Mentges, Lt. Col.
J. Pratt, Lt. 3d. Penn'sa regt.
Rich'd Fullerton, Lt. and Adj't., 1st P. regt.
Geo. Bush, Capt'n 3d Penn'a regt.
John Stricker, Lt. 3d Penn'a regt.
Erkinus Beatty, Lt. 3d Penna regt.
Wm. Moore, Lt. 1st R. P.
Robert McConnel, Capt. 2d arty.
Jas Weitzel, Lt. 1st P. regt.
Wm. Wilson, Capt. 1st Penn.
James Armstrong, Capt., Lee's Legion.
Jn. Bankson, Capt. 1st Penn. regt.
Jno. Bush, Capt. 3d P. regt.
Thos. Doyle, Lt. 3d P. regt.
Jos. Harmar, Lt. Col., 1st regt Penn'a.
R. Allison, S. M., 2d. P. regt.
And. Lytle, Lt., 1st P. regt.
J. Seely, Capt., 2d P. regtm.
John Doyle, Capt., 1st P. regt.
Jas. F. McPherson, Lt., 1st P. regt.
William Magaw, Surgeon, 1st Penna. regt.
Ant'y Wayne, B. G.
Wm. M'hatton, Captain, Inv'd.
C. De Mariellin, Lt., 2d P. R.
Le Orry, Lt., 2d regt Per.
Charllie De Laubert, J. ^{ana} Lieutenant, artillery
W. Henly, Lieut., ^{1st} P. regt.
Andrew Henderson, ^{1st} P. regt.
Joseph Ashton, Capt. ^{1st} P. regt.
Edward Speer, ^{1st} P. regt. Penn.
Robt. M'Mordie, Chap'n 1st P. Brigade.

John Stoy, Capt. 2d regt.
 Walter Stewart, Col. Insp. North Army.
 Edwd. Reeves, Lieut. 1st regt. Penn.
 James Morris Jones, Lt. 1st P. R.
 Jno. McDowell, Surgn. P. Line.
 E. Edwards, Maj. 4th Penn. regt.
 J. Peres, Surgeon, German regt.
 Andrew Porter, Lt. Col. Comm. P. reg. arty.
 Francis Nichols, Lieut. Col.
 Francis Proctor, Major arty.
 William Murrin, Lt. 2d R. P.
 Hen^y D. Pursell, Lt. 2d. regt. Penn.
 And^w Walker, Capt. 3d P. regt.
 Stewart Herbert, Lt. 3d P. regt.
 J. Mac Kinney, Lt. 3d P. R.
 Francis Johnston, Colonel. Pa.
 Ja. Chrystie, Capt. 2d regt.
 Henry Bicker, Capt. 1st P. regt.
 Wilder Bevins, Lieut.
 Benj. Lodge, Lt. 1st P. R.
 Thomas Dungan, Lieut. 2d R. P.
 T. Robinson, Lt. Col. 2d Pen. regt.
 James Gamble, Lt. Penna. arty.
 Henry Peirey, Lieut. 2d P. regt.
 Alex. Parker, Capt. 2^d Penna Regt.
 Jas. Chambers, Col.
 Matthew Maus, Surgn. Invd. regt.
 Fred^k. Vernon, Major 1st Penn. regt.
 J. Grier, Major 3d R. P.
 John B. Webster, Capt.
 J. Moore, Major 1 P. regt.
 A. G. Claypoole, late Capt. 3d P. regt.
 Daniel Brodhead, Col. 1st regt. P.
 Mathew McConnell, Capt. Invalids.
 James Glentworth, Lt. 2d P. regt.
 J. Hake, Capt. 3d P. regt.
 W. Vanlear, Capt. late 5th P. regt.
 T. B. Bowen, Capt. 1st P. regt.
 W. Macpherson, Major.
 David S. Franks, Major.
 Jesse Crosley, Capt. Lt. P. artillery.
 John Stricker, Capt. late 4th regt. arty.
 Stephen Moylan, Col. 4th L. D.
 Zebⁿ Pike, Capt. 4th regt. dragoons.
 W. McDowell, Lieut. 1st P. regt.
 Edw. Crawford, Lieut. 3d P. regt.
 John Rose, Lieut. 3d P. regt.
 Wm. Martin, Capt. Pen. artillery.
 John Marshall, Capt. late 3d regt.
 Jas. Parr, Major.
 C. North, Lt. Col. 2d P. regt.
 Ln. Davis, Lt. 3d Pennsa. regt.
 Francis Murray, Lt. Col.
 Wm. Rogers, Chapⁿ. 3d P. B.
 James R. Reid, Major.
 John Patterson, Capt.
 Jno. Van Court, Lt. arty.
 Jno. Stotesbury, Capt.
 Jas. Pettigrew, Lieut. 2d Penna regt.
 Peter Smith, Lt. late 3d Penna. regt.

John Armstrong, Jr., Major.
 Edmund Bourke, Capt 1 P. R.
 W. Bondle, Capt. 1st Penna, regt.
 George Stevenson, Hospl. mate.
 Robt. Parker, Capt. 4 Penn. Arty.
 Jas. McMichael, Lt. 1 P. R. regt.
 Levi Griffith, Lt. 5th P. R.
 James Montgomery, Payt.
 Thomas Douglass, Capt. arty.
 Barnabas Binney, Hosl. Surgn., entered May
 1, 1776, Philada, and now in service, Decem^r
 6th, 1783.
 Thos. Bond, Jr., Purveyor, entd. in Aug.
 1776, and now in service, Dec 6, 1783.
 Edwd. Hand, Major Genl.
 T. Campbell, Captn.
 Wm. Lusk, Captn.
 Geo. North, Lieut.
 Andrew Irvine, Capt. 1st Penna. regt.
 John Nevell, Col. late 4th regt.
 Jno. Boyd, Capn. Lieut 3d P. R.
 Jacob Mytinger, Lt.
 Jno Mahon, Lieut., 2nd P. regt.
 Robt. Sample, Capt. 10th P. regt.
 Alex. Bensted, Lieut., 10th P. regt.
 Wm. Henderson, Capt., 1st P. regt.
 Robert Wilkin, Captn., 2d P. regt.
 Adm. Hubley, Jr., Lieut. Col., comd. of late
 11th P. R.
 Stanley Enes, Capn. of Penn. artillery.
 Nat Irish, Capt. Penn. artillery.
 Thomas H. McCalla, Surgn., 4 regt. Light
 Dragoons.
 Ezekiel Howell, Lieut. Penn. artillery.
 Robt. Coltman, Capt. Penna. artillery.
 John Davis, Capt.
 Isaac Craig, Major Penna. artillery.
 Stephen Bayard, Lt. Col. 3d P. regt.
 W. Finney, Capt. 1st regt Pennsy.
 John R. B. Rodgers, Surgn., 3rd P. A.
 Wm. McCurdy, Capt., late 1st P. R.
 Jno. Reily, Capt., 2d R.
 Thos. Proctor, Col., artillery.
 Chas. Turnbull, Capt., artillery.
 James Lloyd, Capt., Lt. artillery.
 James Hamilton, Major, late 2nd P. R.
 Jh. Lieberg, Cap., Penvahn.
 Jean Aug. De Florat, Capt. Assist. Surgeon.
 Jno. Wigton, Lieut. late of ye 3rd Penna.
 regt.
 John Harper, Lieut. 5th Penna. regt.
 John Christie, Capt. 3rd Penna. regt.
 Benjamin Bartholomew, Capt. late 5th Penna.
 regt.
 Samuel A. McCoskry, Surgeon, Pennsylvania
 Artillery Artificers.
 John Jordan, Capt. Pennsylvania Artillery
 Artificers.
 Isaac Van Horn, Capt. 2d Penna. regt.
 James Campbell, Lieut. 1st Penna regt..

Jno. McClellan, Capt. late 1st Penna. regt.
 Mich. Werley, Lieut. 1st Penna. regt.
 J. McCullam, Lieut. and Adjut. 4th Penna. regt.
 Reading Beatty, Surgeon Penna. Artillery.
 Wm. Sproat, Capt. 3rd Penna. regt.

XIV.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—*ED. HIST. MAG.*]

THE AMERICAN FLAG IN CALIFORNIA.—In an interesting little work on the discovery of gold in California, Mr. Edward E. Dunbar, the author, gives an account of the raising of the, so-called "Bear Flag," at Sonoma, California, on Sunday, June 14, 1846. This flag was manufactured out of the white skirt of an old lady, and had painted upon it the semblance of a grizzly bear: the artist was so unfortunate in his effort that the Spaniards called it the "*Bandera Colchie*," or "Hog Flag." This flag, so Mr. Dunbar states, is now in the rooms of the Pioneer Society of San Francisco.

The army that raised this flag, and thus undertook to revolutionize a State, consisted, all told, of fourteen Americans. During this time, however, General John C. Fremont was encamped at Sonoma with the small exploring party with which he had just crossed the plains, the Rocky Mountains, the desert, and Sierra Nevada. Over his headquarters, at Sutter's Fort, there floated a flag with *one star*! On the fourth of July, 1846, he called a meeting of the Americans, at Sonoma; and, under advice from the General, they proclaimed the independence of California and declared War against Mexico. In all this, General Fremont was acting, perhaps, by orders from Washington, but without knowing that the United States were then actually at war with Mexico, or that, on the eighth or ninth of May, General Taylor had gained his decisive victory on the bank of the Rio Bravo. He was, therefore, totally unprepared to hear of the startling event of the raising of the stars and stripes, only three days later, at Monterey, on the seventh of July, by Commodore Sloat of the United States frigate *Sacannah*. By direction of Commodore Sloat, Commander Montgomery of the United States sloop-of-war *Portsmouth*, then lying in San Francisco-bay, raised the United States flag, on the plaza of San Francisco, on the eighth of July. The log of the frigate *Sacannah*, quoted by Dunbar, contains these particulars. Since that date, the flag of the Republic

has constantly waved over that distant region. On the fourteenth of July, only one week later, the British man-of-war *Collingwood*, Sir George Seymour, commander, arrived at Monterey for the very purpose of doing what Commodore Sloat had already accomplished. The British were too late: the Yankees were already in possession, and were not to be displaced, save at the cost of a War between the two nations.

But neither General Fremont nor Commodore Sloat was the first to raise the American flag, in California.

In 1842, Commodore Jones of the United States Navy, under the impression that the United States were at war with Mexico, took forcible possession of Monterey; hoisted the stars and stripes; and proclaimed California a territory of the United States. Discovering his mistake, the following day, he hauled down the flag and made such apology as the circumstances would admit.

There is still an earlier claimant, whose name has not passed into history. The first man to raise the stars and stripes, in California, was undoubtedly Captain James P. Arther, now a resident of Plymouth, in this State, who was assisted by Mr. George W. Greene, now of Milton, then a very young man, and by two others, now deceased. Captain Arther, originally from Holland, is known to many in this community as a respectable ship-master. Mr. Greene is also well known, having represented his town in our Legislature.

Captain Arther was up and down the coast of California, as early as 1825, in the brig *Herbinger*, Captain Steel; but the exploit above alluded to was performed in 1829, at which time he was in the employ of Messrs. Bryant and Sturgis, as Mate of the ship *Brookline*, Captain Locke. Mr. Arther and his little party were sent ashore, at San Diego, to cure hides. They had a barn-like structure of wood, provided by the ship's carpenter, which answered the purposes of store-house, curing-shop, and residence. The life was lonesome enough. Upon the wide expanse of the Pacific, they occasionally discerned a distant ship. Sometimes a vessel sailed near the lower offing. It was thus that the idea of preparing and raising a flag, for the purpose of attracting attention, occurred to them. The flag was manufactured from some shirts; and Captain Arther writes, with the just accuracy of a historian, that Mr. Greene's calico shirt furnished the blue, while he furnished the red and white. "It was completed and raised on a Sunday, on the occasion of the arrival of the schooner *Washington*, Captain Thompson, of the Sandwich Islands, but sailing under the American flag." He had a sailing-master with him. It "was in the latter part of the year 1829, in San

"Diego." So writes honest Captain Arther. He further states that the same flag was afterwards frequently raised at Santa Barbara, whenever, in fact, there was a vessel coming into port. These men raised our national ensign, not in bravado, nor for war and conquest, of course, but, as honest men, to show they were American citizens and wanted company. And, while the act cannot be regarded as in the light of a claim to sovereignty, it is still interesting as a fact and as an unconscious indication of manifest destiny. —*Boston Spectator*.

CURIOSITIES OF AMERICAN LITERATURE.—The periodical literature of this country affords a wide field for those who search for what are known as "Curiosities," among men of letters. Dr. Palfrey, in the *North American Review* for October, 1842, gave an interesting insight into the extent to which British periodicals pirated articles from American authors. He stated, with much force, that some lieges of her Britannic Majesty read an American book without being aware of the fact. He mentions ten articles which had been stolen from the *North American Review*, by a single English Review, during the short space of four years. Singularly enough, one of these articles was upon the subject of *Literary Property*. Some of these larcenies were of the boldest character, as the subjects of the articles were sure to arrest the attention of the American reader, viz.: *Fifty Years of Ohio*, and Sparks's *Life and Writings of Washington*.

An article entitled *Visit to Howe's Cave*, written by Professor North, of Union College, appeared in the *Knickerbocker*, March, 1851. It was soon stolen and was published, as original, in *Sharpe's London Magazine*, from which it was copied into *Littell's Living Age*, of November 8, 1851, and in the *New York Evening Post*, and several other American journals, without its American origin being suspected.

There is a remarkable coincidence of language between an article, by John S. C. Abbott, in *Harper's Magazine* of September last, entitled *Scenes in the life of Louis XIV.*, and an article in *Musée des Familles*, published in 1847, and translated, by Miss Annie T. Wilbur, for the *Living Age*, where it appeared May 26th, 1849, under the title of *The Palace of Marly*.

The Editor of the *Saturday Evening Gazette* of this city wrote a historical sketch of the Rothschild family, which appeared in his paper, about a year ago. It was published, as original, in several English papers, and was reprinted in New York, last fall, in the letter of a London correspondent. We copied it from this publication; and it is now going the rounds of the press, credited to the London letter. We saw it in two of our exchanges, last week.

One of the New York papers states that the leading article in the April number of *De Bow's Review*, on the *Cotton Trade of the World*, was written for *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, and originally published in the number of *Hunt* for January, 1854.—*Boston Weekly Transcript*, April 22, 1854.

DR. FRANKLIN.—The original of the following letter, from Dr. Franklin to his sister, was presented to the Editor of this paper by a near relation of the late Rev. Dr. Lathrop, of Boston, among whose papers it was found, after his decease.

"PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 20, 1787"

"DEAR SISTER,—I received your kind Letter of the 16th past, which gave me the great Pleasure of learning that you were well. I thought I before acknowledg'd the Receipt of yours by Colonel Serjeant.

"The Convention finish'd the 17th Instant. I attended the Business of it 5 hours in every Day from the Beginning, which is something more than four Months. You may judge from thence that my health continues; some tell me I look better, and they suppose the daily Exercise of going and returning from the State house, has done me good. You will see the Constitution we have propos'd in the Papers. The Forming of it so as to accommodate all the different Interests and Views was a difficult task; and perhaps after all it may not be receiv'd with the same Unanimity in the different States, that the Convention have given the Example of, in delivering it out for their Consideration. We have, however, done our best, and it must take its Chance.

"I agree with you perfectly in your Disapprobation of War. Abstracted from the Inhumanity of it, I think it wrong in Point of Human Providence, for whatever Advantages one Nation would obtain from another, whether it be Part of their Territory, the Liberty of Commerce with them, free Passage on their Rivers, &c &c.; it would be much cheaper to purchase such Advantages with ready Money, than to pay the expense of acquiring it by War. An Army is a devouring Monster, and when you have rais'd it, you have, in order to subsist it, not only the fair Charges of Pay, Clothing, Provision, Arms and Ammunition, with numberless other contingent and just Charges to answer and satisfy; but, you have all the additional Knavish Charges of the numerous Tribe of Contractors, to defray, with those of every other Dealer, who furnishes the Articles wanted for your Army, and takes advantage of that want to demand exorbitant Prices. It seems to

"me, that if Statesmen had a little more Arithmetic, or were more accustomed to Calculation, Wars would be much less frequent. I am confident that Canada might have been purchased from France, for a tenth Part of the Money England spent in the Conquest of it. And if, instead of fighting with us, for the Power of Taxing us, she had kept us in a good humour, by allowing us to dispose of our own Money, and, now and then, giving us a little of hers, by way of Donation to Colleges, or Hospitals, or for cutting Canals, or fortifying Posts; she might easily have drawn from us much more by our occasional voluntary Grants and Contributions, than ever she could by taxes. Sensible People will give a Bucket or two of Water to a dry Pump, that they may afterwards get from it all they have occasion for. Her Ministry were deficient in that little Point of Common Sense:—and so they spent 100 Millions of her Money, and after all lost what they contended for.

"I lament the Loss your Town has suffered this year by Fire. I sometimes think Men do not act like reasonable Creatures, when they build for themselves combustible Dwellings, in which they are every Day oblig'd to use Fire. In my new Buildings, I have taken a few Precautions, not generally us'd; to wit, none of the Wooden Work of one Room communicates with the Wooden Work of any other Room; and all the Floors, and even the Steps of the Stairs, are plaistered close to the Boards, besides the Plaistering on the Laths under the Joints. There are also trap Doors to go out upon the Roofs, that one may go out and wet the Shingles in case of a neighbouring Fire. But, indeed, I think the Stair Cases should be Stone, and the Floors Tiled, as in Paris, and the Roofs either Tiled or Slated.

"I am much oblig'd to your Friend and Neighbour, Mr. Lathrop, for his kind present, and purpose writing to him. 'Tis a Discourse well written.

"I sent you lately a Barrel of Flour, and I blame myself for not sooner desiring you to lay in your Winter's Wood, and drawing upon me for it, as last year. But I have been so busy. To avoid such Neglect in future, I now make the Direction general, that you draw on me every year for the same purpose.

"Adieu, my dear Sister, and believe me ever,

"Your affectionate Brother,

"B. FRANKLIN."

—*New York Traveller.*

AMERICUS VESPUCCIUS.—A bibliographical discovery of an unknown edition of Vespucci's

Letter has lately been made by Mr. Frederic Muller, bookseller, of Amsterdam, Holland; and we think our readers will be gratified to know that, through the agency of the Atlantic telegraph, we were so fortunate as to secure this most valuable work for a well-known collector in Providence, R. I. Had the order reached Amsterdam one day later it would have been missed. It is gratifying to be able to add that, although the book was catalogued without a fixed price, Mr. Muller sold at a very reasonable and moderate advance over its cost. Seeing that it is a book hitherto unknown and undescribed by any bibliographer, we add Mr. Muller's description of the work:

"*Americus Vesputius*.—Letter on his 3d voyage, in Dutch. Antwerp (between 1596 and 1599), small 4to, 8 leaves or 16 pp., beards.

"Recto of the first leaf:

"Van der nieuwer werelt ost landtscap

"nienwelick gheuōdē vādē doorluch

"tighē coñ. vā Portugal door dē

"alderbestē pyloet oste zeekender d'werelt."

"[Of the new world or landscape, newly found for the illustrious King of Portugal by the best pilot or mariner of the world.]

"Recto of the last leaf:

"Al dit v's. is ghetraslateert cñ ouerghestelt |
"wt dat ytaliaensch in laty. cñ voort wtē |
"latyne | in duytscher spraken. op dat die
"meschen | weten moghē cñ v'staen wat
"grooter wonderlic | hedē daghelicx gheu-
"ōdē werdē..."

"Gheprent Thantwerpen aen

"Dyseren waghe. Bi

"Jā vā Doesborch.

"Ecelo descendit v'bum quod

"gnothochyauton." [*Gnoti seauton.*]

"[All this foregoing is translated and brought over from the Italian into Latin, and further from Latin into Dutch, that men may know and understand, what great wonders daily are found...]

"Printed at Antwerp at the iron balance,

"by Jan van Doesborch. E celo descen-

"dit verbum quod gnothochyauton. Know

"yourself..."

"Collation: Eight unnumbered leaves, each of 30 or 31 lines, Gothic letter; small 4to, only leaf 5 with a signature (B); the verso of the last filled by a wood-engraving. Six woodcuts: on the recto of the first leaf; on the verso of leaf 1 (Jonas thrown into the mouth of the whale); recto of leaf 3 (four female aborigines); verso of leaf 4 (fighting Indians); verso of leaf 6 (repeated from the recto of leaf 1); and verso of the last leaf (repeated from the recto of leaf 3). One very slight wormhole

"in the inner margin of 4 leaves, else a tall and remarkably well-conditioned copy.

"This Dutch Vespuccius has remained entirely unknown down to the present time; it is mentioned neither by Harrise nor by any other bibliographer. I have found no notice whatever, anywhere, so that the present is the first copy known, and may justly be called Unique. It comes from an insignificant library, sold a year ago, at Antwerp, and was bound up with three other pieces, all printed there, in the first ten years of the sixteenth century: one of them, which seems to be likewise totally unknown, on the land of Priest John, may be found at the end of the catalogue, with the Voyages to Asia. The high interest of the work, which, perhaps, will never again be offered for sale, has induced me to prefix to this catalogue an exact fac-simile of the first page.

"The book itself is the translation of Vespuccius's famous letter to Laur. de Medicis, on his third American voyage, undertaken, in 1501, for the King of Portugal. It begins, beneath the wood-cut of the first page:

"Laurēti goede vrient In voorleedē daghē heb ic
"Albericus v gescreut vā my wedercōst..."

"[Laurentius, good friend, in the past days I Albericus have written to you of my return.]

"At the third page, the relation of the voyage itself begins; and it is curious, that, while Harrise, in his extensive note to the first Latin edition (No. 22,) gives May 10 or 13th, or June 10, as the probable day of the departure, from Lisbon, here, Vespuccius himself names the first of May: 'Indē iare ōs herē als mē screes MCCCC' 'cū en dē yerstē dach vā Mey so zy wi wt gereyst.'—[In the year of our Lord 1501 the first day of May we have set sail.] I have found nowhere else this date mentioned.

"The book bears no date; but it is out of question that it has been printed in the period 1506-9, the time when all the separate editions of Vespuccius were published. It is one of the first productions of the famous printer, Jan van Doesborgh, at Antwerp, whose publications (principally romances of chivalry, with wood-cuts, curious popular books, etc.,) rank among the rarest of the Antwerp printers. Just the kind of his publications makes it easy to understand that they have disappeared, as it were, under the hands of the reading public."

Mr. Muller bought this book, expenses included, for eight hundred and thirty francs.—*American Bibliopolist.*

WAS BURNING AT THE STAKE EVER PRACTICED IN NEW YORK STATE?—A Johnstown correspondent writes: "I was once told by a very

"aged inhabitant of Johnstown, that he had witnessed the execution of the death penalty, in this village, by burning at the stake. The culprit was a colored woman. I had not known, before, that this mode of punishment was ever adopted in this State. Mentioning the fact to an intelligent gentleman of the County, he recalled that, in a search he had occasion to make among the records of the County, he found an audit of £2. 10s., to Sir John Johnson, for wood furnished for burning a criminal. No doubt this was the same transaction, and confirms the truth of my old friend's statement."

SCRAPS.—The temptation to indulge in the "hifalutin" style of writing was prevalent, at the beginning of the present century, as well as in later years. Thus the *Ulster County* (N. Y.) *Gazette*, on the fourth of January, 1800, in describing the funeral of General Washington, at Mount Vernon, indulged in the following language:

"There were the groves, the spacious avenues, the beautiful and the sublime scenes, the noble mansion—but alas! the august inhabitant *was* *now no more*. That great soul was gone. His mortal port was there indeed: but ah! how affecting! how awful the spectacle of such worth and greatness, thus, to mortal eyes, fallen! Yes! fallen! fallen!"

And again:

"The sun was now setting. Alas! the SON OF GLORY was set forever. No, the name of WASHINGTON—the American President and General—will triumph over DEATH. The clouded brightness of his glory will illuminate the future ages."

—In the old Church-books of the First Baptist-church in Stamford, is the following antique record: "OCTOBER 8, 1797. Died, at Norwalk, Sybil Whitehead, aged one hundred and sixteen years—a member of this church, baptized October 5, 1780, in the ninety-ninth year of her age. She lived at Norwalk, where she kept school; and, for years, frequently, came on horseback to Stamford (a distance of thirteen miles from her home,) to attend public worship—coming on Saturdays and returning on Mondays. The last time she came to Stamford was in May, 1789, at which time she was one hundred and nine years old. She then walked nine miles, and also returning on foot. She was never married."

—The house in which Henry Clay was born, the twelfth of April, 1777, and which was recently burned, is thus described: "It was situ-

"ated on a small tract of ordinary land, near the old Slash Church, in the County of Hanover, about five miles distant from Ashland. A picture of it before us represents it as an old-fashioned, one-story, framed-house, with sloping roof. It has a large chimney at either end, which, according to the fashion of the times in which they were built, have material enough in them for three modern chimneys. At one end is a shed-room built over the chimney. This shed had, from age, settled and separated from the main building, thus leaving a gap into which dry leaves and other combustible matter had, from time to time, fallen. A spark dropping upon them, occasioned the fire which resulted in the destruction of the humble birth-place of the great American commander. At the time of its destruction, it was occupied by Mr. Cardwell, son-in-law of Mr. Howard, Clerk of the City Council."

—There is a town in New Hampshire. Alstead by name, which should receive the immediate attention of the Home Missionary Society. It has, it is true, five churches; but what are churches with no Ministers to preach and to pray in them? And not a Parson has Alstead. There is one comparatively enlightened gentleman there, who wanted to buy a Bible for his daughter; but in none of the shops of the town was there a Bible for sale. There was a Minister there, at the time, and the anxious father, calling upon him, was informed that the reverend person had only one Bible, but this he expressed his willingness to sell, remarking, at the same time, that it had been little used! We make these statements on the authority of *The Peterboro' Transcript*. The moral of the matter would seem to be that, in a small town, one Meeting-house may be better than five. What piety Alstead has, should consolidate itself.—*Exchange*.

—The history of the First Reformed Church of Paterson, (originally "First Reformed Dutch Church of Totowa") is interesting. It was organized between 1750 and 1756, during the ministry of the Rev. David Marinus, who had charge also of the churches at Acquackanonk and Pompton. In 1762, Rev. Cornelius Blauw became the joint Pastor of the three churches. Its next Pastor was the Rev. Dr. Meyer, who preached until his death, in 1791. In October, 1816, the Rev. Wilhelmus Eltinge was engaged to give half of his service to this church. He continued to do so, until 1833, after which he confined his ministrations to the Paramus church. In 1834, Rev. John C. Vandevort became Pastor, and continued as such until 1837, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. Wiggins, who remained until 1856. Early in 1857, the Rev. Philip Peltz, D.D., was called to the pastorate.

HIST. MAG. VOL. I. 8.

He was succeeded, in 1860, by the Rev. Alexander McKelvey, who resigned in 1865. The present Pastor, Rev. John Steele, was called in the Autumn of 1865. His labors have been very acceptable; and the church, under his ministrations, has greatly prospered.

—The *New York Herald* affirms the entire accuracy of the report of General Sherman's late speech in New Orleans, which indeed, has not been impugned on any good authority. The *Herald* further declares that the following is a true copy of a letter written by General Sherman, in 1864:

"TO J. A. R., BALTIMORE:

"SIR: Yours of August 29th, is received.

"Thank you for your kind expressions.

"Iron is iron and steel is steel; and all the popular clamor on earth will not impart to one the qualities of the other.

"So a nigger is not a white man, and all the Psalm-singing on earth won't make him so. It is strange to me that among a people, North and South, who have so much common sense, that you can't say 'nigger' till both parties make fools of themselves, and it is hard to say which are the worst. When we settle this little fight on hand, the great 'nigger' question will be found settled also.

"W. T. SHERMAN, M. G.

"ATLANTA, September 12."

—The following anecdote of John C. Calhoun is told on the authority of the late Abbott Lawrence:

Some time before 1840, Mr. Calhoun wrote to Mr. Lawrence that he had been adding to his landed estates, and would like to obtain a loan of ten thousand or fifteen thousand dollars in Boston, where money was more plenty than in South Carolina and the rate of interest is not so high, for the payment of which he would give his notes and a mortgage upon his estate, which would be ample security. Mr. Lawrence said he consulted Mr. Nathan Appleton and one or two other wealthy citizens of Boston upon the subject; and it was agreed to raise the money for him and take no security for the payment but his own note. Mr. Lawrence informed Mr. Calhoun of the arrangement which he had made, and expressed his gratification that it was in the power of himself and a few of his friends to do a kindness to one, so distinguished, whose life had been been devoted to the service of his country. Mr. Calhoun immediately wrote back, declining the offer, and withdrawing his original request. He said it did not agree with his sense of propriety to accept a loan on such terms; that in the discharge of his public duties he did not wish to be embarrassed by a sense of obligation to any one.

—General Grant is one of three Presidents of the United States who have passed their fiftieth birth-day in the Executive office, the other two being Mr. Polk, who entered the office about seven months before he was fifty years old, and General Pierce, who became President in his forty-ninth year. General Washington was in his fifty-eighth year when he became President; John Adams was in his sixty-second; Mr. Jefferson in his fifty-eighth; Mr. Madison in his fifty-eighth; Mr. Monroe in his fifty-ninth; John Quincy Adams in his fifty-eighth; General Jackson in his sixty-second; Mr. Van Buren in his fifty-fifth; General Harrison in his sixty-ninth; Mr. Tyler in his fifty-second; General Taylor in his sixty-fifth; Mr. Lincoln in his fifty-third; and Mr. Johnson in his fifty-seventh year. General Harrison was the oldest man ever elected to the Presidency, and General Grant is the youngest. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and John Quincy Adams were in their fifty-eighth years when they entered the Presidency; and Mr. Monroe completed his fifty-ninth year only fifty-five days after he became President; and Mr. Johnson was in his fifty-sixth year when he succeeded to President Lincoln. Four Presidents went out of office in their sixty-sixth year, namely, Washington, John Adams, Jefferson and Madison. President Jackson was the oldest of all our retiring Presidents, as he went out of office only eleven days before the completion of his seventieth year. Mr. Buchanan left office fifty days before he became seventy years old. The President who lived longest was John Adams, who died in his ninety-first year. The next oldest was Mr. Madison, who died in his eighty-sixth year. Mr. Jefferson died in his eighty-fourth year; Mr. John Quincy Adams in his eighty-first year; Mr. Van Buren in his eightieth year; General Jackson in his seventy-ninth year. The youngest retiring President was General Pierce, who went out of office not quite four months after he had completed his fifty-second year. Mr. Polk retired in his fifty-fourth year, and died in a little more than three months later, at the age of fifty-three years, seven months, and thirteen days, the youngest of all our Presidents in death.

—A curious reminiscence of revolutionary times has been brought to light in the recent application to Congress, by an aged lady, for payment of the services of her father, an officer in the old Continental Navy. It appears that the officer in question performed, in addition to his ordinary duty as a cruiser, some important services in England, for the Secret Committee of Congress, at the risk, if detected, of being subjected to the fate of some of his comrades. "They were "marched upon a floating machine, their bodies,

"legs, and arms so ironed that they could not bend either; the machine was towed, at high water, to a gallows erected by Government orders; the hangman made the halters fast to the gallows, and left them to die at leisure—that is, by inches, as the tide fell." The Committee considering the claim reported in favor of its payment.

—That veteran financier, Jacob Barker, died in Philadelphia, on the twenty-sixth of December, 1871, aged ninety-three years. He was born in Maine, his mother having been a Nantucket Quakeress. He began work in New York at the age of sixteen, and, before he was twenty-one, owned four ships and a brig. In his long life, he was prosperous and unfortunate, rich and poor, by turns. He was once tried for challenging a Mr. Rogers to a duel, and was disfranchised; but he was pardoned by Governor Clinton of New York. Of late years, he was in business in New Orleans.

—John Hatfield, who died in Troy, a few days ago, was the first maker of lucifer matches, in this country. He cut them, one by one, with his jack-knife. The chemical composition, necessary to insure combustion, was prepared by him, the ingredients, at that time, being known, in America, only to himself. This was in 1836.

XV.—NOTES.

EARLY BAPTISTS OF MAINE.

[The following, from the original, among the family papers of Hon. John Woodman, will be interesting to all who are concerned in the affairs of the Baptists, in Maine. It appears to relate to the origin of the Baptist Church in Buxton.

CONCORD, N. H.

W. F. GOODWIN.]

We the undersigning subscribers inhabitants of the Town of Buxton in the County of York having realized the solemn importance of the greater priviledges of the preached Gospel its Doctrins & the administration of its ordinances in its primitive purity to ourselves our posterity & mankind in general; And beleaving it is a duty incumbent upon us to take sum lawful and reasonable meathod to support & promote the same

And when we shall do this it is our candid appinion that in attending to the great things of our Everlasting Concernment as the means to bring about the eand a Due & strict Conformity to the Disapline & Doctring of the Denomination of Christians call^d Baptists are necessary and most sacredly to be regarded.

That the first step to be attended to in this our Religious compacts is to agree and we do hearin most Sollumny agree to form ourselves into a Religious Society by the Denomination of Baptists

2^{ly} we do likewise agree to conform ourselves

to all those rules and regulations that is necessarily observed therein for the wellordering and Discipline of said Society

3^{dly} we do agree to use our best indeavours to provide and support a public teacher and suitable accommodations according to our several abilities

4^{thly} that when a respectable number to this agreement are procur^d we will make application to this Town to be set off from the Congregational Society under such regulations & upon such Conditions as other Towns in this Commonwealth has practiced on the like occasion

Buxton October 1798

BENJA BRADBURY	SAMUEL WORTH
JOSEPH HOBSON	JOSEPH ATKINSON
BENJA LEAVIT	JOHN THOMPSON
BENJA ELWELL	W ^m DAVIS
JONATHAN MARTIN	JOHN ROLFE
JACOB STEVENS	EBENEZER REDLON
JABEZ SAWYER JUN	JONATHAN BERRY
JOHN LORD	EDMUND KNIGHT
JOHN CAME	JOHN ROLFE JUN
NATHAN ELDEN JUN	NELSON FOGG
THEODER ELWELL	EDMUND FLOOD
HENRY L ROLFE	STEPHEN HOPKINSON
JOSEPH BILLINGS	JABEZ SAWYER
EPHRAIM WOODMAN	SAMUEL ROUNDS
JOHN DENNET	JOHN PALMER
JOHN ATKINSON	JACOB PALMER
IMEUL NUTTER	JOSIAH LIBBEY
MOSES WOODMAN	EPHRAIM SANDS 3 ^d
CLEMENT DENNET	SAMUEL SANDS
STEPHEN PRESCUT	SAMUEL HOBSON
STEPHEN PRESCUT JUN	JOSEPH RANKINGS
THOMAS ATKINSON	JACOB DURBORN
BENJA BRADBURY JUN	JONATHAN BANGS
JN ^o WOODMAN	NATHAN ELDEN
SAMUEL KNIGHT	ABNER WOODSUM
THOMAS HARMON	CALEB HOPKINSON
JOSEPH DURBORN	ABEL KNIGHT
DOMINECUS HARMON	DANIEL THOMBS
JABEZ BRADBURY	ENOCH WHITNEY
ABIATHER WOODSUM	BRICE BOOTHBY
JOEL MILLIKEN	JEREMIAH SMITH
DANIEL HANSON	CHASE PARKER
JOSEPH HANSON	W ^m HASALTINE
THEODER ATKINSON	STEPHEN WOODMAN

SALISBURY, N. H., IN THE OLDEN TIME.—The following extract from a paper in *Harpers' Magazine*, (xiii., 637, 638,) entitled, *Daniel Webster's Social Hours*, may interest your readers, partly because it is a picture of the hardships of the early settlers of New Hampshire and Vermont, and more especially because it contains the interesting information that the father of Daniel Webster was one of the Captains in the Bennington Battle.

BENNINGTON, VT.

Very truly yours,
I. JENNINGS.

Speaking of the settlement of Salisbury, New Hampshire, Mr. Webster said :

"It is situated at the head of the Merrimack river, and very near the centre of the State. My father joined this enterprise, under Colonel Stevens, and, about 1764, pushed into the wilderness. He had the discretion to take an ally, the best of allies, along with him, a wife; intending, whatever else he might want, not to lack, at least, good company. The party "traveled out the road" or path (for it was no better), and then were obliged to make their way (not finding one) to their destined places of habitation. My father camped a little beyond the other comers; and, when he had built his log cabin and lighted his fire, his smoke ascended nearer to the North Star than that of any other of his Majesty's New England subjects.

"His story of this early settlement was deeply interesting, at least to me. They doubtless suffered much. War, on their own soil, and even at their own doors, was no strange sight to these hardy pioneers; and the arms which they had laid aside, on conclusion of Peace with the French, were easily resumed, and became as effective, in their practiced hands, against a still harsher foe. My father was their Captain; he led them forth, with other New Hampshire troops, almost every Campaign. He commanded his Company at Bennington, at White Plains, at West Point, and at the time of Arnold's defection. There were not braver nor better troops in Washington's Army. I have some little articles, the *spolia praelii* of Bennington, which I keep in honor of my father. The last time I ever saw General Stark, under whom my father fought, at Bennington, he did me the compliment of saying that my complexion was like that of my father; and that his was of that color, so convenient to a soldier, that burnt gunpowder did not change it!"

FIRST CHURCHES IN NEW ENGLAND.—"It is a fact worthy of notice, that the five first churches formed in New England, are now Unitarian churches, viz: Plymouth, Salem, Dorchester, Boston First Church, and Watertown. Rev. Dr. Kendall, of Plymouth, is the oldest Minister of the Unitarian denomination in this country; and it is curious to note that he is at the head of the oldest Pilgrim church formed in America."

The above is from a letter in the *New York Christian Inquirer*, in 1853, by its Boston Correspondent, the late William Reed Deane, Esq. BOSTON, MASS.

JOHN WARD DEAN.

THE FAYS, OF VERMONT.

[For the following copy of the "Family Record" of this noted family, we are indebted to our excellent friend, Rev. Isaac Jennings, Pastor of the First Church at Bennington.—Ed. HIST. MAG.]

FAMILY RECORD.

John Fay, the elder, emigrated from England and settled in Mass., and married Elizabeth Wilmington. They had eight children.

Basheba married John Pratt—Dinah married Daniel Goodenough—John married Elizabeth Childs—Eunice married Isaac Pratt—James married Lydia Childs—Benjamin married Patty Miles—Mehitable married Fletcher—and Stephen Fay, the youngest son, married Ruth Childs, who died in the 89th year of her age.

Stephen Fay, one of the first settlers, had 11 children. John Fay, who was killed in Bennington battle, aged 43. Jonas Fay was Secretary to the Council of Safety, and author of the Declaration of Independence for Vermont and died in the 82d year of his age. He married Sarah Fassett, and afterwards Lydia Warner. Stephen Fay died at Hardwick, Mass., aged 65. Mary Fay married Gov. Moses Robinson, and died February, 1801. Beulah Fay married Maj. Samuel Billings, and died in the 89th year of her age. Elijah Fay married Deborah Lawrence, and died in the 88th year of his age. Benjamin Fay married Sarah Robinson, was the first Sheriff in the State, and died in 1786.

Joseph Fay married Margaret, daughter of the Rev. J. Dewey, and died in New York, of the yellow fever.

Sarah Fay married David Robinson, and died January 25th, 1801.

David Fay, youngest son, married Mary Staniford, daughter of John Staniford, Windham, Conn., and died aged 67.

The John Fay that was killed in Bennington battle had five children—Susan, Nathan, John, Helen, and Henry.

Susan married Timothy Follett, and had five children—Mary, Susan, Timothy, Francis, and Sophia.

Nathan married Mary Safford, daughter of Gen. Samuel Safford, of Bennington, and had 8 children—John, Henry, Nathan, Polly, Safford, Hiram, Jonas and Truman.

John married Susan Fay, daughter of Jonas Fay, brother of the John Fay who was killed in Bennington battle,—and had 2 children, John J. and Caroline.

Helen married Bissell Case, and had a number of children not all known to the writer, among which were Sophia, Laura, Polly, Hiram, Susan, &c.

Henry Fay married Betsey Talcott, and had 10 children—Harriet, Henry, Betsey, Maria, Jona-

than, David, Nathan, Laura Anne, Mary and Caroline.

John Fay, son of Nathan, married Polly Bishop, and had 7 children—Roswell B., Electa, Roxana, Daniel B., Julius, Edith, and John H.

Henry married Catharine Vincent, and had 2 children—Emily and Dulcina.

Nathan married Polly Murray; she had one child and died. His second wife's name was Polly Colby, who had 7 children, making 8 in all—Nathan M., Safford, Sally Anne, Martha, Harry, Enos, Elliot, and Arnold.

Polly married Eli Bronson, and had 6 children—Currance, Safford, Louisa, Miron, Mary, and Eli.

Hiram died and left no children.

Safford married Rhoda Betty, and had 2 children—Ruth, and Miranda.

Jonas married the widow of his brother Henry, and had 2 children—George and Adeliza.

Truman married Mary Thompson, and had children—Anne, Joseph, Caroline, Jerome, Beulah, Ralph, Rollin, Thomas, Louisa, and Charles.

Roswell B., son of John Fay, married Anne Cutler, and had 4 children—Marcia E., John M., Alfred C., and Cynthia R.

Electa married R. B. Brown, and had seven children—Polly Anne, Jackson, Bertram, Jane, Byron, Edith, and Roswell.

Roxana married Corey Thompson, and has 4 children—Frederick, Herbert, Eveline, and John J.

Daniel married Amelia Taylor, and has 2 children—Ransom and Ellory C.

Julius married Susan Swift, and has one child—Julia L.

John Hiram married Hester Moreton, and has one child—Rockwell M.

Nathan M. Fay, son of Nathan Fay, married Beulah Thompson; they have 4 children—Emerson, Roby, Ada, and Newton.

Safford Fay married Armina Bronson; they have 3 children—Ellen, Frances, and Franklin.

Sally Anne married Azariah C. Flagg; they have 3 children—Dora, Henry F., and Willard E.

Harry Fay married Nancy L. Skinner; they have 1 child—Lillie.

Enos Fay married Beulah Fay; they have 1 child—Anne Elizabeth.

Joseph Fay, son of Truman Fay, married Susan Chamberlain.

Anne married Timothy Kinney; they have one child.

Caroline married David Bronson, of Conn.

A MODERN ANCIENT-PROPHECY.

The following *jeu d'esprit* was printed in the *Boston Herald*, on the fourteenth of February, 1855. It was written by the late Frederic T.

Somerby of Boston, who was a frequent contributor to the newspapers under the signature of "CYMON." He wrote a few years previous an ingenious April-hoax, which was printed in the *Boston Post*, on the morning of the first of April, which is said to have deceived the senior publisher of that paper, so that he went to the Boston Common, to see the cave described as discovered there. Mr. Somerby was not much of an antiquary; and his spelling, though curious, does not much resemble that of Cotton Mather.

BOSTON, MASS.

JOHN WARD DEAN.

"A RELIC OF YE OLDEN TIMES—A PROPHECY.—It was the poet Darwin that prophesied, in one of his compositions, the advent of the steam car; and in the following article we find a correct description of a modern steam-boat, written, or at least supposed to be so, nearly two centuries ago, by the veritable Cotton Mather, the wonder-loving Divine, and the author of the far-famed *Magnalia*, replete with witchy and ghostly narrations, and divers wonderments. The manuscript was said to be found amongst a lot of old and musty papers, in a heap of garret lumber, in one of the oldest houses in Newbury, not a great while since. Here is the matter as we find it: C.

"BOSTON, Iune ye 29th, 1602

"To my esteemed Friende—Iohn Moodie. Dear Sir:—

"I am now constraind to write vnto you thys Epistel to informe you of a strayinge Dreame, ye whych I hadd on ye Lord his daie laste.—Afterr Dyvine Seruices, I hied me home—vvarde, & ye Daie it beinge sylvtrie, and mie selfe feelynge somevhat fateged, I tooke a fulle Glasse of Olde Iamaica Spiritts; then & thervpon I betooke miself to mie bigge Arme Chaire. Ye oppressive heate of ye wetherr—mie greate fategue, to-gether wythe ye effect of ye rumme, alle combyned to lose & enwrappe me yn an all-powerfulle slepe.

"Methoughte I didd goe downe to ye sea-side; & castynge myne eyne ouer ye wyde waters, I didd presentlie yspie a strayinge crafte, ye vvhych vvas vvnlyke anie otherre that I hadde ever before behelde. Ye hulke of ye crafte vvas fashionede & shapened verie lyke vntoe ye dyuers crafte thatt swimme yn our Seas & Rivers, alle exceptynge a mightie Chymnie, the vvhych vraw sett vpye yn ye midel of ytte insted of a maste,—& ovt of ytte povred & belch't forth the Smoake in abundance. Vponne ye hytherre & ye thytherre syde thereof, vvas plaiced a myghtie vvheele, lyke vntoe ye bigge one yn Deaconne Lewette his Sawe-Milne; ande they didd continvallye turne rounde & aboute, splashynge ye great Waterres to a greate commotionne, ande

"makynge a moste dyrefulle noyse, alle to our greate amaismente! Whyles vpon ye foremost parte of ye Boate, stooode a lyttel Howse, lyke vntoe an Howse of easemente, intoe vvhych stooode a Manne whoe dyd seeze yponne ye spokes of a vvhele whych dyd muche resembel a Coten vvheele.

"Ye vvhyles I was lookynge vpon ye strayinge Crafte, we hearde a sovnde, lyke vntoe ye porte of heavie Ordnanse, ande anon a vvhyte cloud of huge dimensiones, and of mvch density dydde o'ershadowe ye spotte, hydinge ye strange vision from mye astonysht sight—& I sawe ytte no more!

"I hayve, my Deare Sirr, boene muche exercised since, touchynge thys matterre; & I doe sometymes thynk that ye sayd strayinge craft was nothinge moer nor less thanne ye Dyuel, whoe dydde essay to tayke vponne hymselfe thys forme & shape, inne orderre to goe over ye face of ye greate & mightie Waters to doe muche myschief vponne ye Sea as vvell as ye Lande;—& I verilie doe lykewyse thynke thatte ytte portendethe no goode, vvhatsoever,—butte that euil vvill come of ytte—& thatte ye Dyuel vvil shortlie goe aboute ouer ye Seas lyke a roarynge Lyonne, vvithout let or hyndrance.

"Thys from youre Olde Frende

"COTTON MATHER."

GENERAL ROSECRANS ON JUSTICE.

[The following interesting letter, from the original manuscript, which is now before us, tells its own story—it tells, too, the story of why some things were *not* done which should have been done, as General Rosecrans understood the subject.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

UNOFFICIAL

CORINTH Miss Sept 26, 62

MY DEAR GENERAL,

The Government has at last appointed me a Maj. Genl of Volunteers "for meritorious Services in Western Virginia" to "rank from the 17th of Sept, 1862." I have accepted it on the ground that when an unjust man who has the power to refuse to pay, offers to pay a part of what he owes one it is prudent to take it.

If fighting battles in person and winning them if defending successfully a mountainous region against a powerful active and determined force, if successfully commanding and restoring civil government to a vast department since overrun by rebels merited anything it merited my promotion in December last.

My new commission dates me probaly junior to almost all Major in the field. I am now in command of a Separate army and I write you privately to see if there be any mode of avoid-

ing the injustice of the position to which my junior rank would consign me.

Please let know before giving me any orders.

I think you will not refuse me this personal favor.

Very truly yours
W. S ROSECRANS

Maj GEN H. G. WRIGHT
Comd^g Dept of Ohio

[Endorsed:]

Rec^d Sep^t 26th 1862

THE EARLY DAYS OF THE MORRIS FAMILY.

[The following, from the original, in possession of the Bowne family, illustrates the early outlooks of the Morris tribe, for a resting-place in New York. We are indebted for it to our valued friend, John T. Bowne, Esqr., of Glen-Cove, L. I.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

JOHN BOON [*Bowne*]

My kind frind I have of layt had thoughts of setling a habytation a mongst yⁿ and there four have sent my Brothar into thos pts to begin for me som setelment and be causes I hnge [*knowing?*] that his short time time of aboed ther cannot sofetiently acquaint him with the conveniet ies of the place and cust ums of the coun tray, thearfoer thought to Intreat thee and all thar [*those?*] frinds that In habit thear about to give him sartin and houlsonm advies whear yⁿ would have me settel and bild a houses for my selfe to live in and what y^r advie is I hoep he will follow— he will tell thee wat land I have alredy bought but I doe not beliv that I am willing to be Ruld by frines. I have heard a good Report of Mad [*nans?*] neck and Likewise of Matinicok but what they aer I knowe not if a large quantitie of Land might be convenient I mean in Mad Nans neck [*?*] but I wont puint out any place I will leave that to frinds. I have not to enlarge forder than to subscribe my selfe thy true frind

LEWIS MORRIS

BARBATOS the 25th of the : 8th : 1665

THE SIEGE OF LOUISBURGH.

[The following unpublished papers, illustrative of the history of this important event, in Colonial History, are from the Archives of Massachusetts, and will, probably, serve some of the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

CONCORD N. H.

W. F. GOODWIN.]

1.—PETITION OF CAPTAIN JOHN LANE.

From the Massachusetts Archives, lxxiii., 34, 35.

To his Excellency William Shirley Esq^r Cap^t General and Governor in Chief in & over his majestys Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, To the Honorable his maj^{ty}s

Council & the honorable the House of Representatives of s^d Province &c.—

The Petition of John Lane humbly sheweth that he was an officer in the last Indian War and was at Sumersett with Coll^o Harmon when the Indians was Kill^d thear, that he was at Norige-wock when the Indians was Kill^d thear by Coll^o Harmon & Coll^o Moulton; that he lived at St. Georges when this war began with the French & when the Province granted a bounty on Indian scalps, that he listed a number of volunteers and was out after the St. Johns^l Indians all the winter before the Expedition to Louisburge, that he listed a Company & served as Cap^t in the said Expedition, that he was y^e first man that was wounded in the s^d expedition; that he was Taken Sick the middle of Sep^r after the Reduction of s^d Place & was careyed to Boston sick & lay thear sick till the last of April following, and that his sickness, nurses, watches & other expences Cost all his Wages besides what the Province allowed him; that on ap^l y^e 29th Your Excellency in your great goodness was pleased to give your Petitioner the command of a Comp^y of soldiers in the Service of this Province in y^e Eastern Frontier. That in going from Falmouth to Brunswick to post some of his Comp^o according to Your Excellencys Orders, that your Petitioner got cold & it threw him into a Relapse & your Poor Petitioner has been sick ever since and most of the time confined to his Bed and is now but just able to go from the Bed to the Fier; that your Petitioner had his house burnt by the Indians when the last war broke out; that your Petitioner has a wife and three small Children* and nothing in the world to Support himselfe nor them; withall your Poor Petitioner Begs that you will in your great goodness take him and his Poor miserable circumstances into your wise consideration and do Somthing to Relive your Poor Destressed Petitioner under his Destressed Condition, and your Petitioner as in Duitie Bound shall ever pray

YORK, Feb^r y^e 1^d 1747/8

JOHN LANE

A.—ACTION OF THE GENERAL COURT,
THEREON.

In the House of Representatives Feb^r 23 : 1747 Read and ordered that the Treasurer be directed to Pay out of the Publick Treasury to the Pet^r or his order the sum of Seven Pounds ten Shillings in consideration of his sufferings above mentioned. Sent up for concurrence

T. HUTCHINSON Spkr.

In Council Feb^r 23 1747 Read & concu^rd

J WILLARD Secry

Consented to W. SHIRLEY.

* John, born July fourth, 1734; Joanna; Daniel, born in 1740; and Jabez, were his children.

2.—PETITION OF CAPTAIN JOHN LANE.

From the Massachusetts Archives, lxxiii., 386.

To His Excellency William Shirley Esq^r Cap^t Generall and Governour in Cheif in and over His Majestys Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. To the Honourable his Majestys Council and to the Honourable the House of Representatives &c

The Petition of John Lane Most Humbly Sheweth

That your Petitioner served as a Captain in the Late Expedition agains^t Louisburg and That he was taken sick at Louisburg The middle of Sept^r after the reduction of the Place & hass bin sick ever since and is now so weeke that he can but just gitt out of his Roome this Eight months and your Poor Petitioner has nothing to Support himselfe withall Humbly begs that your Excellency and That Honourable Court will Take him into your wise Consideration and do Sumthing more to Releive your Poor Destressed Petitioner. This call which Will I beleive Be the Last time that I shall have Occasion to Troubl that Honourable Court, being just worne out.

and your Poor Petitioner as in Duitey Bound shall ever Pray

York march y^e 21^d 1749 JOHN LANE

A.—ACTION OF THE GENERAL COURT, THEREON.

In the House of Rep^lies april 20, 1749.

Read and Odered that the Treasurer be directed to pay to Cap Bragdon of York for the use of the Pet^r the Sum of five pounds in consideration of his Sufferings within mentioned.

sent up for concurrence

T. HUTCHINSON Spk^r.

In Council april 20 1749 Read and Concur'd—

T. WILLARD—Secy—

3.—PETITION OF CAPTAIN JOHN LANE.

From the Massachusetts Archives, lxxiii., 564.

To the Hon^{ble} Spencer Phelps Esq^r Leiu^t Governour and Commander in Chefe in and over his Majestyes Province of the Mass^s Bay in New England to the Honble His maj^{ty}s Councell and to the Honbles y^e House of Representatives &c.

The Petition of John Lane most Humbly Sheweth That your Petitioner served as a Cap^t in the late Expedition against Louisbuge and was taken Sick at Louisburg about the middle of Sept. after the reduction of s^d Place and hass bin sick Eversince and still Remains in a Poor weeke and Low Condition but just able to go about the roome and has not one peney in the world to help himselfe, withall your poor Petitioner Beges that Hon^{ble} Court will be pleased once more to take the Destressed Curcumstances

of your poor Destressed Petitioner under your wise consideration and do Sumthing more to Relive your Poor Destressed Petitioner, your Poor Petitioner Beges that Hon^{ble} Court will in theare great Goodness be pleased to give him a Small grant of Such a Number of aeres of y^e vacant Land that Belongs to the Province as that Hon^{ble} Court shall think fitt; and your Poor Petitioner as in Duitey Bound shall ever Pray

YORK NOV^r y^e 21^d 1749. JOHN LANE

A.—ACTION OF THE GENERAL COURT, THEREON.

In the House of Rep^lies Dec^r 7. 1749. Read and Ordered that the Treasurer be directed to Pay to Cap^t Thomas Bragdon Rep^live of York for the Pet^r four pounds out of the publick Treasury.

Sent up for concurrence

J. DWIGHT. Sp^{kr}

In Council Dec^r 7. 1749, Read & Concur'd

SAM^l HOLBROOK Dep. Sec.

Consented to. S. PHIPS—

GENERALS BRAGG, D. H. HILL, AND POLK, C.S.A.

[The following interesting letter, descriptive of the quarrels in the Confederate States' Army, is printed from the original letter, now before us. We are indebted for it to our friend, Captain C.W. Elwell, of New York City.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

CHARLOTTE N. C.

Oct^r 26th 1863

GENERAL

I reached home on the 24th & expect to remain until I heer from Richmond. I met Gen^l Polk at Atlanta, who professed much friendship & kindness. I regret that I spoke unkindly of him in regard to the coalition Bragg proposed. I am satisfied that Polk is too much of a man to make a compromise. The plan was to make me responsible for Polk's supposed delinquency & give Pemberton the Corps. Polk's manliness and P's sense of propriety defeated the scheme. Bragg's great object was to please the President & at the same time account to the country for his failure. It pained me inexpressibly to part with the Corps & to be absent from the stirring incidents of the campaign. But it is all right. I hope that you may remain permanently in charge of the Corps. It is reported that Rosecrants has been relieved and Grant placed in charge. If so, you will have heavy odds against you as Grant will unite his Army to that of R. Surely, Johnston will be brought up to command at Chattanooga. It cant be possible that the destiny of the South will still be committed to Bragg.

Will always be glad to hear from you. I write now, not merely out of friendship, but to ask that you will forget what I said about the coalition. Please mention the matter to Genl Cleburne & tell him that I am now convinced that Genl Polk never became a party to it & that Pemberton also declined, when he found the Division Commanders adverse to him. May great success & happiness attend you

Yours truly
D H HILL

Maj Genl BRECKINRIDGE

[Endorsed.]

Gen D H HILL

An^d Oct
1863

XVI.—QUERIES.

PURRYSBURG: NEWBERN.—Can the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE inform me where I can find a substantial account of *Purrysburgh*, a place on the Savannah-river, founded by one *Parry*, a gentleman from Neuchâtel, Switzerland; and of another settlement of a Swiss Colony, at or near *New Bern*, N. C., headed by another gentleman named *Grafenried*, from Bern?

GEO. A. MATILE.

PATENT OFFICE, WASHINGTON.

?—A few days after the capture of Fort Sumter, in April, 1861, when the voice of the whole country was for war, we had a conversation with a gentleman who was an officer in the Mexican War, and who, besides, in Ohio, has obtained eminence as a civilian, that we have often thought of since. Said he to us: "I saw, 'to-day, an old comrade of mine in Mexico, a 'West Pointer, but who resigned his position in 'the army, a few years ago. I asked him why he 'was not in uniform; and expressed my surprise 'that he was not already a Colonel or General of 'Volunteers. His reply was: 'I think you and 'I have had fighting enough. What I want in 'this war is a place by which I can make some 'money.'" He sought to get that place here. He made an effort to be selected by the Government as a buyer of horses, but failed. He next endeavored to borrow a few hundred dollars of a military friend of ours, then and now in the regular army, for the purpose of entering into a business where he would get army patronage. Being refused, he applied as we understood, to General Burns, for a position in the Commissary Department, in this city, but failed also in getting it. There being nothing here to suit him, he wended his way back to Illinois, and became a sort of Secretary to Governor Yates; and, every-

thing else being unsuccessful, he chose, at last, to go into the army. But he did not want to go where there was fighting at all. It was money he was after, and money he has made, as General and President of the United States. If he had obtained the position he asked for, as a buyer of horses, the country would have had a competent, if not an honest, man in that place, and we should not now have had a bad President, who makes the filling of his purse his principal business.—*Cincinnati Enquirer*.

Can anybody tell us anything relative to this alleged incident in General Grant's career?

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

THE CHARTER OF CONNECTICUT.—The recent publication of the second volume of Mr. Brodhead's *History of New York* rather casts doubts on the ordinarily-received opinion that the Charter of Connecticut, when jeopardized, in 1687, was sheltered in the celebrated "Charter-Oak" at Hartford.—(BRODHEAD, ii, 473, note.)

Be so kind as to throw some light on this subject.

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

EARLY PRINTING, IN THE WEST.—Can any correspondent give titles of any works, earlier than these, printed West of the Alleghanies?

- 1.—*Ornemens de la Memoire*. 12mo. Detroit: 1811.
- 2.—*Fleury. Catechisme Historique*. French. English. 12mo. Detroit, 1812.
- 3.—*Epîtres et Evangiles*. French. English. 12mo. Detroit, 1812.

ELIZABETH, N. J.

J. G. S.

XVII.—REPLIES.

INDIAN NAMES.—In the February, 1866, number of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, the signification is given of several Indian names in the Mohawk-valley and its vicinity. Having taken no little pains to obtain the most satisfactory definition of several of them, I give your readers the benefit of the investigation.

Says the writer in question, "CANAJOHARIE—'a kettle on a pole.'"

CANAJOHARIE signifies—the *pot or kettle that washes itself*. The origin of the word is as follows: A mill-stream runs into the Mohawk, at Canajoharie; and, nearly a mile above its mouth, may now be seen, in the bed of the stream, a large circular hole, perhaps ten feet in diameter, and nearly as many feet in depth—evidently cut by the action of water, with pebbles for its chisels. The basin will contain several hogsheds of water, and originated the name

which attached to the stream, and has very properly been extended to the flourishing village at its mouth.

"CAUGHNAWAGA—at the rapid."

If this were the true definition, it would apply, with equal force, to several other rifts in the river; but the name was purely a local one. It meant, literally—*Stone in the water*. In the river, opposite to the ancient village of Caughnawaga, and, perhaps, twenty-five feet from the southern or Fultonville shore, is a large boulder, which is the last stone seen when the water is rising, and, after a freshet, the first one visible when the water is falling.

"SCIENECTADA—at the other side of the pines."

This is so near the true meaning of the word, that I should not, perhaps, have spoken of it, but to correct its orthography. It means "*over, or beyond the pines*," and had reference to the point of entrance into the Mohawk-valley, from the valley of the Hudson, at Albany, whither the Indians had a well-defined and oft-travelled foot-path; the intervening distance having been covered with as dense a growth of pine timber as that sandy soil would bear. It is believed that the word was originated before the Dutch located there; and, after that period it was very properly retained.

Having satisfied myself, more than twenty years ago, that this name should be terminated with the letter *a* instead of *y*, I have since adopted that orthography. Fifty years ago, Canajoharie and Schoharie were terminated with the letter *y*, as were also other Indian names now closing with the letter *a* or the diphthong *ie*: and there would seem to be no good reason why Schenectada should remain one of the very few exceptions to the orthography of aboriginal names in this country. I would as soon end Canada, Cayuga, Cayadutta, Saratoga; Canastota, Garoga, Tioga, Unadilla, Niagara, Onondaga, Florida, Montezuma, Winona, Kenosha, Osceola, Mendota, Kasota, Minooka, and hundreds of other Indian names, in America, with the letter *y*. The termination of nearly all of this class of names with the letter *h*, would, no doubt, better give the sound of them, as when spoken by an Indian, with the emphasis usually on the last syllable—thus, Min-ne-so-tah, Os-ka-loo-sah, O-ma-hah, etc. Another exception to the termination of aboriginal names is found in Sandusky, which, with Milwaukee, I think, should terminate with the letters *ie*.

"SCHOHARIE—driftwood, in the river."

This is, in truth, the signification of the word; but a better idea of its whole meaning, as the name was local, would be "*the driftwood*," as to produce driftwood, a stream of water is implied. The word, agreeable to Webster, should

signify "a heap or body of forest timber driven together by the action of a flooded stream." According to most published definitions of the word, the notion became general that it simply meant timber moving by an unusual action of water. At the beginning of the last century, there was a vast accumulation of drift-wood, in the Schoharie, a short distance above the present village of Middleburgh, in Schoharie-county. At this point, the shores of the river were studded with a gigantic growth of elms and other timber; and, in the midst of it, into the Schoharie, ran two small streams, from opposite directions, which probably aided in the lodgment of timber. When the Dutch settled upon the West and the Germans upon the East side of the river, near this body of drift-wood, the natives were using it for the purposes of a foot-bridge; and the former shared with the latter in its benefits. How long it was thus used is unknown; but this natural bridge of dishonored lords of the forest originated this pretty Mohawk name, which is destined to last through countless ages of time.

Local euphonic Indian names should, in every possible instance, attach to their neighborhood—indeed, it seems sacriligious not to preserve them. Schoharie and Canajoharie have a similar termination; and both, as the reader will readily perceive, refer to the action of water, and neither of them to a pole.

FORT PLAIN, N. Y.

J. R. SIMMS.

MACKENZIE'S LIVES OF VAN BUREN, ETC.—[*H. M., II., ix., 44.*] In your January number of the past year, page 44, there is an enquiry from a Westchester, N. Y., correspondent, (which I was shown by a friend, a few days ago) as to "what hand, besides Mr. Mackenzie's, engaged in the preparation of his *Life of Van Buren*, &c "published some quarter of a century or so ago."

At the time of the publication of the *Life and Opinions of Benjamin F. Butler and Jesse Hoyt*, in 1845, by Cook and Co., Boston, and of the *Life and Times of Martin Van Buren*, by the same publishers, in 1846, I was in correspondence with the writer, W. L. Mackenzie, and am fully satisfied no other pen than his own wrote the notes and criticisms attached to the letters which formed the text of what these publications contained. W. L. Mackenzie had been a conductor of one of the leading presses of Canada, from 1824 till the Canadian Insurrection of 1837-8, and was well acquainted with the career of the public men of New York and of the United States. His position as Actuary of the Mechanics' Institute, New York City, for a time, gave him access to files of newspapers, for many

years, which his industry enabled him to avail himself of, for these and other purposes. And what was written of public men, in these publications, was exclusively in his own style and language, and contained his own views of public matters. He was not a man to allow his name to be used as a cover for another's writings; and he did not need to borrow any such aid, for he was amply conversant with the lives of the men and matters he wrote about, and fully able to deal with his subject. These publications were much censured, then; but their good or evil was his own; as I know from his personal correspondence, at the time. But as the incentive was the exposure of public corruption, believed by him to be exceptional, in American politics, the mistake, in this respect, that dictated the publication, may be passed over, as one not now likely to be repeated, in the light of our history, since then, by either "Refugee" or Citizen.

LIMA, OHIO.

JAMES MACKENZIE.

THE OLD PARSONAGE IN NEWBURY.—[*H. M., II.,* *ib.*, 119.]

MR. EDITOR: This is done by my grandson, at my request, whose name is appended. I am the ninth Pastor of this Church, of which the whole number is ten. I shall have been Pastor of this Church—active and nominal—fifty-five years the last day of next October, if I live till then. The pulpit is now vacant. I endorse what my grandson has said; at least, as the Romans say, *Sic accessimus*.

NEWBURY, CONN.

YOURS,

LEONARD WHITTINGTON.

Rev. James Noyes was born at Choulderton, in Wiltshire, in the year 1608. His father was a Minister of that town. His mother was sister of the Rev. Robert Parker. His education was chiefly superintended by Mr. Thomas Parker, son of Rev. Robert Parker.

The greatest friendship existed between Mr. Parker and Mr. Noyes. They came to New England in the same ship; were Pastors and Teachers in the same church; and, as Mr. Parker never married, they lived in the same house.

They arrived in New England, in May, 1634. Mr. Parker, with about one hundred others, settled at Ipswich, while Mr. Noyes preached at Medford.

In May, 1635, a large number of the inhabitants of Ipswich removed to Quasacatanquen; and the town was incorporated under the name of NEWBURY. Mr. Parker was chosen Pastor and Mr. Noyes Teacher of the First Church, in Newbury.

About the year 1603, a house was erected, either by Mr. Parker or Mr. Noyes, it is very uncertain which (probably by both); this house still stands, on Parker-street, near High. The

house is, probably, the oldest one for miles around; and yet it is in such excellent repair that the observer, on the outside, would think that not more than half a century had passed over its head; but, as soon as you enter the house, all is changed—the massive oaken timbers and the chimney, which is itself large enough for a small house, attest to its antiquity. The house was originally built with three large rooms, each about 18 x 20 feet, on the first floor, and three chambers, of the same size, above them. These large rooms have, with the exception of the parlor and one chamber, been sub-divided into many smaller rooms.

Besides these rooms, there was a chimney, about 12 x 10 feet, and an entry, about 8 x 10 feet, which contained the stair-case.

The roof is very steep, giving a very large attic in which the first settlers used to store their corn, as was the fashion in those days; and the trap-door, in the ceiling, over the entry, can still be seen, through which the corn was raised.

In one place, we had the curiosity to measure one of the oaken beams that support the second floor, and found it to be eighteen inches square. How different from some of the houses of the present day?

The people who build modern houses are much troubled by the falling off of the plastering; but, in this house, the plastering has been on for about two hundred years and is now as firm as ever.

At the death of Mr. Parker, the house passed into the hands of Mr. Noyes's eldest son, Colonel Thomas Noyes, who left it to his son, Stephen. It next passed to Stephen's son, Eber, of whom it was bought by his cousin, the late Silas Noyes, who, at his death, bequeathed it to his children, Horace Pearson and Mary Coffin Noyes, who are the present owners.

NEWBURY, MASS.

WILLIAM W. JAKUES.

THE KEARNEY LETTERS AND THE NEW JERSEY TROOPS.—[*H. M., II., vii.*, 184-195.]

H. B. DAWSON, ESQ.,

DEAR SIR: Some time since, my attention was called to the "Kearney Letters," published in your Magazine. My first conclusion was to let it pass unnoticed; but, having been intimately acquainted with Major Kearney, and a member of the Eleventh Regiment, during its entire term of service, I thought I could not remain quiet without doing injustice to those whom, for a long time, I had the honor to command.

Major Kearney was a warm friend of mine, both in the camp and on the march; and I was an admirer of his bravery, energy, and ambition. At the time the letter was written, which speaks disparagingly of the Regiment and its com-

manding officer, Colonel McAllister, we were encamped near Alexandria, and suffering terribly from malarious diseases. It was natural, under these circumstances, that Major Kearney, ardent and ambitious, should feel dissatisfied; and an opinion, expressed at that time, in a private letter, was never intended by him for the public eye. Colonel McAllister had gone through a campaign: Major Kearney had just entered the service, and was hardly competent to pass judgment upon the merit or demerit of an old soldier; and I am quite certain that if Major Kearney had been spared to the close of the service, his opinion of the Eleventh Regiment and its commander would have greatly changed.

If it were possible to know his thoughts during the hour that we awaited the enemy's attack at Gettysburg, I am confident that they would have expressed nothing but the warmest admiration, both for the Regiment and its commanding officer.

Very Respectfully, Yours,
JOHN SCHOONOVER.
Late Lt. Col., 11th N.J. Vols.

OXFORD, N. J.

[NOTE TO THE ABOVE REPLY. —The letters of Major Kearney, referred to by Colonel Schoonover, were written by the Major, to his family, and evidently contained his *real* opinions of men and matters—whether they contained his *expressed* opinions on those subjects is entirely another question; and, if Colonel Schoonover desires to be considered a friend of the author of those letters, he will perceive, very distinctly, that it is not necessary for Major Kearney's reputation to insist on the possible fact that he had one set of opinions for *public* use and another for *private* purposes.

Neither General McAllister nor the Eleventh New Jersey Regiment has any favor to ask of Major Kearney or those who represent him. Their respective records are complete without the Kearney letters; and all that the Major wrote to his mother, and all that he privately wrote elsewhere, or privately hugged within his own bosom, will not wilt a leaf of the laurels which both the General and the Regiment earned so gallantly.

Nor need Colonel Schoonover worry over the matter, at all, unless he is more interested in the matter of the Kearney reputation than we take him to be. The truth is, that the Kearneys—both the Major and the General—were misunderstood men, as far as their patriotism, *per se*, and their respect for their fellow-men, *as men*, were concerned; and the sooner New Jersey shall rub the scales off her eyes, and ascertain and acknowledge what kind of stuff those two of her heroes were really made of, the sooner will she do justice to other and less talked-of

her defenders, who were not less meritorious soldiers than the Kearneys and infinitely better men than they could ever pretend to be.

The letters were sent to the Magazine, with a request for their publication, by a gentleman who is well known as the champion of General Kearney's reputation; and if the Major's family had seen any impropriety in the publication, we are sure they would never have been sent to us. —ED. HIST. MAG.]

BURR AND MONTGOMERY.—[*H. M., II., ix., 123.*]—The following may serve to throw some light on this subject:

I.—“The following incident would have been related in his *Memoirs*, if Colonel Burr had not forbidden its publication without accompanying evidence of the fact.”—MATTHEW L. DAVIS.

“My son, I must see Burr before I leave the city. I went through the woods with him, under Arnold. I stood by his side, on the Plains of Abram; and I have not seen him since the morning on which Montgomery fell. It was a heavy snow-storm. Montgomery had fallen. The British troops were advancing towards the dead body; and little Burr was hastening from the fire of the enemy, up to his knees in snow, with Montgomery's body on his shoulders.”—*Chaplain Spring's remarks to his son, while on a visit to the latter.*—*Rev. Gardner Spring's letter to Matthew L. Davis—Private Journal of Burr, i., 4.*

II.—“Now we saw Colonel Arnold returning, wounded in the leg, and supported by two gentlemen, a parson Spring was one, and, in my belief, a Mr. Ogden, the other. Arnold called to the troops, in a cheering voice, as we passed, urging us forward, yet it was observable among the soldiers, with whom it was my misfortune to be now placed, that the Colonel's retiring damped their spirits. * * * * * The admirable Montgomery, by this time, (though it was unknown to us,) was no more; yet we expected, momentarily, to join him.”—*HENRY'S Account of the Campaign against Quebec in 1775, 115—17.*

III.—*General Arnold to General Wooster, December 31, 1775,*

“The loss of my Detachment before I left it, was about twenty men killed and wounded. Among the latter is Maj^r Ogden, who, with Capⁿ Oswald, Capⁿ Burr, and the other Volunteers, behaved extremely well.”—*HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, II., ix., 272; American Archives, Fourth Series., ix., 480.*

NEW YORK CITY.

W. KELBY.

SACRAMENTAL TOKENS.—[*H. M., III., i., 57.*]—I have, before me, two small tokens, of lead; each about as large as an old-fashioned five-cent piece of silver; very rude in their construction; and bearing no inscription on the reverse. One of them bears no other inscription than a letter H. The other is inscribed S : C, in relief; both of them are perfectly plain, on the reverse. These tokens were sent to me, among other little curiosities, by my friend, Professor E. F. Rockwell, of Statesville, North Carolina, accompanied by the following memorandum: "Specimens of 'the Tokens, formerly in use, and probably now, 'in many parts of the country to admit communicants to the Lord's Table.'" By whom they were issued and on what terms, I am not informed.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

H. B. D.

AMERICAN DUELS.—[*H. M. III., i., 57.*]—In reply to DICK'S Query concerning duels at Hoboken, in which a member of General Hamilton's family participated, prior to the celebrated and fatal duel between himself and Colonel Burr, I have to say that two such duels were fought between George I. Eacker, a respectable lawyer and a Master in Chancery, on the one side, and a Mr. Price and Philip Hamilton, eldest son of General Alexander Hamilton, on the other, on Sunday and Monday, the twenty-second and twenty-third of November, 1801, the first—between Mr. Eacker and Mr. Price—resulting without injury to either: the second—between Mr. Eacker and Mr. Hamilton—resulting in the death of the latter.

The details of this remarkable affair, with all the correspondence and statements, are published in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for October, 1867.

MORRISANIA.

H. B. D.

THE FIRST BOUND BOOK PRINTED BETWEEN SENECA-LAKE AND THE PACIFIC OCEAN.—In the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, [*II., i., 194; ii., 43*] a volume is mentioned as probably the first printed West of the Alleghanies. The following issued from the same press, that set up by the Rev. Mr. Richard, a Catholic Priest, at Detroit, is a year earlier, and, till something else turns up, must stand as the first:

LES ORNEMENS | DE | LA MEMOIRE; |
OU | LES TRAITS BRILLANS | DES POETES
FRANCOIS | LES PLUS CELEBRES; | avec des
Dissertations sur chaque | Genre de Style, | Pour
perfectionner l'éducation de la Jeunesse. | AU DE-
TROIT. | IMPRIME' PAR A. COXSHAW. | 1811. |
12mo. ii., 132 pp. 2 pp.

"Proposals for printing, in French and English, the Epistles and Gospels, for all the Sun-

days and Holidays throughout the year. The Editor of the *Historical Catechism of Mr. Fleury* returns thanks for the benevolent support afforded by the subscribers to that undertaking; and respectfully solicits a further continuance of their patronage for Printing another work, no less useful than the precedent.

"The Epistles and Gospels for all Sundays and Holidays throughout the year, will exhibit to the Readers, the best extracts from the Holy Scripture and the most excellent principles of morality ever taught by any Philosopher, either ancient or modern. At the same time, they will find in it the easiest method to learn and improve in either of the two languages, French or English.

"CONDITIONS.

"The work will contain more than 300 pages of the same size and paper as the *Historical Catechism*, and will be delivered to Subscribers for 8sh. half bound, or 10sh. whole bound, that is in leather and lettered."

These proposals are given also in French. They show that Fleury's *Catechism* also preceded the *Epistles and Gospels*, making it the third. Of this, I have seen only an imperfect copy: [*Mock title*] CATECHISME HISTORIQUE. HISTORICAL CATECHISM. [*On the back*] PETIT | CATECHISME HISTORIQUE, | CONTENANT | EN ABREGE | L' HISTOIRE SAINTE, | ET LA | DOCTRINE CHRETIENNE | PAR M. FLEURY, Prêtre, Prieur d' Ar- | genteuil. | NOUVELLE EDITION. | DETROIT. | Imprimé par Theophile Mettez. | 1812. | English title wanting in this copy. 12mo. pp. 201. Contents and approbation, 4 pp.

This book, like the *Epistles and Gospels*, has French on the left-hand pages and English on the right.

ELIZABETH, N. J.

J. G. SHEA.

XVIII.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient to them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*The Worship of the Body*: A Ceremonial for the Laity. Compiled from the best Anglican authorities, and adapted to the American Church. Second edition. New York; 1869. Duodecimo. pp. 19.

This little hand-book, the result of careful and conscientious study, was prepared by and printed for an excellent layman, a valued per-

sonal friend of ours; and we have pleasure in referring to it, although it is not exactly a "recent publication."

It is a Manual, drawn from the best writers on Ritualistic matters and, generally, in their own language, for the government of those who attend Churches "in which much pains are taken with the Ritual;" and it instructs, concerning "Bowling to the Altar," "Prayer before and after Service," "Sign of the Cross," "Bowling during Service," "Kneeling, Standing, &c.," "Of Interrupting the Service," and "Rules for the guidance of Communicants," after the most approved style of what may be called English Catholic Ritualism. We are told that all these are founded "upon the custom of the Primitive Church;" and they have been collected and circulated, it is said, "to satisfy a loudly-expressed want which, though abundantly met in England, had as yet been ungratified in America."

We confess our ignorance of all such matters as these. We were not trained in any such school of the prophets as were those who have loudly expressed a want for any such a Manual as this; we have seen no mention made, either in the commands of the Savior or in the records of the practice of what we understand by "the primitive Church," of any such mode of "worship" as this Manual calls for; and, with every possible respect for our much respected friend, who evidently differs from us, we must say that we conceive the practices provided for in this Ceremonial are anything and everything but *Christian* worship. Recognizing the validity of no other rule for our own faith and practice than the Holy Scriptures, faithfully translated, we can recognize the validity of no other rule for the faith and practice, in worship, of others; and, until we shall find thus authoritatively commanded what this Manual seems to require, in Worship, our friend must excuse us for doubting, and for asking, in our ignorance, as the Prophet asked of Sodom and Gomorrah: "'To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me?' saith the Lord: 'I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, nor of lambs, nor of he-goats. When ye come to appear before me, who hath required THIS at your hand, to tread my Courts?'"

The little Manual is very neatly printed.

2.—*Parson Elder: A Biographical Sketch.* By William H. Egle, M.D. Harrisburgh, Pa.: Theo. F. Scheffer, Printer. MDCCCLXXI. Large octavo, pp. 21.

"Parson Elder"—the Rev. John Elder, or Colonel John Elder, as shall best please the reader's taste—was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in

1706; was educated in the University in that City, and graduated therefrom with honor; was licensed to preach, in 1732; emigrated to Pennsylvania—whither his father and many of his friends had already emigrated—in the Spring of 1737; was called to the pastorate of Paxtang and Derry church, the constituency of which was of that noted race of Scotch-Irish which Judge Chambers and others have so ably eulogized, in April, 1738; participated, prominently, in the bitter quarrel which originated in the "great revival," and was the Pastor of "the 'Old-side'" portion of the Derry congregation, until 1775, when the trouble was healed, and the people, re-united, again called him to the pastorate. When the French and Indian War obliged the frontiers-men to arm for the defence of their families and hearthstones, the Parson became their Captain and, finally, their Colonel, vested with command, under the Government of Pennsylvania, of the range of stockades and blockhouses extending from Easton to the Susquehannah; and, with his widely-celebrated "Paxtang-boys"—as his mounted Rangers were called—he rendered effective service to his adopted country in that terrible struggle.

The up-rising of the Paxtang Rangers against the Moravians' Indian converts at Conestoga, and the extermination of the latter, without legal authority, are well known to those who are familiar with the history of that period; and their commander, although not a participant in that sanguinary transaction, necessarily shared with them the condemnation of those who have disapproved their action.

In the Revolutionary struggle, Colonel Elder took no part in the field, his advanced age forbidding it; but he seems to have helped to arouse the Colonists and to organize the recruits, in the vicinity of the parsonage, with all the spirit displayed in his earlier years. He died in July, 1792, aged eighty-six years.

In the elegant tract before us, our respected friend, Doctor Egle, the efficient Secretary of the Dauphin-county Historical Society, has presented the leading features of this remarkable man's career, in an admirable manner—indeed, it is an excellent narrative of the "times" of Parson Elder as well as a memoir of his life and personal services—and it will be welcomed as an exceedingly interesting and quite as valuable addition to the local history of Pennsylvania.

Its clear and handsome letter-press, with carmine rules around each page, its magnificent margins, and its appropriate photographic illustrations, serve to make this tract one of the daintiest, as it is one of the most valuable, of recent privately-printed works; and as the edition was limited to thirty copies, it will be as scarce as it is handsome.

3.—*In Memoriam. John Cox, 1795-1871. Henry Oxward Preble, 1847-1871. Sine loco [Charlestown, Mass.?] sine anno. [1871?] Octavo. pp. 24.*

A few months since, it was our lot to lose our eldest son; and, only a short time previous, our venerable and honored father-in-law was also carried to the old churchyard, at Sleepy-hollow, to join the long line of his ancestors who are reposing in that noted resting-place of Westchester-county's departed ones. We know, therefore, how sad the blow is, on the family of our honored friend, Captain George Henry Preble, U.S.N., and on our friend himself, which this tract commemorates; and we extend to them and to him our heart-felt sympathy.

The venerable John Cox, of Portland, the father of Mrs. Preble, was one of Portland's most honored citizens; a representative, in the fourth generation, of one of her earliest settlers; and, in his own person, one of her most intelligent and enterprising merchants. Henry Oxward Preble, was Captain Preble's eldest son and a grandson of Mr. Cox; a graduate of the Institute of Technology; an accomplished chemist; an active and beloved Sunday-school officer; a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society and of several other Societies of similar character; and beloved by all who enjoyed the pleasure of his acquaintance. Both the aged man and the young man have been called hence; and both now await, in their respective resting-places, the further orders of their Almighty Father.

In this neat tract we find an appropriate record of these lamented ones; and as it was our privilege to enjoy the pleasure of a brief correspondence with the younger of the two, it will be cherished as a memorial to his memory.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

4.—*A history of New England. With Particular Reference to the Denomination of Christians called Baptists.* By Isaac Backus. Second Edition, with Notes, by David Weston. [In two volumes.] Newton, Mass.: Published by the Backus Historical Society, 1871. Octavo, pp. [I.] x., 588; [II.] ix., 585.

We have pleasure in welcoming this reproduction of Backus's *History*; and we welcome, also, most of the features which distinguish this edition from the first—the correction of the original text, under the direction of the author's errata; the comparison of the quotations with the originals quoted from and the correction of the errors which had been made therein; the editorial footnotes, where the Editor differed from the author or had other information than that employed by him; and the addition of a good Index. We are not so willing to approve the correction of grammatical errors and rhetorical

flourishes into which the author's incomplete education sometimes betrayed him; nor are we altogether satisfied that "the orthography of the 'work' has been necessarily improved where it was 'made to conform more nearly to the present standard.'"

The great value of Backus, as a historical standard, is generally and justly recognized; and the Backus Historical Society has certainly displayed excellent judgment, not only in selecting his *History* for its first issue but in the excellent manner in which, as a whole, it has discharged its editorial duty.

The typography of the work is very fair; but the paper used has not afforded fair play to the printer, in displaying his work to the best advantage.

5.—*The Manual of the First Lutheran Church in the City of Albany.* Albany: 1871. Duodecimo, pp. viii. 128.

The Lutherans were among the earliest settlers in Albany—there is said, on Father Joques's authority, to have been a church, there, in 1644—and there some of them have continued to declare the truth, as that venerable denomination understands it, from that day until the present.

In the elegant little volume which is before us, we find the *Manual*—including the Ritual, the Rules and Regulations, the history of the Church (with its ancient Deeds) lists of its Pew-holders, in 1788, 1792, and 1871, a description of its church-edifice, lists of its communicants, 1786-1871, extracts from its records, etc., the whole illustrated with wood-cuts—and it is bound in muslin appropriately inscribed.

There is no positive evidence of the fact, but there are conclusive reasons for the belief, that the master hand, as an antiquary and Lutheran, as well as a printer, of our honored friend, Munsell, prepared this admirable little work for the press: whether we are right or wrong, in this supposition, the *Manual* is one of the very best of its class and, certainly, one of the handsomest. It is, besides, a "local" which those who feel interested in Albany cannot reasonably dispense with.

C.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

6.—*Provincial Papers. Documents and Records relating to the Province of New Hampshire, from 1722 to 1787: containing important Records and Papers, pertaining to the Settlement of the Boundary lines between New-Hampshire and Massachusetts. Published by authority of the Legislature of New Hampshire. Volume IV. Compiled and Edited by Nathaniel Bouton, D.D. Manchester: John B. Clarke, State Printer. 1870. Octavo, pp. viii, 891.*

If this title-page means what it says, and if Doctor Bouton can be depended upon, as a

writer of common English, this volume is the fourth volume of the *Documents and Records relating to the Province of New-Hampshire, from 1722 to 1737*; and yet the merest school-boy who shall go over its pages will determine that it is no such thing; that the title-page is not a correct presentation of its contents; and that Doctor Bouton cannot be relied on, as a writer of history.

The volume before us evidently contains all that New Hampshire has of the records of her Government—Records of her Council, Journal of her General Assembly, Journal of her House of Representatives, Journal of her Council and Assembly, and official correspondence—from the twenty-first of June, 1722, until the twentieth of October, 1737; and that, instead of being the fourth volume which has been devoted to the Records of that period, as Doctor Bouton pretends, it is the *first* and there will be no other. We suppose Doctor Bouton intended to have put the reference, on the title page, to the dates and that to the papers contained in this particular volume, *below* the words "Volume IV.," instead of *above* them, but he did not; and so his title-page tells a falsehood concerning the contents of his volume and adds another link to the chain of evidence, which we have hitherto pointed out, concerning the unfitness of that gentleman to discharge the important duties which have devolved upon him, as the editor of the State's archives.

We have pleasure in saying, however, that the Editor seems to have taken advantage of our criticisms of his former volumes, and discontinued the habit which he then had of *doctoring* the text of the records before sending it to press, and so of giving to the world a mixture of fact and falsehood, in very uncertain proportions. He says, now, "in copying and preparing these 'Papers for the press, the editor has adhered to the rules AT FIRST adopted: to preserve the 'exact words and orthography, capitals, and 'abbreviations of the papers transcribed; even 'the punctuation has been for the most part left 'untouched.'" Verily, the world moves.

7.—*Americanisms; the English of the New World.* By M. Schele De Vere, LL.D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. 635.

"The American language" is not, necessarily, English; nor, very often, is it either English or anything else than *American*. Derived, mainly, from England, it is, certainly, nearer the English than any other language; but the aborigines have left their marks in it, and the prudent Dutch, the nervous French, the haughty Spaniard, the thrifty German, the humble Negro, and the cringing Chinese have each con-

tributed to that peculiar conglomerate which we know, hereabouts, as the English language. So, too, we, like the mother country, have our local dialects—East, West, North, and South—and the Church and the State, Trade and Commerce, and various other elements unite in undoing, in forming, and in corrupting, in this strange corner of the earth, what our fathers supposed to be the mother tongue of England, nearer the pure English than England herself could produce, in any of her own Counties.

In this beautiful volume, Professor De Vere considers and discusses the origin, character, and meaning of these, so-called, "Americanisms"—those American additions to the language which Burke spake and Milton and Shakespere scribed; those expressive, not always elegant, expressions which would distinguish an American, the world over, from "English"-speaking persons, and indicate a Yankee, and betray a Southron, wherever they may be found.

It is a very welcome addition to the philology of America; and the handsome dress in which it appears will tend to increase the welcome which it will enjoy among discriminating book-buyers.

S.—*A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical, with special reference to Ministers and Students.* By John Peter Lange, D.D. Translated, enlarged, and edited by Philip Schaff, D.D. Volume IV. of the Old Testament. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872.

The Book of Joshua. By F. R. Fay. Translated from the German, with additions, by George R. Bliss, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. 188.

The Book of Judges. By Paulus Cassel, D.D. Translated from the German, with additions, by P. H. Steenstra. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. 261.

The Book of Ruth. By Paulus Cassel, D.D. Translated from the German, with additions, by P. H. Steenstra. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. 53.

Another of the volumes of this exceedingly elaborate work, which this well-known house is throwing before the world.

The general character of Lange's Commentary, revised and enlarged by the best biblical scholars in America, is now so widely known and so generally conceded that we need do nothing more than announce this accession to it of one of the most interesting of the series.

We perceive, too, that this volume is printed at the Riverside Press; and the great improvement in its typography, over other volumes of the series, is so very evident that we hope the remaining volumes will proceed from the same press.

9.—*Theological and Philosophical Library*: a series of text-books, original and translated, for Colleges and Theological Seminaries. Edited by Henry B. Smith, D.D., and Philip Schaff, D.D. Vols. I. and II. of the Philosophical Division: *Ueberweg's History of Philosophy*. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871.

A *History of Philosophy, from Thales to the present time*. By Dr. Friedrich Ueberweg. Translated from the Fourth German Edition, by Geo. S. Morris, A.M. With Additions, by Noah Porter, D.D. With a Preface by the Editors of the Philosophical and Theological Library. Vol. I.—History of the Ancient and Mediæval Philosophy. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871. Octavo, pp. xv., 487.

Some months since, Messrs. Charles Scribner & Co. announced their intention to publish a series of text and reference books devoted to the main departments of philosophy and theology, under the editorial control of Professors Henry B. Smith and Philip Schaff. The aim of the Editors was announced to be "to furnish at least one condensed standard work on each of the scientific divisions of Theology and Philosophy, giving the results of the best critical investigation, excluding, however, such histories and commentaries as extend through many volumes."

The first volume of this proposed series is that referred to at the head of this notice—Ueberweg's *History of Philosophy*, Volume I.—a work which has been selected as the representative, therein, of the History of Philosophy, only after the most careful comparison with other works on the same subject. It is more concise than Ritter's *General History*: it is more full and authentic than Schwegler's *Outline*: it is more extended, in its scope, than Ritter's *History of Christian Philosophy*: it is more recent than the works of Fries, Rixner, and Reinhold. Besides, no other work contains so complete a collection of authorities and citations and none is so full in its bibliographical apparatus. It is, also, a history, in fact; and not an apology for a particular theory. It presents the opinions of the various schools, as well as the views of individual philosophers, with remarkable precision, clearness, and impartiality, and without attempting to thrust the author's notions concerning them continually before the reader; and its authorities are perfectly overwhelming.

In this volume, we find the history of the philosophy of antiquity and that of the Christian era—the former including the successive periods of Grecian philosophy: the latter coming through the Patristic to the end of the Scholastic period. It was translated by Professor Morris of Michigan, and was revised, in the translation, by its learned author, just previous to his recent death; and President Porter of Yale-college has made additions to those portions which treat of English and American philosophy.

It is a most important addition to the working apparatus of students, everywhere; and the thanks of all such are due to those, Editors and Publishers, who have so boldly placed it within their reach.

Typographically considered, the volume is a very handsome one.

10.—*Lectures on the Science of Religion*: with a paper on Buddhist Nihilism, and a translation of the *Dhammapadam* or "*Path of Virtue*." By Max Muller, M.A. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872. Small octavo, pp. iv., 300.

Another of the series of volumes, designed only for and useful only to the very learned few, which Professor Muller is sending through the Press, for the instruction of the world. It relates to the *Science of Religion*, especially to that portion of it which is illustrated by the religions of the East; and the religion of the Buddhists especially occupies the author's attention, throughout the volume, and one of their authoritative works—*The Path of Virtue*—is translated and closes the volume.

Those of our readers who are interested in this class of studies will not fail to look into this new volume from the pen of Max Muller.

11.—*Vick's Illustrated Catalogue and Floral Guide for 1872*. James Vick, Rochester, N. Y. Octavo, pp. 120.

Mr. Vick presents his beautiful Annual, this year, as a New Year's Gift; and a most acceptable one it must be to all who receive it. It includes an excellent paper, illustrated, on *Laying out grounds and improving homes*, one on *Plants for special purposes*, one on *Sowing and Transplanting*, and a list of seeds and plants, for sale by Mr. Vick, with directions for their culture, the whole carefully illustrated with two colored and more than three hundred wood engravings.

Mr. Vick is widely known as one of the leading seedmen in America; and those of our readers who need seeds are respectfully commended to his care.

12.—*Dogs and their doings*. By the Rev. F. O. Morris, B.A. New York: Harper & Bros. 1872. Octavo, pp. 184.

This exquisite volume, evidently prepared for the amusement of the young folks, contains a collection of anecdotes concerning dogs, illustrated with wood-cuts of dogs and their doings, in every conceivable form; and bound in all the elegance of modern book making. It is certainly one of the most interesting of works; and we seldom see one which is more attractive in its appearance.

THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. I. THIRD SERIES.]

MARCH, 1872.

[No.

I.—THE MILITARY OPERATIONS IN
MISSOURI, IN THE SUMMER AND
AUTUMN OF 1861.

AN UNPUBLISHED REPORT OF GENERAL
BEN. McCULLOCH, C. S. A.

COMMUNICATED BY GENERAL FRANZ SIGEL.

[DEAR MR. DAWSON :

I send you enclosed a copy of the Report of General Ben. McCulloch, which you desire to publish ; and think you will find it one of the most interesting documents of the late War. The original, written by McCulloch himself, was kindly furnished to me, in 1865 or '66, by Colonel . . . of the Confederate Army, with the understanding, that I could take a copy and use it for publication, wherever I should find it proper to do so. It is correct to the letter ; and even the orthographical errors of the writer are duly marked down. The document does not show to whom it was directed ; but, from its tenor, I suppose that it was addressed either to Jefferson Davis himself or to the Adjutant-general of the Confederate Army.

The Report comprises the period from the Battle of Carthage, July 5th, 1861, to the retreat of General Hunter from Southwest Missouri, in November of the same year, after Fremont had been relieved. It is so remarkable and, with a few exceptions, so accurate in its details, that it deserves a very careful perusal. If you compare with this soldierlike, frank, and precise statement, the *Report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War*, Volume III., Department of the West, Page 241, and Pope's Letters to Hunter, Page 246 and following, also what Pollard says in his *First Year of the War*, Page 152, you will receive a correct idea of the difference of facts and fancies. Public opinion was right, in declaring the evacuation of Southwest Missouri, just at that decisive moment, an act of treachery and infamy—and so it shall stand forever.

Very truly,

Your friend,

F. SIGEL.]

In reply to your telegraphic dispatch of Nov. 30th, I have the honor to submit the following report.

I must beg your indulgence and ask your permission to go somewhat into detail as to what occurred whilst I had any connection with the Missouri forces under Gen^l Price.

About the latter part of June Gen^l Price arriv-

ed near the southwest corner of Mo. with about 1700 mounted men, a part of whom were armed, at or near the same time I reached Gen^l Pearce's headquarters in the northwest corner of Ark, my whole force being en route from Fort Smith, consisting of Churchill's Reg. from Ark, and Col^l. Hebert from La. which did not reach that point until some days afterwards. In the mean time I learned that Gen^l Price had arrived in the neighborhood being some 12 miles distant. I immediately rode over to see if I could serve him at Mo. In a few days Gen^l Pearce and myself received a letter from Gen^l Price written by Brig. Gen^l Parsons from near the Osage river, to the effect that he was trying to form a junction with the other Brig. Gen^{ls} Slack and Rains ; that the Governor of the State was with them ; that they were endeavoring to march towards the southwest part of the State and were pursued by Gen^l Lyon in the rear, whilst Col. Sigel was in front. I at once rode over to General Pearce's headquarters and we agreed to march into Mo. to aid the Governor in cutting his way through his enemies ; whilst Col^l McRea of Ark. was ordered to go at once to Fayetteville, raise all the men possible in that neighborhood, and make a demonstration on Springfield by the telegraph road. This maneuver was well executed and had the effect of causing Gen^l Sweeney, then in camp at Springfield, to recall that portion of the force on its march to join Col. Sigel.

It would be well to mention here that the military board of Ark. had instructed Gen^l Pearce to cooperate with the forces under my com^d. At this time we loaned Gen^l Price some 615 muskets with ammunition for the same. On the next morning my mounted Reg. under Col. Churchill reached us by forced march and we entered the State of Mo. for the first time, and formed a junction with Gen^l Price it being the fourth of July. My com^d consisted of Col. Churchill's Reg. of mounted Riflemen, and Gen^l Pearce's of Col. Gratiot's Reg. of Infantry, Col^l Carroll's Reg. of mounted-men, and a battery under the command of Capt Woodruff. We marched as rapidly as possible, expecting to attack the forces under Col^l Sigel at Neosho, but

learned before reaching that point he had marched north, to meet the forces with the Gov. of the State, leaving over 100 men at Neoshoe, who were captured by the Reg. under the command of Col. Churchill, aided by Capt. McIntosh my Adj^t Gen^l. That night our whole mounted force reached that point, and after halting an hour or two resumed our march and met Gov. Jackson before 12 M. at the distance of 20 miles.

After a conference the Mo. Gen^{ls} concluded not to pursue the enemy, but to repair to the south-west corner of the State and organize their forces, as many of them were not formed into Companies or Reg's.

Having accomplished the object for which we entered Mo. (viz. to assist the Gov. in cutting his way thro' the enemy,) Gen^l Pearce and myself repaired to our camp, and went to work to organize and drill our forces, advising Gen^l Price to the same course. Very soon we learned that Gen^l Lyon had arrived in Springfield with some 10,000 men, and at the same time were well aware of the scarcity of supplies among the Mo. forces and the disposition of some to leave Gen^l Price in consequence, in a word the country he occupied was too poor to sustain him and he was compelled to advance or disband his forces. After a conference with Gen^l Pearce I went to Gen^l Price's headquarters and offered to aid him in every possible way, even to marching on Springfield, which was agreed upon. I am particular in giving these details, hoping they will counteract the effect of the report often circulated to my injury, that I was not willing to assist Mo. It will be borne in mind that I was assigned to the Indian Territory with instructions to defend it from invasion from any quarter, and up to and long after this had no other instructions. Consequently I did what was done at my own risk, not knowing that Gov^t would approve my conduct.

A part of the agreement between Gen^l Price and myself was that all his unarmed men and campfollowers were to be left at his camp and under no circumstances permitted to march with the army.

When we formed a junction at Cassville some fifty miles distant I learned to my great regret that the whole crowd of camp followers had arrived also. I remonstrated with Gen^l Price on the violation of the agreement. He said they should be left where we then were, and that I might draw up the plan detailing the order of march upon Springfield, which I did and particularly said the unarmed men were to be left at that point. This order was submitted to Gen^{ls} Price and Pearce and met their approbation, and not until my division (being the advance) had marched, did I learn that Gen^l Clark of Mo. had refused to obey the order to leave his unarm-

ed men. I called on him at once and urged him in vain not to set such an example, stating the scarcity of supplies and the danger of a panic as a reason why they should be left. Knowing the danger of a divided command when brought in contact with one well united, well drilled and under one efficient leader, I considered it of vital importance to rid the army of these men until after the battle was fought, but failed to accomplish it as they all came with Gen^l Price to where I had halted, some thirty miles from Springfield, the enemy being a short distance in advance. It was at this point I first saw the total inefficiency of the Mo. mounted men under Brig. Gen. Rains, a thousand more or less of them composed the advance Guard, and whilst reconnoitering the enemy's position some 8 miles distant from our camp, were put to flight by a single cannon shot, running in the greatest confusion without the loss of a single man, except one who died of overheat or sunstroke, and bringing no reliable information as to the position or force of the enemy, nor were they of the slightest service as scouts or spies afterwards. As evidence of this I will mention here the fact of the enemy being allowed to leave his position 6 miles distant from us 20 hours before we knew it, thus causing us to make a night march to surprise an enemy, who were at that time entirely out of our reach. A day or two previous to this march, the Gen^{ls} of the Mo. forces by common consent on their part, and unasked on mine tendered me the command of their troops, which I at first declined, saying to them it was done to throw the responsibility of ordering a retreat upon me if one had to be ordered for the want of supplies, which seemed likely to be the case, their bread-stuffs giving out about this time; and in truth we would have been in a starving condition, had it not been for the young corn which was just in condition to be used. My troops and those under Gen^l Pearce were in a little better condition, though by no means burthened with commissary's stores.

At this juncture Maj. Dorn of Mo. arrived with a letter from Gen^l Polk saying Gen^l Pillow was advancing into Mo. from New Madrid with 12,000 men.

After further reflection upon our condition I consented to take the command, and to march upon the enemy; preparatory to doing so I asked of the Missourians (owing to their knowledge of the strength & position of the enemy, repeatedly promised, but this they totally failed to furnish, though to urge them to it, I then and at subsequent periods declared, I would order the whole army back to Cassville, rather than bring on an engagement with an unknown enemy. It had no effect as we remained four days within 10

miles of Springfield and never learned whether the streets were barricaded or if any kinds of works of defence had been erected by the enemy. There was left only the choice at this time of a disastrous retreat or a blind attack upon Springfield. The latter was preferred and orders issued in the evening of the 9th of August to be ready for the march at 9 o'clock P. M. so as to bring on the attack at daylight on the 10th. At the hour named for the march there fell a little rain with strong indications of more, which caused the order to march to be countermanded. After a conference with Gen^l Price this was thought to be prudent, as we had an average of only 25 rounds of ammunition to the man and no more to be had short of Fort Smith or Baton Rouge. Not more than one man in four was furnished with anything better than bags, made of cotton cloth in which to carry their cartridges. The slightest rain or wet would have almost disarmed us, as many of the men had nothing but the common shot gun and Rifle of the country without bayonets. However the enemy unwisely concluded to attack us in our position, which was well selected, for the kind of arms we had to use against their long range rifled muskets.

On the morning of the 10th information of the approach of the enemy's advance down the creek was soon followed by the precipitate retreat of a portion of Gen. Rains mounted men mixed up with camp followers to the number of probably several thousand, and this too before the firing had begun. I mention these facts to show the unorganized condition of the Mo. forces and what great risk we ran of a panic being communicated to the fighting men of the army, by having such material among them. Very nearly at the same time the enemy opened upon us, both above and below on the creek, those two extremes of our camp being composed of mounted men from Mo. whose duty it was to have kept pickets on the roads both above and below, on which the enemy advanced.

I have never been able to learn, who ordered these Pickets to leave their posts or if they left them without orders when the time arrived to march the night before at 9 o'clock. Be that as it may, the fault was theirs and not mine that the enemy was allowed to approach so near before we were notified of it. However, I never considered anything lost by their manner of attack, as we were never in a better condition to make battle, every man being ready gun in hand to receive the enemy, when at other times thousands of our men would be miles from camp, hunting something to eat for themselves and horses. In thus going into detail on this subject, I wish to show how unreliable were a portion of the troops under Gen^l Price, but by no means do I wish to reflect upon the bravery of Gen^l Price

himself, his Infantry or Artillery, who fought heroically at the battle of Oak Hills.

The Battle over it was ascertained that the camp followers, whose presence I had so strongly objected to, had robbed our dead and wounded on the battlefield of their arms, and at the same time had taken those left by the enemy. I tried to recover the arms thus lost by my men and also a portion of those taken from the enemy, but in vain. Gen^l Pearce made an effort to get back those muskets loaned to Gen^l Price before we entered Mo. the first time. I was informed he only recovered 10 out of the 615. I then asked the battery to be given me, which was won by the La. Reg. at the point of the bayonet. The guns were turned over by order of Gen^l Price minus the horses and most of the harness. I would not have demanded these guns had Gen^l Price done the La. Reg. justice in his official report. The language used by him was calculated to make the impression, that the battery was captured by his men instead of that Reg. My official report was written after Gen^l Price's was printed in Springfield. Let them both be read and let unprejudiced men say, which was best calculated to keep up a feeling of friendship between the armies. It was with this purpose I refrained from mentioning facts in my official report, mentioned now in this communication. I always endeavored to prevent ill feeling between our forces, because it was to the interest of both to have them co-operate fully against a common foe.

A few days after the battle of Oak Hills Gen^l Price wrote me a note and then called on me in person requesting me to march with him to the Mo. river.— I declined to do so. 1st because my whole force fit for duty were required for the protection of the upper portion of Ark. and to keep the Federals in Kansas from gaining access to the Cherokee nation, which still occupied a neutral position, and secondly because I had very little ammunition, some of my officers having informed me, when ordered to be ready to pursue the enemy on the 10th of Aug. that some of their men had fired their last cartridge in the battle of that date, and thirdly because we could expect no cooperation on the part of Col. Hardee or Gen^l Pillow, I having just received a letter from Col. now Gen^l Hardee informing me that Gen^l Pillow had fallen back and in consequence he would be compelled to retire to his former position near the Ark. line. This information I imparted to Gen^l Price in this interview. On this day the Ark. State troops marched for home, leaving me with about 2500 men fit for duty, 2000 of whom were required to defend the northwest part of Ark. and the Indian Territory.

Whilst General Price and myself have ever

been on the most friendly terms personally, yet we never could agree as to the proper time of marching to the Mo. river. Had he thought proper to listen to my suggestions on the subject he would have been advised to fortify Springfield and hold it with his Infantry and Artillery, and post his mounted men so as to give protection against the jayhawkers from Kansas. The Legislature could then have been called together by the Gov. at Springfield, the State have seceded from the Union and her army turned over to the Confederacy. At the time she was admitted as a member, a commander over the State forces and those under me could have been appointed by the President, which would have secured co-operation in all their movements. Then if possible a considerable number of extra arms to give those who joined us and at the same time a force to have menaced St. Louis from below, would have been the time to march to the Mo. river, raise the strong secession element on both sides of the river, and march down upon St. Louis. At all events it could have been mustered into the Confederate service, and brought off to the Interior of the State and not abandoned after being raised, to be stripped of its arms and put in such condition by the Federal Gov^t as to be of no sort of use in the future struggles in the State for Independence.

Soon after the battle was fought and won at Oak Hills, the forces engaged in its glorious achievement separated. Those under Gen^l Price for the Mo. river, those under Gen^l Pearce left for home, whilst those under my command moved off towards the Cherokee nation. I immediately used every exertion to increase my force for the purpose of attacking Forts Scott and Lincoln in Kansas, and just at the time I was concentrating my whole force near the Kansas border, Gen^l Price came down upon me bringing the intelligence of the approach of Gen^l Fremont upon Springfield with 30 or 40 thousand men.

This forced me to abandon my contemplated campaign and repair at once to the telegraph road which leads from Springfield to Fayetteville in Ark. where most of my supplies were kept at that time and were liable to be destroyed by a few bold horsemen. Before separating from Gen^l Price I called on him twice for the purpose of forming some plan upon which to meet the enemy. It was thought best for me to occupy some position between Pineville (where he was to fall back to, if the enemy advanced,) and the telegraph road. This I did and at the same time sent two Regiments under Co^l McIntosh one from Texas and one from Ark; to a point some 30 miles in advance of my position. From these Regiments scouts were thrown forward to and beyond Springfield, keeping me informed of the

movements and strength of the enemy's forces, as they arrived at that point. In the mean-time Gen^l Price came again into the centre of my column, without giving me the least notice of his intention. I rode in the direction of his head-quarters and met Gov. Jackson and suggested the propriety of a conference with Gen^l Price.

We met the next day at a point between the two armies, where it was agreed upon by all the Mo. Gen^{ls} that we should await an attack from the enemy, the ground to be selected by Gen^l Price and myself. The day after I went to see Gen^l Price and we arranged a plan to cooperate in the event either was attacked. Soon my scouts brought the information of the advance of the enemy 12000 strong under Gen^l Sigel, some ten miles on the telegraph road. I ordered back the two Reg^s under Col. McIntosh with directions to destroy the forage near the road, having previously destroyed that around Springfield, also some mills that were useful to the enemy, preparing to give the enemy a warm reception, notwithstanding the disparity in our numbers, his being over 30,000 and mine about 5000 and Gen^l Price's about 12,000. At this time Gen^l Price had fallen back to Pineville in accordance with our agreement. I wrote him proposing to draw the enemy, if he did advance and would follow us, into Ark to what is called the Boston mountain. If we could have effected this it would have doubled my force by calling in my two regiments from Texas, then in the Indian nations and the Indian Reg^s also. This he objected to, saying his men would not consent to go out of the State of Mo. at the same time expressing a desire to see me. I again met him and told him if we fought the enemy where we were it would amount to nothing but a repulse of his Infantry as he would never bring his baggage wagons and sutry into so rough a country. Whereas if he could be got down to the Boston mountain, some 60 miles we could get all his cannon, 120, and most of his army with their arms. He said again his men would not leave the State. Whereupon I agreed to fight them in our present position, though I believed it would result in little good to Mo.

In a day or two my scouts brought me the news of the retreat of the enemy from Springfield, Gen^l Hunter towards Sedalia with over 15000 men Gen^l Lane towards Kansas with 4000 men, and Gen^l Sigel towards Rolla with 12000 men. Whilst I was making ready to make a forced march with my best shod horses to overtake the rear of Gen^l Sigel's column, who was three days behind the others in leaving Springfield, a note was handed me from Gen^l Price, asking me to join him in pursuing Gen^l Lane, who had carried off some 600 negroes, belonging

to the people of Missouri. I declined to join in the pursuit on the ground, that he could not be overtaken, he having some seven days and one hundred miles the start of us. I informed Gen^l Price of my intention to make a forced march after Gen^l Sigel, but received no reply nor did I hear anything more of his movements, except such as was brought by travelers, which are seldom to be relied upon.

It has been asked why I did not pursue the enemy.

In answering this question I will merely state facts and let my superiors say if it would have been advisable to advance under the circumstances.

In the first place my force was entirely inadequate for such an enterprise, it being about 5000 men including 14 pieces of Artillery. 500 of these men had been too much enfeebled by sickness, to be able to take the field, though they would have fought the enemy had he marched upon upon us. This would have reduced my force to 4500 men, 2000 of which it would have been indispensibly necessary as recent events have shown to have left for the protection of that portion of Ark. and the Indian Territory. This would have further reduced my command to the small number of 2500. Would it have been prudent with this force to follow Gen^l Sigel who had 12000 men to Rolla where Gen^l Phelps was already with 2000 more, or would it have been any better to follow Gen^l Hunter to Sedalia, who had over 15,000 men? At the same time it will be remembered that both Rolla and Sedalia are the termini of railroads leading from St. Louis, that supplies without trains could be had, and any number of men thrown to these points, long before I could have reached them, and this too when I had made half the distance before they knew of my approach. Again it will be remembered that these points Rolla & Sedalia are about the distance of 200 miles from the position held by me at the time the enemy retreated from Springfield. I had not exceeding three days rations for my men to start with and not a single extra mule or horse-shoe to replace those lost on the march, and this too at the season of the year, when the ground being frozen would render it impossible for our mules or horses to travel without being shod.

It may be asked also why I did not join my forces to those under Gen^l Price. In answer to this question it will only be necessary to say, that it was impossible for us to march together, owing to the great number of animals in our commands, being not much short of 15000, all of which had to be fed as well as our men on what could be gathered on a march through a country already laid waste by the armies of both sides having repeatedly passed over it. Besides it

was always clear to my mind, that we could never maintain a position on the Missouri river, for any length of time owing to the great distance we would be from our resources and the close proximity of those of the enemy, we having to haul in wagon's three or four hundred miles supplies, which he could obtain by railroads or steamboats in a few hours, thus putting it in the power of the enemy to do so as much in twenty-four hours, as we could in as many days, to supply a want of men or means to make war.

It has been said both by individuals and by newspapers that I was unwilling to assist Missouri. Do the many efforts on my part recited above, to aid her, go to prove it, or can the accusation be proved by the fact of my having called on her Gen^l in chief three times at his headquarters and met him at two other points for the purpose of bringing about concert of action against the large force under Gen^l Fremont? Truth constrains me to say that neither he nor any officer under him ever visited my camp, though some of his Gen^{ls} were known to have passed within a few yards from my headquarters at the time.

In conclusion permit me to say, I have endeavored to give a plain statement of matters and things as they occurred, the dates and precise language of the notes and letters referred to cannot now be given, as they are at this time at my headquarters.

I have the honor to be

Respectfully, your ob'd't serv't

BEN McCULLOCH

Brig. Gen^l.

Dec. 22. 1861

REMARKS OF GENERAL SIGEL,

IN REGARD TO THE ABOVE REPORT OF GENERAL McCULLOCH.

In addition to what General McCulloch states and what General Hunter gave as his version, in the *Report on the Conduct of the War*, Volume III., Page 244, it seems to me proper to remark that, as far as I am concerned, my views were very positive and expressed so to General Hunter.

I had been in Springfield several days before Hunter and Pope made their appearance; and, when the question was discussed, in a Council of War, whether the Army should advance, I maintained, that General Price and General McCulloch had *not* left the State; and urged a movement against them. In a private conversation with General Hunter, which took place after the adjournment of the Council, I proposed to him to throw his Army into the rear of General McCulloch's position, at Cassville, for the purpose of separating the latter from Price and to cut him off from his natural line of retreat, in case

he was defeated. General Hunter seemed to regard this proposition favorably, and requested me to "work it out" and lay it before him, in writing. This was done with the assistance of my Chief of Staff and Assistant Adjutant-general; and the paper and diagram, showing the projected movement of all the Divisions, were handed to him, on the evening of the seventh or eighth of November. On the eighth, my Division was ordered to Wilson's-creek; but, on the ninth, to Little York and, on the tenth, back to Springfield, instead of continuing its march to Verona, as indicated in the diagram.

As soon as the retrograde movement of Generals Hunter and Pope became known, the Union people, who had embraced our cause with the greatest readiness, were struck with terror and despair. At a distance of more than fifty miles, the inhabitants fled from their homes and, generally, with nothing more than what they could carry about them, arrived within our lines and in the city of Springfield; while nearly every family in the city who had sympathized with the Army of the North, prepared itself to follow the troops, who had deserted them. So it happened, that the two Divisions under my command (my own and that of General Asboth) had to take care of an immense train of fugitives, whose homes became desolate, whose fortunes were ruined, and who, from that moment, lived the lives of refugees and beggars, often times deprived even of the most necessary articles of food and shelter.

Of course, it is too late to retrieve these misfortunes, but not too late to learn who is responsible for them. It was an outrage without parallel in history, which the letter of President Lincoln, addressed to General Hunter, cannot excuse (*Report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, Volume III., Page 241*) because, in that letter, it was left discretionary with General Hunter, to follow Generals Price and McCulloch and to force them out of Missouri or to desert a beautiful country and highly patriotic people. In the Spring of 1862, after the Confederates had had it all their own way, for over three months, we marched "down hill," again; but this time the Army did not stop half way, but finished its task, as it should have been finished before, under even more propitious circumstances.

These remarks have nothing to do with the present condition of our political affairs, but relate simply to matters of fact and to the duties of those who have acted, or pretended to act, in the interest of the United States Government and people.

NEW YORK CITY.

F. S.

II.—"THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS" OF VERMONT.

MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THEIR CONVENTIONS.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 85.

NOW FIRST PRINTED, WITHOUT MUTILATION, ALTERATION, OR INTERPOLATION, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

N HAMPSHIRE GRANTS } at a General
Cephas Kents Dorset 25 Sep^r 1776 } Convention
of the several Delegates from the Towns on the West side of the range of Green Mountains the 24th day of July last Consisting of fifty one Members Representing thirty five Towns; and held this day by Adjournment by the Representatives on the West and East side the said range of Green Mountains; the following Members being present at the Opening of the Meeting—

Captain Joseph Bowker in the Chair
Doct^r Jonas Fay Clerk

Pownall	Capt. Sam ^l Wright Doct ^r Obadiah Dunham
Bennington	Mr Simeon Hathaway Doct ^r Jonas Fay Capt. John Burnham Nathan Clark Esq ^r Maj ^r Sam ^l Safford Col ^o Moses Robinson
Shaftsbury	Major Jeremiah Clarek Mr John Burnham
Sunderland	Lieut. Joseph Bradley Col ^o Timothy Brownson
Manchester	Col ^o W ^m Marsh Lieut. Martin Powl Lieut. Gideon Ormsby
Dorset	Mr John Manley Mr Abr ^m Underhill
Ruport	Mr Reuben Harmon Mr Amos Curtis
Pollet	Capt. W ^m Fitch Major Roger Rose
Wells	Zacheus Mallery Ogden Mallery
Poultney	Mr Nehemiah How Mr W ^m Ward
Castleton	Capt. Joseph Woodward
Bredport	Mr Sam ^l Benton
Addison	Mr David Vallance
Harmford	Mr Thomas Morgin
Williston	Col ^o Thomas Chittendon
Colchester	Lieut. Ira Allen
Middlebury	Mr Gamaliel Panthar
Burlington	Mr Lemuel Bradley

Nishobee	Capt. Timothy Barker Mr Thomas Tuttle
Rutland	Capt. Joseph Bowker Col ^o James Mead
N Wallingford	Mr Abraham Ives
Tinmouth	Capt Ebenezar Allen Major Thomas Rice
Danby	Capt Micah Veal Mr William Gage
Panthorn	John Gale
Bromley	Capt. W ^m Utley Col ^o Seth Warner Present Capt. Heman Allen D ^o
East side Green Mountains	
Marlborough	Capt. Francis Whitmore Col ^o Benjamin Carpenter
Guilford	Major John Sheperdson
Windsor	Mr Ebenezar Hosington
Kent	Edward Akins Col ^o James Rogers
Rockingham	Doct ^r Reuben Jones
Dummerston	Mr Joseph Hildrith Lieut Leonard Spalding
Westminster	Mr Joshua Webb Nath ^l Robinson Esq ^r
Wilmington or Draper	by a Letter from S ^d Town
Cumberland	by a Letter
Hallifax	Col ^o Benj ^a Carpenter

The foregoing Members being organised proceeded to business

- 1st Voted that the Records & proceedings of this Convention held at this place from the 16th of January 1776 to this time be Read to give light to those Gentlemen Delagates from the east side of the Green Mountains in particular and the Whole in general.
- 2^d Voted that the words "That has been heretofore Subscribed and returned or that" included in a Vote at the last sitting of this Convention be Erased, which is accordingly done.
- 3^d Voted to adjourn till 8 o'clock to morrow Morning at this place.

Thursday 8 o'clock in the Morning
Meeting opened at time and place.

- 4th Voted to make a general List of the Names of those of the inhabitants of the several Towns, on the N Hampshire Grants, who have signed the General Associations, Voted by the last Convention to be signed.
- 5th Voted that no Member of this Convention be permitted to speak more than three times

to one case at (one sitting) without leave of the Board.

- 6th Voted, that the Association originally signed be returned to the Clerk of this Convention at their next Sitting.
- 7th Voted to take the following Vote passed in July 24th 1776 into consideration (viz)
"Proceeded to the consideration of the fifth Article of the Warrant and Voted that suitable application be made to form that District of Land commonly called and known by the name of the New Hampshire Grants into a Separate District; passed in the Affirmative not one dissenting Vote.
- 8th Voted Col^o W^m Marsh, Doct^r Jonas Fay, Doct^r Reuben Jones, Capt. Ira Allen, Col^o Thomas Chittenden, Col^o Benjamin Carpenter and Col^o James Rogers be a Committee to form a plan for future proceedings and report to this Convention as soon as may be.
- 9th Voted to adjourn this Meeting until half past 1 o'clock in the Afternoon at this place.

Meeting opened at time and place.

Report (as opinion) of a sub Committee.

A Covenant or Compact ought to be entered into by the Members of this Convention for themselves and Constituents to be Governed and Regulated by such Rules as may be Agreed on by the Majority (viz) to Regulate the Militia to furnish Troops according to our Ability for the defence of the Liberties of the United States of America.

To return the Numbers of the inhabitants on this district to the Continental Congress and at all times to be Govern'd by their Councils.—

A number of Men to be Elected to wait on the Hon^{ble} Continental Congress with such Petitions or directions as shall be agreed on by this Convention.

To make suitable provisions that the whole of the Inhabitants on S^d N. Hampshire Grants on each side of the Green Mountains be Notified and have proper opportunity to join and coincide with the Measures taken and to be hereafter taken for the benefit of forming s^d District into a separate State.

As the troublesome and aged Conflict subsisting between the State of N. York and that District of land commonly called and known by the name of the New Hampshire Grants relative to the Title of lands on s^d district has not as yet subsided.

We do therefore Vote that any Law, or Laws, Direction or Directions we may (for the time being) receive from S^d State of N York will not in future be Accepted neither shall we hold ourselves bound by them.

Some measures to be Entered into for the better securing the Tories on s^d District.

That the Militia Officers on each side the Mountains continue in their stations and after executing the Orders to them heretofore received from the State of N. York to be under the direction of this Convention.

The foregoing Propositions are humbly submitted to the Members of the General Convention now Assembled at Dorset.

¶

Benj^m Carpenter } Chairman
 } Committe

10th Voted to accept the above report of the sub Committee

11th Voted to adjourn this Meeting untill half past 1 oClock in the Afternoon at this place.

Thursday half after 1 oClock in the Afternoon Meeting opened.

12th Voted that a Covenant or Compact be made and subscribed by the Members of this Convention for themselves and Constituents for the security of their Common Liberties and Properties in conjunction with the Free and Independent States of America.

13th Voted that Doct^r Jonas Fay, Col^o Moses Robinson, Col^o W^m Marsh, M^r Ebenezar Hosington, Doct^r Reuben Jones, Col^o Tho^s Chittenden and Doct^r Obadiah Dunham be and are a Committee to form the said Covenant or Compact and report to this Convention as soon as may be.

14th Voted to adjourn this Meeting until 8 oClock to morrow morning.

Friday 27th September 1776 opened the Meeting at time and place.

The Covenant or Compact.

15th At a General Convention consisting of fifty six Delagates on the New Hampshire Grants on the east and west side of the range of green mountains representing thirty six Towns on S^d Grants held at Dorset the 25th day of September 1776 by adjournment

Whereas this Convention have for a series of Years had under their particular considerations the disengenuous Conduct of the former Colony (now State) of New York toward the inhabitants of that district of Land commonly called and known by the name of the New hampshire Grants and the several illegal unjustifiable and unreasonable Measures they have taken to Deprive by fraud violence and oppression those inhabitants of their property and in particular their Landed interest; and as this Convention have reason to expect a Continuance of the same kind

of disengenuity unless some measures effectually be taken to form the s^d District into a separte and Distinct one from New York and whereas it at present appears to this Convention that for the foregoing Reasons together with the distance of road which lies between this district and N. York that it will be very inconvenient for those inhabitants to Associate or Connect with them for the time being directly or indirectly.

Therefore this Convention being fully convinced that it is necessary that every individual in the United States of America should exert themselves to their utmost Abilities in the defence of the Liberties thereof and that this Convention may the better satisfy the Publick of their punctual Atachment to the s^d common Cause at present as well as heretofore we do make and subscribe the following Covenant (viz).

We the Subscribers inhabitants of that district of Lands commonly called and known by the name of the New Hampshire Grants being legally Delegated and Authorised to transact the public and political affairs of the afforsaid District of Lands for ourselves and Constituents do solemnly Covenant and engage that for the time being we will strictly and Religiously Adhere to the several Resolves of this or a future Convention Constituted on s^d District by the free voice of the Friends to American Liberties that shall not be Repugnant to the Resolves of the hon^{ble} Continental Congress Relative to the General Cause of America.

16th Voted that Col^o Jacob Bailey Capt. Abner Seeley & Col^o Jacob Kent be a joint Committee to exhibit the Proceedings of this Meeting to the inhabitants of the County of Gloucester and request them to sign the Association left with them at their County Convention held at Thetford the 13th day of August Ultimo and return the same by their Delegate or Delegates chosen or to be chosen hereafter to meet and join this Convention at their next Sitting.

17th Voted that it be and it is hereby Recommended, to the several Chairmen of the several Committees of the several Towns on the West side of the Green Mountains on the N. Hampshire Grants, faithfully to see to it, that the Association made at the last sitting of this Convention be forth with signed, by every individual Mal inhabitant of each Town from 16 Years old and upward, and that for the future each person subscribe his own name or mark; and that the Association thus signed be Returned to Doct^r Jonas Fay Clerk of this Convention, before the next sitting of this Convention; and if any

refuse to sign the Association to take their Names and Reasons why they will not subscribe to it.

- 18th Voted to adjourn this Meeting one hour at this place.

Friday 2 o'Clock the Meeting opened at time and place.

- 19th Voted that Col^o W^m Marsh, & Capt. Ira Allen be a Committee to go into Cumberland, and Gloucester Counties, to carry the Proceedings of this Convention, and to Assist in getting the Association (form'd by this Convention) signed, and Collected to the Clerk of this Convention.

- 20th Voted, that Doct^r Jonas Fay, Doct^r Reuben Jones, & Col^o W^m Marsh, be a Committee, to draw a Remonstrance, or Petition to send to the Continental Congress, and Report to this Convention as soon as may be.

Report of the above sub Committee

The grounds of this Petition and Remonstrance, to be Exhibited to the Grand Council of America, by this Convention, to contain the following, (viz).

The several Measures taken by the Colony or State of New York, heretofore to Monopolize the Landed interest of the inhabitants on these Grants to themselves: Circumstances in particular of the conduct of N. York, on each side the Mountains to be particularly considered.

Distance from the Metropolis of any State &c.

Persons to be Appointed for making the Draught; a Committee to be appointed to examine the draught, with Authority from this Convention to Pass the same, in the Name of the whole of this Convention.

Persons to be appointed to exhibit the same properly Delegated to the hon^{ble} Board at the Continental Congress.

The above submitted to the Consideration of the hon^{ble} Convention;

Pr William Marsh } Chairman
 } Committee

- 21st Voted, that the above Report of the sub Committee be Accepted.

- 22^d Voted, that Doct^r Jonas Fay write an answer to Mr John Wheelock.

- 23^d Voted, that the Committees of Safety, for the several Towns on the District of the N Hampshire Grants, be and are invested with the same Authority, as other Committees of Safety, for other Towns in any of the Free States of America.

- 24th Voted, that a sufficient Goal be built on the west side of the Range of Green Mountains,

at some place, that shall be hereafter agreed on, for securing Tories.

- 25th Voted, that Nathan Clark Esq^r, Capt Micah Veal, Lieut Samuel Benton, Major Jeremiah Clark, & C^l James Mead be a Committee to Assign a place to erect a Goal as above, and prescribe some way to effect the same as soon as may; and Report to this Convention.

Report (as the Opinion) of the above sub Committee:

It is hereby Recommended to this Convention, that a Goal be erected in the Township of Manchester: twenty foot by thirty inside; s,^d Goal to be built with Loggs, and earth: s,^d Goal to be erected a few Rods east of the now dwelling house of Lieut. Martin Powel, in s,^d Town; for the confinement of Tories, and other Offenders, that may be adjudged to be confined: s,^d Goal to be built of a double wall of logs, not less than twelve inches through, laid eighteen inches distance, between s,^d walls, the vacancy to be filled up with earth; about 7 feet high, and then floored with loggs doubled, a good Roof, and a strong wooden door. &C &C.

And that some suitable person, or persons, be appointed to see the performance of the above strong hold; and to be retaliated therefore by this Convention, or as they in their great wisdom shall order

by order of Committee

Nathan Clark } Chairman

- 26th Voted to accept of the above Report.

- 27th Voted that Lieut. Martin Powell, Mr Gideon Ormsby, and Mr Thomas Bull be a Committee to build a Goal as above, proposed.

- 28th Voted that Lieut Martin Powel be Goal keeper.

- 29th Voted that Mr Simeon Hathaway, Doct^r Jonas Fay, Nathan Clark Esq^r, Lieut. Joseph Bradley, Lieut. Martin Powel, Mr Cephas Kent, Capt. Joseph Bowker, Capt. Joseph Woodward, and Nehemiah How be a Committee of War.

- 30th Voted that the several Colonels, on the west side of the Range of Green Mountains, issue their Orders immediately to their several Captains under them, to Muster their Companies, and to take the number of men gone in the service, and what service, and how many at home, and their Arms, Accoutrements, and Amunition, and the Colonels to make their Return to the Committee of War, and the Committee of war to this Convention.

- 31st Voted that the several Colonels give speccial orders to the Captains under them to raise

their Quota's of Men, to fill up the six Companies of Rangers.

- 32^d Voted that Nathan Clark Esq^r, Doct^r Obadiah Dunham, & M^r John Burnam be a Committee to affix fines on all delinquents in the Militia and make Returns to this Convention as soon as may be.

Report (as the opinion) of the above Committee

A Colonel Refusing or neglecting to Comply with any orders from this Convention to pay a Fine of..... 33 Dollars

A Lieutenant Colonel Refusing or neglecting to obey his Commanding Officer....	25	D ^o	
Major.....	20	D ^o	
Captain.....	10	D ^o	
Lieutenant, Adjutant, Quarter Master, & Ensign.....	7	D ^o	Each
Serjeant, and Clark.....	2	D ^o	Each
Corporal.....	1½	D ^o	
Drum, and Fife.....	1¼	D ^o	Each
Private.....	1	D ^o	

If a Soldier drafted in any particular service, and absconding shall be subject to pay a fine of twenty five dollars and an Officer in proportion as above.

That the Committee of War have full power to hear any complaint against any Field Officer for neglect of their duty and to proceed against them or either of them to collect by warrant or execution from under their hands such fine or fines as is appointed by this Convention; in like manner the Field Officers to try all the Commissioned Officers in their Respective Regiments for the time being directed to some suitable person to collect the same. and in like manner two Commission'd Officers of each Company to try all non commissioned Officers and privates to award in the manner abovesaid; said fines to be used or applied to furnish those men in s.^d Company's that are not able to furnish themselves with arms and Amunition and Accoutrements as required and that each non commission'd Officer and private provide himself with a suitable Gun and one pound powder four pound of Bulletts fit for his gun six flints, powder horn, cartouch box or bullet pouch a sword bayonet or tomahawk and for want of a gun to pay a fine of two dollars on each time so required to appear under arms and for want of each other Accoutrement the sum of half a dollar when required as aforesaid.

Fines for each days neglect.

A Colonel.....	£ 1.16..0
Lieutenant Colonel.....	1.10..0

Major.....	0.18..0
Captain.....	0.16..0
Lieutenant.....	0.14..0
Adjutant & Ensign each	.12..0
Quartermaster.....	0.10..0
Serjeant.....	0.. 8..0
Corporal.....	0.. 6..0
Drum and Fife.....	0.. 4..0
Private.....	0.. 3..6

by Order of Committee

Nathan Clark } Chairman

- 33^d Voted to accept of the above Report.

34th Voted that the Committee of War be and are empowered to issue their warrants in the name and by the Authority of this Convention to the several Field Officers of the Militia on the district of the N Hampshire Grants that on any sufficient notice Received from the General or Commander in Chief of any of the Armies of the United States of America, the Honourable Continental Congress, or on any Sudden Emergency that shall be Judged by s^d Committee of War to be for the immediate Safety of the Grants requesting the Assistance of the Militia and march immediately to the Relief of such part of the Continent as they may be Required to. And in case any person legally Notified justly belonging to any or either the Companies of the Militia on s.^d District shall refuse on such Notifications to attend and perform the Duty enjoined on him or them by the Officers of the Regiment to which he or they do or may belong that they be fined unless sufficient excuse be rendered to the Committee of War.

35th Voted that Doct^r Reuben Jones, and Lieut. Leonard Spalding wait and take the proceedings of this Convention and deliver to their Constituents.

36 Voted that Doct^r Jonas Fay, Capt Samuel Wright, Major Jer^m Clark, Col^o Timothy Brownson, Col^o William Marsh, Capt Joseph Bowker, Col^o Thomas Chittenden, Capt Heman Allen, Capt Wil^m Fitch, Capt Micah Veal, Lieut Sam^l Benton, and Capt. Ira Allen be a Committee to attend this Convention at their next Sitting. And it is Recommended for each Town to send one more Delagate.

37th Voted that Doct^r Jonas Fay Col^o William Marsh and Doct^r Reuben Jones be a Committee to draw a Petition to send to the Hon^{ble} Continental Congress; and Report to a Committee to be appointed to examine the same.

38th Voted that Nathan Clark Esq^r, Col^o Seth Warner, Captain Heman Allen,

be a Committee to examine the
aforesaid Petition.

39th Voted to adjourn to 8 o'clock to morrow
morning at this place

Saturday morning 8 o'clock Sept. 28th
1776 the Meeting opened at time and place.

40th Voted to Refer the examination of the Peti-
tion to the Continental Congress till our next
Meeting then to fill up the Committee for
that purpose

41st Voted that four Men be appointed as Dela-
gates to go to the Continental Congress with
a Petition or such Directions as this Conven-
tion shall give them.

42^d Voted that Doct^r Jonas Fay Col^o Thomas
Chittenden in Conjunction with two more
to be appointed be a Committee for that
purpose.

43^d Voted that Col^o Seth Warner, Capt Heman
Allen, Capt Gideon Brownson Mr Ebenezer
Hosington, Capt. Abner Seeley, & Doct^r
Jonas Fay be a Committee to prepare a Sit-
ation to send to the State of New York to
know if they have any Objection against our
being a Seperate State from them: and
make Report as soon as may be.

44th Voted that as it appears that the Town of
Arlington are principally Tories, yet the
Friends of Liberty are Ordered to warn a
Meeting and choose a Committee of Safety
and Conduct as other Towns, if they meet
with opposition to make application to the
Committees of Safety of the neighbouring
Towns for Assistance.

45th Voted that no person be admitted to act in
choosing Committes of Safety but those
that sign the Association from this Conven-
tion and Acknowledge the authority of the
Committes of Safety.

46th Voted Col^o Benja^a Carpenter of Guilford do
notify Guilford Hinsdale & Hallifax. Capt
Francis Whitmore of Marlborough notify
Draper, Cumberland, Marlborough & Brat-
tleborough. Lient Leonard Spalding of
Dummerston & Capt Sam^l Fletcher notify
Townsend Putney, New Fane, & Dummer-
ston. Mr Ebenezer Hosington of Windsor
notify Windsor, Hertford, Woodstock, Hart-
ford, & Pomphret. Nath^l Robinson Esq^r of
Westminster notify Westminster & Weath-
ersfield Doct^r Reuben Jones of Rocking-
ham notify Rockingham & Springfield Mr
Edward Akins of Kent notify Kent and
Chester.

47th Voted to adjourn this Convention to Wed-
nesday the 30th Oct^r next to be held at the

Court House in Westminster at 10 o'clock in
the forenoon.

Joseph Bowker } Chairman

Attest Jonas Fay Clerk

A true Copy from the Original

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

III.—THE CONFLICTS OF THE WAR OF SECESSION.

I.—THE STORY OF FORT SUMTER.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 53.

2.—From the occupation of Fort Sumter to the repulse of the Star of the West.

The dawn of day, on the morning of Thurs-
day, the twenty-seventh of December, revealed
to the astonished watch, on the decks of the
Nina and *General Clinch*, the important truth
that Fort Sumter was occupied by a military
force. It was not understood whence the gari-
son had come, but its presence was not to be
doubted; and, while the *General Clinch* prompt-
ly steamed to the bar,* outside the harbor, prob-
ably to ascertain what, if anything, which would
explain the mystery, was to be seen in that direc-
tion, the *Nina* as promptly steamed to Charles-
ton,† and reported the new departure. In the
absence of accurate and reliable information,
beyond the naked fact of the military occupation
of the fort, all kinds of rumors were thrown out
to the intensely excited and noisy multitude who
thronged the streets;‡ and, until later in the

* General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, Jan-
uary 19, 1872.

General Davis has subsequently referred to the subject,
in frequent conversations; and both he and General Sey-
more have read this paragraph, in the proof-sheets, and
pronounced the statement accurate.

† General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, Jan-
uary 19, 1872.

General Davis has subsequently referred to this subject,
in frequent conversations; and both he and General Sey-
more have read and approved, as perfectly accurate, proof-
sheets of this portion of our narrative.

‡ *Charleston Courier*, December 28, 1860; * *Charleston
Mercury*, December 28, 1860; † Correspondence of *The
New York World*, Charleston, December 27, 1860, in the
World of January 2, 1861; Correspondence of *The New
York Tribune*, Charleston, December 27, 1860, in the *Trib-
une* of December 31, 1860; Governor Pickens's Message,
No. 1., January 3, 1861—*Senate Journal*, Session of 1860,
149; *House Journal*, Session of 1860, 270.

* As it appeared, re-printed, in *The New York Daily
Times* and in *The Richmond Whig*, both of January 1,
1861.

† As it appeared, re-printed, in *The New York World*,
of January 1, 1861.

forenoon, when some stragglers from one of the Engineer working-parties reached the city, it was not known, with certainty, what was the exact situation.* Soon after, as we shall see, Captain Foster reached the city; and from that gentleman, also,† and from the passengers who came up the harbor, from Moultrieville,‡ the nervous burghers of Charleston were enabled to gather some information, more or less reliable in its character; while the column of smoke, arising from that portion of the ramparts of Fort Moultrie which faced Fort Sumter, and, a schooner, discharging her cargo, at the gorge of the latter—both distinctly seen from the city—indicated, clearly enough, to every thoughtful observer, the character and purpose of this unexpected movement.§

While the guard-boats were thus employed and the populace, in Charleston, thus becoming excited because of the unexpected occupation of Fort Sumter, by the garrison of the post, the latter was curiously examining its new position and quietly discussing its defensibility. In some of its features, Fort Sumter, was, certainly, a more secure position and more readily defensible than Fort Moultrie;|| but, notwithstanding all its defects, the construction of the latter was finished;¶ its armament was mounted;* its barracks inhabitable;†† and, generally, against an undisciplined assailant, at least, it was readily defensible;‡‡ while the former afforded no com-

fortable shelter for the enlisted-men;* it was without some projectiles which would be most needed, in case of an attack, of any kind;† all, or nearly all, its armament rested on skids, in different parts of the work;‡ its gun-car-

* Generals Jefferson C. Davis, John G. Foster, and Truman Seymour are our authorities for this statement.

† Ibid.

It was their knowledge of this important fact which led the officers in Fort Moultrie to remove the large shot from that place, on the day after the garrison evacuated it, as is elsewhere related.

‡ General Abner Doubleday in a letter to us, dated October 31, 1870, says, "probably there were three guns mounted, on the gorge, when we entered the work." In a postscript to that letter, he appears to have reviewed the subject, however, saying, "We had no guns mounted," when the garrison entered the fort.

General John G. Foster, in his reply to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, November 2, 1865, said, also, there was not a gun mounted, when the garrison entered the fort; but in a letter to us, dated Washington, August 16, 1872, he reviewed that statement and said that "in one" [of the embrasures] "on the right flank, a gun was mounted," at that time.

General Jefferson C. Davis, in repeated conversations, has told us there was not a single gun mounted, at that time; and that the entire armament rested on skids within the work.

On the contrary, General Truman Seymour said, in a letter to us dated "Fort Preble, Me., August 28, 1872," in reply to our inquiry on the subject under consideration: "I can say, definitely, Three 24-pdrs were mounted on the barquette tier in the left gorge angle (S. W. part of the fort): One 32-pdr. was mounted on the right flank, second tier of casemates & Eleven 32-pdrs on the left face, lower tier of casemates. Total 15 guns."

In view of the fact that three of the surviving officers of the garrison, without any comparison of information, have concurred in the statement that, when the main body of the garrison was moved into the fort, if any, not more than a single gun, was then mounted—with all possible respect for General Seymour's recollections on the subject—we must, at present, follow the weight of testimony now before us, and, finally, abide the result of further inquiries which we have instituted.

We have not overlooked, in this connection, the statement of Mr. Lossing (*Pictorial History of the Civil War*, i., 118) that, "during the latter part of December, 1860," "for some time, a large number of men had been employed mounting ordnance there and otherwise putting the fort in order for defence."

We are also not insensible of the fact that the excited Carolinians who went up the harbor, to the city, on the morning after the occupation of Fort Sumter, terrified the equally excited burghers of Charleston, and thereby intensified the prevailing excitement, by stating that the guns of the fort were turned on the city and that an opening of a fire might be looked for, at any moment (*Correspondence of The New York World, Charleston, December 27, 1860—in The World, Volume I., No. 172, January 2, 1861*); but we have not considered such wild reports, when unsupported

* Correspondence of *The New York Tribune*, Charleston, December 27, 1860—in the *Tribune* of December 31, 1860.

† General John G. Foster to Henry B. Dawson, February 3, 1872.

See, also, the Correspondence of *The New York Tribune*, Charleston, December 29, 1860, in the *Tribune* of January 1, 1861.

‡ Correspondence of the *New York World*, Charleston, December 27, 1860, in the *World*, January 2, 1861.

§ *Charleston Mercury*, December 28, 1860.

|| Major Anderson to his brother Larz, December 29, 1860.

¶ Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11, 1860.

** Ibid. †† Ibid.

‡‡ Vide pages 36, 45, 46, *ante*, and Notes thereon.

In General John G. Foster's letter to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, November 2, 1865, that gentleman said, on this subject: "As the Engineer-officer in charge of the forts in Charleston-harbor, I received the authority of the Engineer Department to strengthen the defenses of Fort Moultrie, where the garrison of the harbor, two Companies of the First Artillery, under command of Colonel Gardner, were stationed; and, notwithstanding the heat of the Summer, commenced work, with a large force, in the month of August, 1860. The work was pushed, vigorously, under my personal supervision, so that, by the end of December, this fort was so much strengthened as to be unassailable except by an overpowering force, well supplied with scaling-ladders."

riages, from long exposure, presented a sorry array of checked and warped chassis, and were, consequently, useless, without an outlay of considerable skilled labor; * not more than four or five of the embrasures, in the second tier, were completed, and the openings which had been left for the others, in the walls of the fort, presented no other obstructions to the entrance of an intelligent and well-directed assaulting party than temporary screens of thin boards, which a few blows

by better evidence, as trustworthy data for veritable history, and have, therefore, disregarded them.

We are also aware of the fact that Mr. Lossing, while relating the story of the seizure of Fort Moultrie, by the Carolinians, on the evening of the day after the main body of the garrison left it, says "the people in Charleston looked on, with the greatest anxiety, for they thought *the guns of Fort Sumter might open fire upon their friends, when they should land on the beach of Sullivan's-island*"—an "anxiety," on their part, which was one of the results, it may be, of the passengers' false reports, already alluded to—but he gives no other reason for the groundlessness of that "anxiety," than "they did not know how tightly Major Anderson's hands were tied, by instructions from his Government."—*Pictorial History of the Civil War*, i., 137—without alluding to the greater, if not the only, reason that *none of the guns referred to were then mounted*, unless, possibly, one, which was not bearing on Fort Moultrie and could not, therefore, inflict any damage on the incoming insurgents.

Again, while describing Fort Moultrie, on the evening on which the Carolinians seized it, Mr. Lossing says, "December 27, 1860," *the guns of Sumter looked directly into the dismantled fort* [Moultrie] "and a few shots from them would have driven De Saussure and his men" [the Carolinians who seized the fort] "out among the sand-hills. But," he continues, "Anderson was compelled to keep them silent; * and the South Carolinians quietly took possession of the abandoned fortress,† and flung out, over its desolated area, the Palmetto flag."—*Pictorial History of the Civil War*, i., 138.—and Mr. Whitney says that, at noon, on the twenty-seventh of December, the Carolinians "saw that the guns of the fort *were mounted and pointing, silently, towards the abandoned walls of Fort Moultrie.*"—*History of the War*, i., 135.

Because of what we conceive to be better testimony, already cited, we consider both Mr. Lossing and Mr. Whitney in error, and, for that reason, have not followed them.

* Generals Jefferson C. Davis, John G. Foster, and Truman Seymour are our authorities for this statement.

* If Mr. Lossing means to say that Major Anderson's official instructions prevented him from opening a fire on the Carolinians whenever he, himself, should incline to do so, he is equally in error. *The Major had no such instructions, as we shall show, hereafter.*

† Messrs. Lossing and Whitney err, also, in their respective statements, above quoted, that Fort Moultrie was an "abandoned work," when the Carolinians seized it. On the contrary, it was held, officially, by an Ordnance-sergeant, as was usual in such cases.

with an axe would have readily removed; * and the lines of defense were so extended that the handful of enlisted-men composing the garrison, even when reinforced by those of the Engineer working-party who remained in the work, by the Regimental Band, and by all other non-combatants, afforded no more than a single man for the defence of each embrasure, with not more than a dozen or so in reserve; without affording one for either of the fatigue-parties engaged in the preparation of the work for a vigorous defence.† Besides, it was not provided with grenades or other supplies which would be necessary to resist an assault;‡ it was so constructed that there was not a single flanking-defense, of any kind, in any part of it, from which a near-by assailant could be effectively resisted;§ and, unfortunately, the insurgents were quite as well informed, concerning its incapacity for defense, as the garrison itself could be.¶ It was necessary, therefore, that the garrison and all who were within the ramparts should become, at once, a garrison and a working-party—that they should labor, constantly and earnestly, while they should, also, as constantly and earnestly, be in readiness, arms in hand, to repel an assailant; and our readers may understand with what doubts, what anxieties, what hopes—we will not say, what fears—

* General Abner Doubleday, in a letter to Henry B. Dawson, dated "San Francisco, October 31, 1870," stated, as his belief, that not a single embrasure was finished, and General Davis, in conversation, inclined to the same opinion; but General Foster, who was the Engineer in charge and, therefore, most likely to be accurate in his recollections, on this particular subject, says, in a letter to us, dated August 16, 1872, "this an error; *four or five were completed*;" and in one, on the right flank, a gun was "mounted."

General Doubleday was our original authority concerning the temporary screens with which the unfinished embrasures were then closed—vide the General's letter, quoted above—but Generals Foster, Seymour, and Davis, either in conversations or by letters, have subsequently confirmed the statement.

† General Abner Doubleday to Henry B. Dawson, October 31, 1870.

Generals Davis, Seymour, and Foster have, subsequently, confirmed the statement.

‡ General Jefferson C. Davis is our authority for this statement.

§ General Foster, in his reply to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, November 2, 1865, also alluded to this subject.

¶ An examination of the plan of the fort will afford the best evidence of this important fact, to any careful reader. Besides, our attention has been especially called to it by General Doubleday, in a letter dated October 31, 1870, and, in conversation, by Generals Davis and Foster.

¶ This was, necessarily, the case, inasmuch as the intercourse between the fort and the city had been constant and unrestricted, during several years.

this gallant little party, combatants and non-combatants, surveyed its newly-found responsibilities, sternly resolved to meet them, and manfully prepared for the discharge of whatever duties, either as artificers or soldiers, might thenceforth devolve upon them.*

In the meanwhile, the withdrawal of the insurgents' guard-boats had left the waters of the harbor without obstruction; and, soon after sunrise, inasmuch as it would become necessary for Captain Foster to pay the workmen whom the garrison had abandoned, so abruptly, when it evacuated Fort Moultrie, on the preceding evening, an armed guard, commanded by Lieutenant Davis, was sent from Fort Sumter, to protect him, while doing so.† Doctor Crawford accompanied the Lieutenant; ‡ and the fort, and its occupants—the relief on post, the Ordnance-sergeant, and the working-party whom Captain Foster had charge of—and the greater portion of the public property were found in the same good order in which they had been left, on the preceding evening, undisturbed by either insurgents or pilferers—even the schooner on which the workmen had been sent from Fort Sumter, was moored at the wharf, in the rear of the fort, awaiting such further employment as the Engineer-in-charge should assign her to.§ The guns of the fort had been spiked, during the night, by Captain Foster's direction; || and he

had, also, dispatched two schooner-loads of stores and other public property to Fort Sumter, at an early hour in the morning, besides getting ready for shipment, by the remaining schooner, a portion of what remained;* but, besides these, there was no change whatever in the fort or its contents; and no one had attempted to disturb either the one or the other.† There was, then, no enemy in sight: there was, then, no obstruction to prevent a free intercourse between the two forts: no one, Carolinian or stranger, seemed disposed to disturb the garrison and the working-parties, either within Fort Moultrie or, beyond the channel, within Fort Sumter.‡ The Captain and the Lieutenant, therefore, promptly accepted the situation; and the armed guard and the unarmed working-party, enlisted-men and civilians, under their direction, respectively, continued what the latter had commenced, during the night; loaded the schooner which laid at the wharf, with ammunition, and stores, and other property; and dispatched her to Fort Sumter.§ Every man worked heartily; and not until the greater portion of the more valuable of the movable property, public and private, which had been left, on the preceding evening,

the garrison left Fort Moultrie, on the preceding evening. Mr. Pollard (*Lost Cause*, 83), Mr. Buchanan (*Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 180), and Mr. Moore (*Rebellion Record*, i., 6), among others, have also served to mislead the public, on this particular subject.

* General Jefferson C. Davis supposed that nothing had been sent to Fort Sumter, from Fort Moultrie, before he crossed to the latter work, with the guard, as already stated, on the morning of the twenty-seventh; but General Foster states that "one schooner went with Lieutenant 'Hall,' [to take the women and children]" "the other two 'loaded, and got out of the creek'" [*in the rear of the fort*] "before full day-light, the next morning. I believe 'some of them,' [*the schooners*]" "but which or how 'many I do not recollect, returned for a second load during the day.'"—*Letter to Henry B. Dawson*, August 16, 1872.

The *Charleston Courier* of December 28th, 1860, in a most carefully-prepared description of the movement, says the schooners crossed the channel, to Fort Sumter, during the night of the twenty-sixth (Vide Supplement, No. Va) and the *Charleston Mercury* of the same date, in a similar description (Vide Supplement, No. Vb) says a schooner was discharging a cargo at the gorge of Fort Sumter, at eight o'clock on the morning of the twenty-seventh; which statements confirm General Foster's recollections.

† Generals Jefferson C. Davis, John G. Foster, and Samuel W. Crawford are our authorities for this statement.

‡ General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1882.

§ General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

Generals John G. Foster and Samuel W. Crawford, at personal interviews with those officers, at different times, have confirmed the statement.

* General Truman Seymour to his father, December 26, 1860; General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

† General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

General John G. Foster and General Samuel W. Crawford, in frequent conversations, have confirmed the statement.

‡ General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

General Samuel W. Crawford—the gentleman referred to, in the text—in a prolonged examination of this general subject, in our own house, confirmed the statement.

The Doctor does not seem to have done anything, however, to assist either the soldiers or the working-party, in their removal of the public property to Fort Sumter; and it is not improbable that the sketches of the burning gun-carriages and of other portions of Fort Moultrie, as they then appeared, which subsequently served to illustrate *Harpers' Weekly*, constituted the principal result of his visit to Sullivan's-island, on the occasion referred to.

§ General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

|| General John G. Foster, in person, is our authority for this statement; and it is confirmed by the recollections of General Jefferson C. Davis.

There is no portion of this story which is more frequently misrepresented than this.

The Associated Press dispatches, in the New York papers of December 28th, stated that the guns were spiked before

had been thus removed, was the labor of removal suspended*—indeed, it is said by an eye-witness, that, as lately as the afternoon of the twenty-seventh, "on all hands, the process of removing goods, furniture, and munitions was yet going on.†" Among the articles which were thus removed, was a quantity of large shot, of a size of which Fort Sumter was deficient;‡ and when, in the afternoon, the labor was suspended, there seems to have been little left, in the abandoned work, except the guns, and piles of heavy shot, and a quantity of unserviceable powder—the latter drenched with water—and portions of the Engineers' implements and materials which could not be conveniently transported by so small a force.§ In this work, as we have said, the Engineer working-parties and the detachment from the garrison, headed by their respective officers, labored manfully, side by side;|| and, during the morning, Captain Foster and Lieutenant Davis, with portions of their respective commands, civilians and soldiers, also burned the carriages of those guns which bore on Fort Sumter; destroyed as much of the works as was possible; and cut down the flag-staff¶—"the ladies of the officers' families, who had been left behind, if they did not actually take a hand in the work of demolition, seeming to enjoy the excitement,**" and inspiring the

men in their hurried labors.

During the morning, while the two parties were thus jointly employed in Fort Moultrie, Captain Foster went to Charleston in his barge, for the purpose of closing his business there; and his appearance in that city, at that time, was the signal for increased excitement—it was said he had been seen engaged in burning the Fort; it was reported that he had visited the city in order to blow up the arsenal; and his arrest was loudly demanded by many of the more excited of the assembled multitude. He was not meddled with, however; and he quietly closed his office, drew his money from the Bank, paid some outstanding bills, and returned to the fort.†

During the afternoon, the working-parties were paid by Captain Foster and discharged from the service;‡ and, about four o'clock,§ leaving the abandoned work "littered up with the odds, ends, and fragments of War's desolation,||" and occupied, formally, only by an Ordnance-sergeant,¶ by special orders from Major Anderson,** the garrison finally abandoned the Fort.

* Generals Jefferson C. Davis, John G. Foster, and Samuel W. Crawford are our authorities for this statement.

† General John G. Foster, by letter, dated "Nashua, N. H., Feb. 3, 1872," and in person, is our authority for this statement; and if any confirmation shall be considered necessary by any one, it may be found in the Charleston papers of the next day (vide Supplement Nos. Va and Vb).

It is amusing to read the various versions of this portion of the "story of Fort Sumter" which have appeared in the various newspapers of the day and in the writings of some of those who have preceded us—some of them stating that Captain Foster was sent to the city, by Major Anderson, to make explanations to the Carolinians—*Frank Leslie's Pictorial History* i., xvi., etc.—and others attributing other, and even more inconsistent, purposes to that visit.

‡ General John G. Foster is our authority for this statement; and General Jefferson C. Davis, who was also present, has confirmed General Foster's recollections.

§ In a letter to us, dated "Washington, August, 1872," General Foster informs us that, after paying and discharging his men, while he was crossing the channel to Fort Sumter, with Lieutenant Jefferson C. Davis, the Carolinians were distinctly seen embarking on the *Vindicta* for the purpose of seizing Castle Pinckney—which embarkation, the Charleston newspapers of the next day state, occurred about four, P. M.—and General Davis, both in frequent conversations and in correspondence, entirely concurs in that statement.

|| *Charleston Courier*, December 28, 1860.

See, also, Correspondence of *New York World*, December 27, 1860, in the *World* of January 2, 1861.

¶ Generals Jefferson C. Davis and John G. Foster are our authorities for this statement.

** General Davis informs us that Major Anderson sent an Order over the channel, directing them to withdraw from Fort Moultrie; and General John G. Foster, in his reply to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, Novem-

* General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

† In a report of a visit to the fort, at that hour, by a reporter, published in the *Charleston Courier*, December 28, 1860—Supplement, No. Va.

See, also, Correspondence of *New York World*, Charleston, December 27, 1860, in the *World*, January 2, 1861.

‡ Generals Jefferson C. Davis and John G. Foster concur in their recollections of this shipment of shot.

§ Generals Jefferson C. Davis and John G. Foster are our authorities for this statement.

See, also, the Annual Report of the Engineer in Chief, November 30, 1861; Correspondence of the *New York World*, Charleston, December 27, 1860, in the *World* of January 2, 1861; Correspondence of the *New York Tribune*, Charleston, December 27, 1860, in the *Tribune* of January 1, 1861.

|| General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

Generals John G. Foster and Samuel W. Crawford, in repeated conversations, have confirmed this statement.

¶ General John G. Foster to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, November 2, 1865; General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

General John G. Foster, in a letter to us, dated "Nashua, N. H., Feb. 3, 1872," and in several conversations, has fully confirmed these statements; but General Samuel W. Crawford, differing from his associates, strenuously insists that the flag-staff was cut down on the preceding evening, before the last boat left Fort Moultrie for Fort Sumter.

** General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

While Captain Foster and his working-party and Lieutenant Davis and those of the garrison who were under his command were thus busily and usefully employed, at Fort Moultrie, Major Anderson seems to have remained at Fort Sumter without, in person, taking any part whatever in their doings.* As a citizen, his sympathies and his associations, as well as his love of home and the strength of existing family ties, had led him to hope for a solution of the questions in dispute, between the North and the South, by further concessions, by the North, to the unwarrantable, inconsistent, and, not unfrequently, arrogant demands of the dominant slave-power in the South, rather than by an impartial enforcement of the unquestionable constitutional obligations of the several States, on the one hand, and as impartial a protection, on the other, of their

ber 2, 1865, and in a letter to Henry B. Dawson, dated "Nashua, N. H., Feb. 3, 1872," has confirmed that information.

* In his comments on the proof sheets of this portion of this paper, General Truman Seymour emphatically dissented from us, in what he very properly supposed we should have said that a *zealous* officer would have done, under the peculiar circumstances referred to in the text, had we said anything on that subject; although, in fact, we neither said anything nor intended to say anything, on that subject, in the words under consideration.

The General said of the words of the text, "To a military man," [*they are*] "entirely wrong. Maj. A. would 'have failed in his immediate duty had he not have remained at Ft Sumter'—*MS. Memorandum on a proof-sheet of the words of the text*—and General Jefferson C. Davis inclines, also, to the same opinion of the Major's duty. In the words of text, however, we have done nothing else than state a fact, which no one pretends to dispute,—indeed, we have not even hinted at an opinion—and we might refer to that circumstance and rest our case. But we do not incline to avoid the impeachment presented by General Seymour; and, inasmuch as he has raised the issue of the Major's "duty," in the case before us, we beg to say, in reply, that, as we are not a "military man," we must judge of military matters by the standard of common sense and the practice of those "military men" who are recognized as having known what their "immediate duty" was, in cases of extraordinary importance. That *standard* tells us that an *earnest* man, in such an emergency, would not only have "sent a man" but, also, he would have "gone himself;" and that *practice* was displayed by Montgomery, at Quebec, by Wayne, at Stony-point, by Arnold, at Saratoga, by Napoleon, at Lodi, by Lyons, at Wilson's-creek, and by divers others.

The *Army Regulations* and the etiquette of the service, in those cases, we imagine, looked to a different conduct, in those several commanders; but, unlike Major Anderson, at Fort Sumter, they severally led their men, *in person*; and the wide world has long since decided that, in doing so, each of them did just what was required of him—call it what you will—and honors them, accordingly.

equally unquestionable rights:* he determined, therefore, as a soldier, to intrench himself behind that portion of the President's Instructions, delivered by Major Buell, which had directed him, "carefully, to avoid every act which would, "NEEDLESSLY, tend to provoke aggression, and, "for that reason, not, WITHOUT EVIDENT AND "IMMINENT NECESSITY, to take up any position "which could be construed into the assumption "of a hostile attitude," in order that he might be sheltered from the censure of those who should consider that the "evident and imminent "necessity" which had already arisen demanded more prompt and energetic action, on his part, than he was inclined to give; although, in doing so, he openly disregarded the peremptory Order, contained in the same paragraph of those Instructions, "BUT," [notwithstanding the above caution against "needless" action, on his part] "you are to hold possession of the forts in this harbor and, if attacked, you are to defend yourself until no reasonable hope shall remain for defending them. YOU ARE ALSO AUTHORIZED to take SIMILAR defensive steps when you shall have TANGIBLE EVIDENCE OF A DESIGN TO "PROCEED TO A HOSTILE ACT"—a contingency which had already occurred; been recognized by the Major, himself; and prompted him, a

* General Truman Seymour says of this sentence: "All "this is so contradictory to my long established knowledge "and belief, that I am unable to express any other opinion "than that it is ridiculous"—*MS. Memorandum on a proof-sheet of the paragraph*—but that gentleman was, evidently, not as well acquainted with Major Anderson, as a citizen and a politician, as he assumes to have been.

Major Anderson, illustrative of the subject, said, in a letter to J. Peck, Northfield Church, Conn., dated "Fort "Sumter, S. C., January 21st, 1861," "I trust in God "that time may now be gained; and that, instead of resorting to the arbitrament of the sword, reason and good "sense will regulate the action of those in authority." In a letter to a gentleman in Cincinnati, dated January 11, he said: "Whether a bloodless separation can now be "effected after her foolishly firing upon a vessel bearing "our flag, the other day, I think very doubtful. I was "sorely tempted to open my battery; but, perhaps, fortunately for the chance of having matters settled without bloodshed."—*Cincinnati Commercial*, copied by the *New York Tribune*, January 29, 1861.—In a letter to the Adjutant-general of the Army, dated "Fort Sumter, S. C., "April 8, 1861," he said: "I frankly say that my heart is "not in this War, which I see is to be thus commenced. "That God will still avert it and cause us to resort to pacific means to maintain our rights, is my ardent prayer."

We imagine that we have presented sufficient evidence to sustain the simple averment in the text; and, with that evidence before them, we trust that we may reasonably leave our readers to determine which of the two statements—our own or General Seymour's—is the most "ridiculous."

few hours before, to carry the main body of the garrison into a more secure position, in order to prevent such an effusion of blood as an expected attack on the garrison, in Fort Moultrie, would, undoubtedly, have produced. In fact, his unquestionable duty, as a soldier in front of an avowed enemy, who was, then, openly and actively preparing for an early assault on the three forts which he had been thus peremptorily instructed to "hold possession of" and to "defend until no reasonable hope should remain of saving them"—two of which forts were actually assaulted and carried by that enemy, before midnight, on that very day—was interfered with and stifled by his sympathies, as a citizen, and his desires, as a politician; and, only because of those sympathies and desires, the insurgents, then and afterwards, were also allowed, although they were within the range of his own guns, to mature their plans and to execute them—even to the extent of disposing the garrison of two of the three forts which he had been specifically instructed to occupy and defend—without the least attempt at resistance and almost without a protest. That he was, at all times, strictly loyal to his country, however, very few will have the hardihood to deny: * that he was zealous in her service, in the particular duty to which she had, then, called him, as few will have the hardihood to maintain.† As a necessary consequence, he

had been slow to perceive any immediate necessity for the transfer of the garrison to Fort Sumter; * and, it is said, by some who ought to know and, unquestionably, do know, that he had given no orders, whatever, for, nor had he authorized the destruction of any of the public prop-

erty as much trying labor or been pursued under as many discouragements.

Some of those who have been so situated as to see and to know the Major, as he really was, have been among those who have most bitterly denounced him: some of his letters, as well as some portions of his official conduct, unexplained, seriously serve to confirm many of those denunciations: and those who best know and who can most certainly establish the exact truth of the matter have been especially reticent and most sensitive on the subject—in one case forgetting the civility which civility is always entitled to. On the other hand, warm personal friends of the Major, both in the Army of the United States and in that of the Confederate States,—friends and correspondents, also, of our own—insist that there is no just reason for many of the adverse criticisms of the man and the officer which have been made in portions of the Press and by some of his command; that his weakness was rather physical, or the result of physical causes, than political in its character; and that much which is censurable in him must be attributed to his bodily infirmity. We have weighed the testimony of both, with all the care and all the impartiality which we can control; but, until *other* and *better* testimony than we have yet seen shall establish the contrary, we shall continue to measure Major Anderson, both as a man and an officer, by the standard described in the text—whenever *such* testimony shall be presented, we shall cheerfully review our opinion, herein expressed, and follow the new light which shall be thus thrown on the subject, whithersoever it shall lead us.

* These words were written, and are printed, with due knowledge of their importance; and we are not insensible of the fact that, in presenting them as our well-considered conclusion—reversing what was our own conviction, when we commenced the examination of the subject, and controverting the openly-expressed opinion of at least one of the surviving officers of the garrison—we hazard the open contradiction of one who has assumed the honorable duty of becoming, at some future day, the historian of this portion of the history of the Civil War. We are content to await, however, the presentation of such testimony as shall clearly establish the alleged disloyalty of Major Anderson; and, until that shall be presented, we must be allowed to adhere to the opinion of that gentleman's entire loyalty which we have expressed in the text.

† As an examination of this particular subject has been already made, in connection with General Seymour's notice of another portion of this paper, we need only refer the reader to Page 144, Note *, *ante*, where it may be found. We may be excused, however, for placing on record, in this place, a few general remarks concerning the difficulties we have encountered in our effort to ascertain the exact truth concerning the Major's general character and conduct, as a man and an officer.

There is no portion of our labor, on this paper, which has been more carefully performed than this, because of its grave importance and of the serious differences which exist concerning the subject discussed; and none has cost

It is proper for us to acknowledge, in this place, the important assistance which we have enjoyed, in this portion of our labors, from, among others, Larz Anderson, Esqr., a brother of the Major; from William H. Aspinwall, Esqr., a confidential friend of the widow of Major Anderson; from General Joseph Holt, the Secretary of War under both Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Lincoln; from General Fitz-John Porter, a very intimate friend of the Major; from Generals Jefferson C. Davis, Abner Doubleday, Truman Seymour, John G. Foster, and Samuel W. Crawford, the surviving officers of the post; and from General G. T. Beauregard, the General commanding the assailants of Fort Sumter, when it was bombarded. From the greater number of these gentlemen it is our fortune to differ, radically, in our conclusions concerning the Major's character and his conduct, as the commander of that particular post, at that particular time; but, notwithstanding that difference—so patiently and carefully discussed by all of them, but, especially, by Generals Holt, Porter, Doubleday, Seymour, and Davis, and by Mr. Anderson—we are not less grateful to each of them, for his kindness, nor any less anxious to make this public acknowledgement of it.

* This, too, is an important matter and has been carefully examined.

he Major assumed the command of the post on the

erty which had been abandoned, on the preceding evening, in Fort Moultrie.* Indeed, we have what seems to be unquestionable authority for saying that, on the morning of the twenty-seventh, the gun-carriages were burned and the flag-staff was cut down, at Fort Moultrie, by Captain Foster, and Lieutenant Davis, and their respective commands, entirely on the responsibility of those officers, and without an Order or a suggestion from Major Anderson—"to destroy the batteries of Moultrie was not the object of our visit, when we left Fort Sumter," says one of those officers, in a letter now before us, "but was an afterthought, when we reached there, a consequence" of the circumstances in which they then found themselves.† On the contrary, while the Captain and the Lieutenant were thus busily engaged, in Fort Moultrie, in securing, for the use of the garrison, whatever they could handle and transport to Fort Sumter, the Major quietly remained in his

twenty-first of November: two days after, he wrote to the Adjutant-general of the Army, "That there is a settled determination to leave the Union and to obtain possession of this work" [Fort Moultrie] "is apparent to all,"—*Major Anderson to the Adjutant-general, November 23, 1860*—and urged the Government to strengthen the works and to reinforce the garrison. On the sixth of December, he advised the Adjutant-general that the Mayor of Charleston and other leading citizens of that city had assured him that the forts "must be their's, after secession."—*Letter to the Adjutant-general, December 6, 1860* On the eleventh of December, the general authority which, as commander of the post, he had had, from the beginning, was especially confirmed and extended, by special instructions transmitted to him by the Secretary of War, through Major Buell—*vide page 43, ante*—and, thenceforth, with this new warrant in his possession, there could be no room for doubt as to his entire authority, in law and in fact, to remove his command, at his pleasure. On the twenty-second of December, eleven days after Major Buell's visit, he still hesitated, notwithstanding the more open hostility of the insurgents, of which he then made another formal report to the Government—*Letter to the Adjutant-general, December 22, 1860*—and it was not until four days after the dispatch of his last letter, that he exercised the judgment which he had been authorized to exercise, from the beginning; acted, as he had been authorized to act, from the beginning; and abandoned the weaker and occupied the stronger work, both of which, from the beginning, had been equally within his jurisdiction and subject to his control.

* Generals Jefferson C. Davis and Samuel W. Crawford agree on this subject and are our authorities for this statement: General John G. Foster says the major ordered him to spike the guns and to secure and send to Fort Sumter as much of the public property as possible.—*vide page 50, ante*—but that Order really involved no destruction of property.

† General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

new quarters;* and he seems to have been engaged, as we shall see, hereafter, not as much in directing the labors or in personally inspiring the toilers, in Fort Moultrie, as he was in writing and transmitting a letter to the Convention of South Carolina, then in session at Charleston; † in receiving and tamely responding, to an insolent message from Governor Pickens; ‡ in organ-

* All the surviving officers of the garrison agree in this; and no one, any where, has ever pretended that the Major either left Fort Sumter, while this work was going on, at Fort Moultrie, or shared in the responsibility for that action by either issuing an Order or, personally, participating in it.

We are not insensible of the fact that the Major was not strictly called on, by the *Army Regulations*, to go, in person, away from his quarters; but, as we have already done—page 144, column 1, note *, ante—we submit anew to the reader, the suggestion that, also, those *Regulations* did not forbid it; and that no one who was zealously engaged in the service, and who was not disabled, would have remained within sight of the scene of these earnest and important labors, as Major Anderson was, without joining his more zealous subordinates who were thus usefully employed and, personally, assisting them and, personally, sharing their responsibility.

† "Mr. R. N. Gourdin asked and obtained leave to read a communication from Major Anderson, Commandant at Fort Sumter; and,

"On motion of Mr. Memminger, Mr. R. N. Gourdin was appointed a Committee to transmit the communication to his Excellency the Governor."—*Journal of the Convention of the People, Secret Session, Thursday, December 27, 1860, pages 114, 115.*

General Seymour informs us that, on that morning, he carried a letter from the Major to Mr. Gourdin, at Charleston, which was supposed to be merely introductory and for the purpose of facilitating the transit, northward, of Mrs. Seymour, who was then in Charleston; but it is doubtful if a letter which contained no other matter than that, would have been submitted to the Convention and thus treated by that body.

‡ The character of both the Governor's letter and the Major's reply may be ascertained by the reader on reference to Governor Pickens's Message, No. 1, sent to the General Assembly, on the third and fourth of January—*Journal of the Senate, Session of 1860, 145; Journal of the House, Session of 1860, 269*—where both are described in detail; and we have also faithfully described both, on page 148, *post*.

General Seymour, in his comments on this portion of our paper, says of it: "This reflection—the use of the word 'tamely' in connection with the 'insolent,' following—is an insult to Maj. Anderson's memory. It is not history, as Mr. Dawson professes to write history; and it is a great wrong to Maj. A. to thus state what Mr. D. believes, possibly, to be true. Such epithets are not necessary, surely!"—*MS. Memorandum on a proof-sheet of this paragraph.*

Inasmuch as this matter is not a military question, our readers are quite as capable of judging of the Governor's message and Major Anderson's reply as either General

izing and executing an extraordinary noon-day flag-raising;* and in writing a second dispatch to the War Department, descriptive of the causes which had led to the evacuation of Fort Moultrie and, probably, descriptive, also, of the evacuation itself.† Not an authoritative word has been found, anywhere, indicating that the Major participated, ever so slightly, in the work in which the Lieutenant of Artillery, and the Captain of Engineers, and their respective commands, were thus manfully engaged; nor is there the least evidence, as far as our observation has extended, that he sympathized with those officers, in the work in which they were so earnestly and so usefully employed.

The extraordinary ‡ noon-day flag-raising, in Fort Sumter, on the twenty-seventh of December, to which allusion has been made, because of its notoriety rather than for any intrinsic importance which it possessed, deserves a passing notice.

The garrison-flag of the post had been raised on the flag-staff of Fort Sumter, at day-break, in accordance with the time-honored custom and the recognized rules of the service; § and there seems to have been no existing necessity for striking the

colors, hours afterwards, either for the purpose of doing, in better style, what, with all the soldierly precision acquired by long practice, had been done, already, nor for that of asking a blessing, *nunc pro tunc*, at noon, on what had been done, hours before, at day-break, without any such supplications. For some reason which has not been disclosed, however, it was resolved to lower the garrison-flag which already floated from the flag-staff of the fort and to raise it again, at noon, with ceremonies other than those which are known to the *Army Regulations*, in such cases, although they are not inconsistent, when performed unostentatiously, with the duty which all men owe to Him who is, at once, the God of Battles and the Prince of Peace. About noon, therefore, Chaplain Matthias Harris went over to Fort Sumter from Moultrieville, on Sullivan's-island, where his family resided; that portion of the garrison which was within the fort, and not on post, was paraded, under arms, and the non-

in the reveille of the morning—*Army Regulations*, § 585, 587, page 56.

General Jefferson C. Davis says the colors were thus raised, in Fort Sumter, at day-break, on the morning after the evacuation of Fort Moultrie; and, although he does not like the word "extraordinary" to describe the noon-day ceremonies, he does not deny any of the facts, *per se*, which have been stated in the text.

General Truman Seymour says: "*My impression is that the flag was not raised until noon. I do not believe Maj. 'A.' forbid its being raised, at reveille, but that, in the hurry of preparation for defence (immediate defence) it was, probably, found inconvenient or, perhaps, impossible to do so.*"—*Letter to Henry B. Dawson, dated Fort Preble, Me., Aug. 28th, 1872.*

We are not insensible of the fact that Mr. Lossing (*Pictorial History of the Civil War*, i, 130) has made a different statement—"his" [Major Anderson's] "*companions*" were anxious to hoist the Northern ensign before the "*dawn of the 27th*," we are told, "but the Major would not consent to the act before the return of the Chaplain. He came at noon," he continues—and so he leads his readers to suppose that, until noon of the twenty-seventh, the garrison occupied Fort Sumter without hoisting the garrison-flag of the post, as required both by propriety, by the usage of the service, and by the *Army Regulations*.

Major Anderson was too much of a soldier to commit so serious a breach of duty, for a mere sentiment; and the testimony of his "companions" and friends, Generals Davis and Seymour—the latter his room-mate and confidential friend, in Fort Sumter—clearly indicates that he did not do so. The flag was formally raised, at reveille; informally lowered, just before noon; and formally, but ostentatiously, raised again, at high noon—as we have stated—where it remained until, at "the retreat," in the evening, the Sergeant-of-the-guard, with his two attendants, formally lowered it a second time: folded it; and laid it on the tressle, behind the arms of the guard, where it remained until the reveille of the next day-break called it forth again.

Seymour or we can be; and we very cheerfully submit to the arbitrament of their common sense and candor the question which the General has so emphatically raised between us, concerning the Major's spirit, in replying to the Governor's "insolence."

The country has already determined that what we present as history, is really history, as the General may learn on making inquiry. *That is no longer an open question.*

* On this subject, so generally known, we need only refer to the Major's own statement, in his letter to his brother, Larz Anderson, December 29, 1860.

† This dispatch is particularly referred to and quoted from, by Mr. Buchanan, in his autobiographical volume, *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, page 185. Beyond that reference to it, we know nothing of its contents.

‡ The word "extraordinary" having displeased General Seymour, it may, also, displease others; but we confess that this was so far out of the ordinary fashion of official flag-raising, in a permanent military post, that we cannot find a more appropriate word to describe it.

§ Our readers need not be told that, at day-break, in every department of the service, the drum-beat, known as the "reveille," announces the beginning of the duties of another day—*Army Regulations*, § 234, page 40—and every soldier knows that, before the first tap of the drum has been beaten, in that noisy duty, the Sergeant-of-the-guard, with two men, very formally removes the folded colors of the command from the tressle, in the rear of the arms, where he had placed them, with similar formalities, when "the retreat" was beaten, at the close of the preceding day; and that, when the first tap of the reveille officially announces the opening of another official day, the Sergeant commences to hoist the colors to "its place," on the flag-staff of the post—the rise of the colors, to "its place," being simultaneous with the beat of the drums,

combatants who were there were also assembled; the garrison-flag of the post was tied, again, to the balyards of the flag-staff; the Chaplain delivered a very appropriate thanksgiving and prayer; and, while the garrison presented arms and the Band played *The Star-spangled Banner*,* the colors were run up, and again thrown to the breeze.† Three hearty cheers were given "for the flag," by the assembled party, officers and men, and three more for "our Union;" and the ceremony, which is said to have been "a very imposing one," was concluded.‡

While the garrison and its working-parties were thus employed, Charleston, as we have already said,§ boiled in excitement, as rumor after rumor, concerning the garrison and its operations, added fuel to the flame.

As soon as the report of the occupation of Fort Sumter reached the city,|| Governor Pickens sent one of his Aides to ascertain Major An-

* The story having been spread over the country that the flag was raised while the Band was playing *Hail to the Chief*, Major Anderson particularly noticed and contradicted it, in a letter written by him to Rev. Frederic Dennison, on the third of February, 1861; and he also expressly noticed the fact that the Band played *The Star-spangled Banner*—a much more appropriate tune, for that occasion, than the other—both in the letter written to Mr. Dennison, above referred to, and in one sent to his brother, Larz Anderson, on the twenty-ninth of December, a copy of which is before us.

† The Correspondent of the *New York World*, Charleston, December 27—in the *World* of January 2, 1861—says it was raised at ten minutes past twelve.

‡ Major Anderson to his brother, Larz Anderson, December 29, 1860.

§ Descriptions of this flag-raising, more or less accurate, may be found in Harpers' *Pictorial History*, i., 28, 29, (in which the Chaplain is made to do nothing else than pray, and the Band is said to have played *Hail Columbia*, instead of *The Star-spangled Banner*); in Lossing's *Pictorial History of the Civil War*, i., 130, 131, (in which the same errors are repeated); etc.

§ Vide pages 139, 140, 143, ante.

|| Message No. 1. to the General Assembly, January 3, 1861—*Senate Journal*, Session of 1860, 149; *House Journal*, Session of 1860, 269, 270.

We are not insensible of the fact that Mr. Lossing has stated (*Pictorial History of the Civil War*, i., 131) that this Aide visited the fort *after the flag had been raised, at noon*—his words are, "While this impressive scene" [*the flag-raising*] "was occurring in the fort, a boat was approaching from Charleston. It contained a messenger from the Governor of South Carolina, conveying a demand, in courteous but peremptory phrase, for Major Anderson's immediate withdrawal from Sumter and return to Moultrie;"—but, inasmuch as the Governor, in his Message, above referred to, said it was "in the early morning" when he heard of the occupation of Fort Sumter; that he then "sent off an aide-de-camp" to ascertain the facts concerning it; that on the return of the

derson's authority for thus occupying that work; to inform the Major that the Federal Government "was pledged to keep the forces as they were, in the different forts;" and, arrogantly, to require that officer to return, with his entire command, to Fort Moultrie—a message to which the Major dispassionately replied that, in his occupation of Fort Sumter, he "had acted on his own responsibility, with a view to prevent the effusion of blood;" that "he did not know of any such pledge," by the Federal authorities, as that to which the Governor had referred; and that "he declined to return" to the position, in Fort Moultrie, which he had abandoned on the preceding evening.* Soon after,† without any other authority than that of the Governor, whose zeal very far outran his legal authority, if not the desire of the greater number of those who assumed to be, and really were, the leaders of the great body of the inhabitants of South Carolina, State officers seized and occupied the Custom-house, Post-office, and Treasury of the United States, in Charleston, the Federal officers who had previously occupied them promptly resigning, in order to make room for the new régime;‡ and, imme-

Aide, Orders were issued to the Militia to assemble—we learn, elsewhere, that it was ordered to assemble at two o'clock, and that at four o'clock, the soldiers, fully equipped and supplied, were embarked on the steamboats and carried to Castle Pinckney; which would have been clearly impossible if, as is stated by Mr. Lossing, not until "while this impressive scene was occurring in the fort, a boat was approaching from Charleston," bearing the Governor's message of inquiry, requiring opportunity to present the message to the Major and sufficient time for the preparation of his answer—to say nothing of the time consumed by the messenger in his return to the city, of the time necessary for the subsequent preparation of the Order and its promulgation, nor of the time which would be necessary for the men to return to their homes, change their clothes, and repair to the Citadel—and, for these reasons, among others, we are constrained to believe that Mr. Lossing has mistaken the news-boat of the *Charleston Courier*, which really did approach the forts, in search of news, at the time mentioned by him—vide *Charleston Courier*, December 28, 1860, Supplement, Va.—for the boat which had conveyed the Governor's Aide, on a similar errand, several hours before.

* Message, No. 1., to the General Assembly, January 3, 1861—*Senate Journal*, Session of 1860, 149; *House Journal*, Session of 1860, 269, 270.

† The *New York Tribune*, Friday, December 28, 1860, says they were thus seized, early in the day; and the Correspondent of the *New York World*, Charleston, December 27, in the *World* of January 2, 1861, says they were seized at ten o'clock in the morning, and that the palmetto flag was raised at ten minutes past ten.

‡ Letter from W. F. Colcock, Collector of the Port, to the President of the Convention of the People, December 28, 1860; *The Charleston Courier*, Friday, December 28, 1860.

diately after the receipt of Major Anderson's reply to the Governor's letter,* already alluded to, Orders were issued, also, under the same incompetent authority, to Colonel Pettigrew, of the State Militia, to occupy Castle Pinckney, with the Washington Light Infantry and the Meagher Guards; † while similar Orders were issued, with no more authority, to Lieutenant-colonel Wilmot G. De Saussure, to occupy Fort Moultrie with the Washington Artillery, La Fayette Artillery, German Artillery, and Marion Artillery—four Companies, numbering, in the aggregate, one hundred and seventy men—and thirty Riflemen from Colonel Pettigrew's Regiment. ‡

In the face of all the excitement and violence which, at that time, prevailed in the streets of the city and within the Executive Chamber, however, the Convention of the People—that notable assembly of South Carolina's leading citizens which, seven days before, had adopted and published the Ordinance of her secession from the Union—presented, in its action, an example of dignity and unbending conservatism which was the more remarkable because of the intense ex-

citement which, outside of its own chamber, at the same time prevailed; and we refer to it with the greater pleasure because it has pleased those who have preceded us in the examination of the history of those events,* either to falsify the record of the doings of that body and to make

* We are not insensible of the gravity of this charge; but a decent respect for the truth compels us to make it, regardless of its effect on those to whom it refers. We can afford space for no more than specimens of these apparently studied attempts at misrepresentation.

Mr. Lossing, in his *Pictorial History of the Civil War*, i., 112, says, "On the 26th, the Convention agreed to send a Commissioner to each Slaveholding State that might 'hold a Convention; to bear to them a copy of the South Carolina Ordinance of Secession; to ask their co-operation;" etc.; but the Journal of the Convention shows the fact that no such Order was really made, although it was proposed by Mr. Rhett. He says, also, "on the following day, the Governor was authorized to receive embassadors, ministers, consuls, &c., from foreign countries "and to appoint the same officers to represent South Carolina, abroad;" but the Journals, both of the open and the Secret Sessions, are entirely silent on the subject. He says, also, "It was also decreed" [on the twenty-seventh] "that "all citizens of the United States who were living within "the limits of South Carolina, at the time of the passage "of the Ordinance of Secession, should be considered "citizens of the new 'nation;" but an examination of the Journals of the Convention will satisfy any reader that no such decree was made or considered. He says, also, "On the 29th, the Convention, which assumed supreme dignity in the State, transferred to the Legislature "the powers lately vested in Congress, excepting during "the Session of the Convention;" but the Convention did not even consider the subject, as the Journals will show, much less adopt such an Ordinance. He says, also, (*Ibid*, 131) that "the Major was denounced in the Secession Convention, in the South Carolina Legislature," etc., for transferring the garrison to Fort Sumter; but the Legislature was not then in session; and, as its Journals show, the Convention promptly sent to the table, without debate, every attempt which was made, therein, to extort any opinion whatever from that body. He tells, too, (*Ibid*, 131) of a Resolution, offered by Mr. Spain, in the Secret Session, requesting the Governor to communicate information concerning the forts, leaving, by innuendo, his readers to suppose it was "considered" favorably, by the Convention; whereas the Journals [pages 96, 97] show that it was sent to the table, without debate, and kept there. He says, too, while writing of the Convention and unassembled Legislature, "it was afterwards known that these conspirators intended to seize Castle Pinckney and Fort "Sumter, within twenty-four hours from that time; but "their plans were frustrated by the timely movement of "Anderson" (page 131); but, while the Legislature was not then in session, as we shall show, hereafter, an exactly opposite temper prevailed in both the bodies referred to, as is clearly indicated in all that they did, subsequently. He says, too, (pages 136, 137) while describing the excitement in Charleston, on the morning of the twenty-seventh of December, "the Secession Convention at once requested

—Supplement Va; Correspondent of *The New York Tribune*, Charleston, December 29, 1860, in *The Tribune* of January 1, 1861; Correspondence of the *New York World*, Charleston, December 27, in the *World* of January 2, 1861.

We are not insensible of the fact that, after describing "a letter written" [by Major Anderson] "to Adjutant-general Cooper, on the 25th," and making extracts from it, Mr. Lossing says, in his *Pictorial History*, i., 139, "on "the same day, the authorities of South Carolina seized "and appropriated to the uses of the State, the Custom-house, and the Post-office kept within its walls;" that Mr. Greeley, in his *American Conflict*, i., 409, places the record of the seizure of these offices after that of the seizure of the Arsenal, which did not occur until the thirtieth—three days later; that Mr. Moore, in his *Rebellion Record*, i., 7, states that the Custom-house and Post-office were seized early in the afternoon of the twenty-eighth; and that Messrs. Alden and Guernsey, in *Harpers' Pictorial History*, i., 29, state that those offices were seized on the twenty-eighth; but we prefer the positive averment of the Collector, officially made to the Convention, sustained by other reliable testimony, that all this occurred on the twenty-seventh, and, therefore, disregard what has been stated by our respected contemporaries.

* Governor Pickens's Message, No. 1, January 3, 1861.

† Governor Pickens to Colonel Pettigrew, December 27, 1860.

‡ *The Charleston Courier*, Friday, December 28, 1860.

See, also, General Orders to General Schnierle, December 31, 1860.

Mr. Lossing—*Pictorial History*, i., 137—says the four Companies of Artillery numbered "about two hundred "and twenty-five;" but we have preferred the statement of their strength which was made by the Governor in his official communication to the General commanding the insurgents on Sullivan's-island, a day or two afterwards.

the Convention, itself, seem to have been just what it was not and to do what it did not, or, by remaining wholly silent on the subject, to leave its character and conduct to be inferred and judged of from those of the frantic masses which everywhere surrounded it—as an instance of its

“Governor Pickens to take military possession of Forts ‘Moultrie and Johnson and Castle Pinckney:’” *whereas the fact was that, when that measure was proposed by Mr. De Treville, his Resolution was promptly laid on the table, without debate, (Journal, 114) and never taken from it, and never considered in any other form.*

Mr. Greeley, too, while writing what is called History—*American Conflict*, i., 414—said “The Convention of ‘South Carolina called (December 27th) on motion of Mr. R. Barnwell Rhett, a Convention of such slaveholding States as should, meanwhile, have seceded from the ‘Union, to meet at Montgomery, Alabama, February 4th, “which was acceded to.” The official records of that Convention completely disprove every portion of this statement; and, for Mr. Greeley’s information, we subjoin the following synopsis of the action of the Convention on that subject: On Tuesday, the twenty-fifth of December, Mr. Withers “presented the Report of the Committee on Relations with the Slaveholding States of North America, on “the various Resolutions referred to them.” (*Journal of the Convention*, 87). That Report embodied four Resolutions—the first, appointing a Commissioner to visit each Slaveholding State, for the purpose of presenting the Ordinance of Secession and inviting its co-operation in forming “a Southern Confederacy;” the second, proposing the Constitution of the United States as the basis of a Provisional Government; but limiting the term of such Provisional Government to two years from the first of July, 1861; the third, authorizing the Commissioners to invite “the ‘seceding States” to meet in Convention, at such time and place as should be agreed on, for the purpose of forming such Provisional Government and of preparing a permanent Constitution for the consideration of the several constituent States; and the fourth, providing for the appointment of eight “Deputies” to represent South Carolina in such Convention as should be thus agreed on; with recommendations concerning votes therein, etc. (*Report and Resolutions*—Appendix of the *Journal*, 349-353.) On motion of Mr. Smith, this Report and the Resolutions accompanying it were made the Special Order for the next day [December 26th]. On the following day, as related by Mr. Greeley, Mr. Rhett presented an Ordinance recommending such of the seceded States as should then be “prepared to unite with South Carolina in the formation of a Southern Confederacy,” to meet in Convention, at Montgomery, on the thirteenth of February, “to agree “on the terms of Confederacy,” with several recommendations of details; which was ordered to be considered “in “connection with the Report of the Committee on Relations with the Slaveholding States,” already referred to.—(*Journal*, 99, 100.) Although the Report and Resolutions were made the Special Order for the twenty-sixth of December, it was not until the twenty-eighth that they were really taken up (*Journal*, 122) when Mr. Memminger, who was evidently dissatisfied with the Report, which left every thing open for consideration by other disaffected

doings, reference need only be made to the fact that it promptly laid on the table, without approval, a Resolution which was offered, at the beginning of its Secret Session, in the morning, authorizing and requesting the Governor “to “take immediate possession of Fort Moultrie

States, proposed to strike out the Resolutions reported by the Committee, and to substitute the Ordinance which Mr. Rhett had offered, which fixed the time and place of the proposed Convention and otherwise set the ball in motion, definitely.—(*Journal*, 125.) On motion of Mr. Hayne, however, “the Ordinance was ordered to lie on the table” (*Journal*, 126) and, without further action on the Report and Resolutions, the Convention adjourned. On the following day [December 29th] Mr. Rhett moved the consideration of his Ordinance, again, in connection with the Committee’s Report and Resolutions; but the Convention again manifested its stern conservatism by laying the Ordinance on the table, again, by a vote of seventy-six to fifty-five (*Journal*, 133, 134) and proceeded to consider the Committee’s Resolutions, unencumbered with the incubus of Mr. Rhett’s revolutionary Ordinance. Several amendments were offered, but they were, generally, laid on the table; and the first of the four Resolutions was finally adopted. An attempt was made to lay the second of the Resolutions on the table—the Constitution of the United States being too offensive to some, to be used as a basis—but the motion was rejected, by a vote of fifty-six to seventy-three; and, after a desperate struggle, in which amendment after amendment was offered and rejected, the Convention adjourned without having been brought to a final vote.—(*Journal*, 134-141.) There seems to have been no more opposition to the Committee’s Resolutions; and, on the thirty-first of December, “after various amendments,” none of which appear to have been distasteful to the conservative majority, the remaining three Resolutions were adopted.—(*Journal*, 151.)

Our readers will perceive how loosely Mr. Greeley has read and recorded this very important portion of the history of the period of which he assumed to be an historian.

The *Rebellion Record*, edited by Mr. Frank Moore, also tells of the offer, by Mr. Rhett, of the Ordinance calling a Convention; but it is entirely silent concerning the rejection of that offer, by a strong vote of the Convention, which seems to us to have been, by far, the most noteworthy of the transactions on that subject.—(*Record*, i., 6.) Not a word appears in the *Record* concerning anything which was done by the Convention in opposition to the extremists among the insurgents.

Harpers’ Pictorial History, generally fair and unusually accurate in details, makes a point on what it assumes to have been a verbal peculiarity in the oath of office prescribed by the Convention for the State officials (*Pictorial History*, i., 23); but a reference to the oath referred to, as it appears in the *Journal of the Convention* (page 57), will show to any one that no such words as those which are thus ridiculed were employed by the Convention or appear in the official oath.

Mr. Squire (*Frank Leslie’s Pictorial History*, i., x) says, “Dec. 15—South Carolina Convention adopted Resolutions ‘to form a Confederate Government of slaveholding “States.” We need not repeat what we have already

"and Castle Pinckney, and to make the necessary preparation for the re-capture or destruction of Fort Sumter.*" It is, indeed, true at the Convention subsequently invited the Governor to participate in its secret deliberations,† and that that zealous officer promptly accepted the invitation and addressed it, undoubtedly, on the great question of the day:‡ but it is evident the Governor was thus called, in person, within the Bar of the Convention, in order that he might impart to that body the information which he had received, sooner than he could have done so by a formal Message, in writing;§ and it is matter of record that the only extraordinary authority which he succeeded in obtaining from that Convention, on that extraordinary occasion, was that to take possession of the telegraph-office, in Charleston, and that to prevent all intercourse with Fort Sumter.¶ Strange as it may appear, it is, nevertheless, true that, at that juncture, while the Convention was yet in Secret Session, "a Communication from "Major Anderson, Commandant at Fort Sumter," was laid before it; and that that body immediately transmitted it to the Governor, by a Special Committee appointed for that particular purpose.¶ The character and object of that communication—more remarkable because of the extraordinary movement, under the Major's orders, which had taken place within the preceding twenty-four hours—are among the hidden things of the past, although some one, more favored than we have been, may, sometime, enjoy more information concerning it; ** but it is peculiarly noticable, in this connection, that, although the Convention continued to sit in Secret Session, after that letter was received, it

promptly tabled propositions which were made, successively, to declare "it is the sense of this Convention that the occupation of Fort Sumter ought, at once, to be regarded as an authorized occupation and that vigorous military defences should be provided, immediately;" * to request the Governor "to adopt measures to prevent any reinforcements from being introduced into any one of the forts of Charleston-harbor, and that he cause batteries to be erected on Sullivan's-island, Morris'-island, and James'-island, in order to prevent the entrance of any vessel of war belonging to the late Government of the United States;" † to require him to take possession of Castle Pinckney and Fort Johnson; ‡ and that "immediate vigorous military measures should be taken by the Governor;" § while a delicately-framed motion, offered by Mr. Memminger, declaring, as a mere "opinion of the Convention," that it was *advisable* that any volunteers who might arrive in Charleston from sister States, should be united with the South Carolina troops, in any movement which the Governor might deem advisable for taking possession of Sullivan's-island, found so little favor among the members that it was withdrawn by its mover, without being voted on ¶—indeed, the Convention sternly refused to do any act, or to authorize any, which, by any one, could be construed as an overt act of insurrection—and, at half past three o'clock, in the afternoon, it adjourned.¶

With the most frigid disregard of the expressed will of the excited masses by whom it was surrounded, as that will was noisily presented by the tumultuous crowds, in the streets of the city of Charleston, the Convention, it will be seen, determined to do nothing whatever which could be fairly construed as an hostile act; and as the greater number of the leaders of the insurgents occupied seats in that body, at that time, and were then present, its action, on these several motions, may justly be regarded not only as the official action of the State, as such, thereon, but the carefully-considered judgment of the solid men of South Carolina, after an interchange of opinions and due deliberation, concerning the most urgent demands of the hour.

As we have said, although the Convention was then in session and had formally declined to give him authority to do so, Governor Pickens assumed the responsibility, without that authority—hitherto assumed to be necessary—to order Colonel Pettigrew, with portions of his command, to enter and occupy Castle

said, in reply to Mr. Greeley, showing that no such action was taken by the Convention.

Need any further evidence be adduced to sustain the statement, made in the text, concerning the infidelity to the truth of history of some of those who have preceded us in examining and presenting this subject to the world?

* Journal of the Convention, Secret Session, 114.

† Ibid. See, also, the Governor's Message to the Convention, December 28, 1860—*Journal*, 129.

‡ Ibid.

§ Governor's Message to the Convention, December 28, 1860—*Journal*, 129.

¶ Journal of the Convention, Secret Session, 114.

¶ Journal of the Convention, Secret Session, 114, 115. See, also, page 146, *ante*.

** It is due to ourself to say that we have made every proper effort to obtain either a copy of this letter or a statement of its purport; and that we have entirely failed—indeed, a respectful inquiry relative to it was made to that member of the Major's family who is most interested in his public reputation and who controls, if she does not possess, his papers and letter-books; and our application was uncivilly, if not rudely, rejected.

* Journal of the Convention, Secret Session, 115.

† Ibid, 115. ‡ Ibid, 115. § Ibid, 118.

¶ Ibid, 115. ¶ Ibid, 115.

Pinckney,* a property of the United States, which had been duly ceded by South Carolina† and never reclaimed by her; while similar Orders were issued, with no more authority, to Lieutenant-colonel De Saussure, to enter and occupy Fort Moultrie,‡ also a property of the United States, which had been duly ceded to the Confederacy, by the State;§ was then occupied by Federal troops; and had not been reclaimed. As Castle Pinckney was near the city, and was occupied only by an Ordnance-sergeant, in whose official custody the armament was,|| and by a party of thirty workmen, who, under Lieutenant Richard K. Meade, of the Engineers, “were engaged in repairing the “cisterns, replacing decayed banquettes, and “attending to other matters of detail,¶” the Order relative to the occupation of that work was easily executed, in the afternoon of the day**—the walls having been scaled with ladders;†† the Ordnance-sergeant taken prison-

er; * Lieutenant Meade retired to Fort Sumter† and the non-combatant workmen scattered by the incoming militia-men;‡ and, under the jeers of Katie Skillen, the Sergeant’s handsome daughter,§ the flag of the steam-

“mandant of the garrison, Lieutenant R. K. Mead,” “his “men so strongly barricaded the door of the Castle “that the assailants were compelled to enter it by escalade.” The exact truth is, “the floor of the Castle” was ordinarily barricaded, leaving only the sally-port for ordinary use; and it needed no other “garrison” than the Ordnance-sergeant to make that inlet to the work as secure as need be. Besides, Lieutenant Meade’s “men” were civilians, employed as artificers, who had as little to do with the defense of the work as any other strangers would have had, and who did as little.

The assailants scaled the walls because they had nothing but their small-arms and a few tomahawks with which to force an entrance; and scaling-ladders afforded the readiest means for securing access to the work.

* General Jefferson C. Davis informs us that both Sergeant Skillen, who occupied Castle Pinckney, and the Sergeant who occupied Fort Moultrie, were taken prisoners by the insurgents, and sent to the North.

† General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872; General John G. Foster to Henry B. Dawson, February 3, 1872.

See, also, *Charleston Mercury*, December 28, 1860—Supplement, No. Vb.

‡ *Charleston Mercury*, December 28, 1860—Supplement, No. Vb.

§ The incident referred to in the text is one of the most notable of the minor events of that eventful day and it has been called to our attention by participants on both sides of the contest.

General Jefferson C. Davis first referred to it, during one of our many agreeable interviews; and, subsequently, in his *Memoranda upon The Story of Fort Sumter, March 15, 1872*, General Truman Seymour again called our attention to it in these words; “The Ordnance Sergt (Skillen) at “Castle Pinckney was blessed with a pretty wife and still “prettier daughter, a bright girl of some 16 or 17 years. “When the Rebels overran the work (Dec. 27 or 28th) and “hoisted their flag, this girl was observed by one of their “officers to be crying. ‘Don’t be afraid,’ said he, ‘nobody “‘shall hurt you.’ ‘I’m not at all afraid,’ was her reply, “‘I’m mad, to see our flag go down and that dirty thing “‘take its place.’

“A good story, true or not; but it was told to me as “fact.”

Within a few days, a well-known member of the Charleston Bar—a member of one of South Carolina’s most distinguished families—who was one of the first to scale the walls of Castle Pinckney and was present throughout the entire afternoon and night under consideration, during an extended conversation on the events of that period, told us, also, of Katie Skillen’s taunt that they must have been a pretty set of fellows, when so many of them were required to take a fort which was occupied by only two men (her father and Lieutenant Meade) and a girl.

It is reported that old Sergeant Skillen, since the close of the War, has been reinstated in his old quarters, in

* Vide page 149, ante.

See, also, Governor Pickens’s letter to Colonel Pettigrew, December 27, 1860, and his General Orders to General Schnierle, December 31, 1860.

† Vide page 153, post.

‡ Vide page 149, ante.

See, also, General Orders to General Schnierle, December 31, 1860.

§ Vide page 153, post.

|| Vide pages 36, 37, ante.

On page 117 of the first volume of his *Pictorial History*, Mr. Lossing very accurately stated, in his description of Castle Pinckney, that there were certain stores “within “its walls, but no garrison to use them;” and yet, on page 137 of the same volume, when describing the events of the same period, he inaccurately writes of “the commander of the garrison, Lieutenant R. K. Mead”—who was really an assistant of the Engineer in charge of the work, and so would have been without any authority whatever in “the garrison,” even if “a garrison” had then really occupied the Castle; but he was especially so when, as was then the case, the only “garrison” within the work was Ordnance-sergeant Skillen and his daughter Katie.

¶ Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers, November 14, 1860; General John G. Foster to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, November 2, 1865.

** *Charleston Mercury*, December 28, 1860—Supplement, No. Vb; Correspondence of the *New York World*, Charleston, December 27, 1860, in the *World* of January 2, 1861.

†† General John G. Foster to Henry B. Dawson, February 3, 1872.

See, also, *Charleston Mercury*, December 28, 1860—Supplement, No. Vb; Correspondence of the *New York World*, Charleston, December 27, 1860, in the *World* of January 2, 1861; General John G. Foster to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, November 2, 1865.

On page 137, of the first volume of his *Pictorial History*, among other events said to have occurred at Castle Pinckney, on that eventful day, Mr. Lossing says of “the com-

boat *Nina* which had carried them there—a red one, with a single white star*—hoisted on the flag-staff of the work.† There seems, however, to have been some delay in the execution of the Order to occupy Fort Moultrie; and not until seven in the evening were the troops, under Lieutenant-colonel De Saussure, which had been detailed for that service, enabled to leave Charleston,‡ and not until a much later hour, because of the extraordinary caution, both of the Governor and of their commanding officer, concerning certain supposed mines and other concealed dangers which the fugitive garrison was said to have constructed, did they venture to enter the work; make a prisoner of the Ordnance-sergeant in charge of the work; raise the “national flag or ensign” of the State of South Carolina over the ungarrisoned fort; and send up the three rockets which had been designated as the signal of their success.§

Castle Pinckney; and that Katie, the wife of a respectable citizen of South Carolina, is now a respected resident of the city of Charleston.

* *Charleston Mercury*, December 28, 1860—Supplement, No. Vb.

We have noticed this peculiarity in the device of the colors raised over Castle Pinckney, in order to correct an error, on that subject, into which Mr. Lossing has fallen, in his *Pictorial History*, i., 137, where, concerning it, he said: “Borrowing a *Palmetto flag* from the Captain of one of the steamers” [there was no more than one, the *Nina*] “Pettigrew unfurled it over the Castle.”

† *Charleston Mercury*, December 28, 1860—Supplement, No. Vb; Correspondence of the *New York World*, Charleston, December 27, 1860, in the *World* of January 2, 1861.

The *World* correspondent says the halyards were unrove; and that it was necessary to send a man up the flag-staff to reeve another, before the new flag could be hoisted.

We are not insensible of the fact that Mr. Lossing states, in his *Pictorial History*, i., 137, that the assailants “found the cannon spiked, the carriages ruined, the ammunition removed, and the flag-staff prostrated,”—in which he is carefully followed by Mr. Whitney, in his *History of the War*, i., 134—but, while all this was quite true of *Fort Moultrie*, no one, besides Mr. Lossing and Mr. Whitney, says so of *Castle Pinckney*; and, on the authority of all the survivors of the officers of the garrison whose attention we have called to the subject, and on that, also, of one of the most widely known of the assailants—the Sergeant of the first guard which Colonel Pettigrew established in the captured work—we prefer to disregard the statements which we have quoted and referred to, in all their parts, because of their entire inaccuracy.

‡ *Charleston Mercury*, December 28, 1860—Supplement, No. Vb; Correspondence of the *New York World*, Charleston, December 27, 1860, in the *World* of January 2, 1861.

§ *Charleston Mercury*, December 28, 1860—Supplement, No. Vb.

The *Rebellion Record*, i., 7, says all this occurred on the twenty-eighth of December; and Messrs. Guernsey and

The events of that memorable day are peculiarly noteworthy in the history of the Republic. Federal property was seized by State officials; Federal territory was militarily occupied, with hostile intent, by State troops; a strange flag, by the hands of those bearing only State Commissions and acting under no other instructions than those of a State officer, was raised on flag-staffs, within Federal fortifications, whence the Federal flag, by the same unauthorized hands, had, previously, been ignominiously hauled down: and, in fact as well as in name, a State was brought into open hostility against the United States. We may be pardoned, therefore, for briefly noticing so important a series of occurrences.

In the course of events, the United States, either by grant or purchase, had duly become the undisputed proprietors, in law, of certain properties within the territory of the State of South Carolina;* that State had duly ceded to the United States, as such proprietors, general jurisdiction within those properties, subject only to some minor rights which are generally reserved, in such cases, to the local sovereignty;† and the United States, as such proprietors, had occupied those properties, for public purposes, and were then in possession—some of them being occupied for military and some for civic purposes.‡ Those of them which were thus employed for military purposes, had been duly placed, by the President of the United States, as the Commander-in-chief of their Army, under the control of Major Anderson, the duly appointed and legal commander of the post;§ and, as such commander,

Alden, in *Harpers' Pictorial History*, i., 29, say it occurred on the thirtieth of December.

* This fact is distinctly recognized by a Committee of the Convention of the People, in a Report presented by Judge Magrath, on that subject, in Secret Session of that Convention, on the twenty-second of December, 1860.—*Journals of that Convention*, 70-72.

See, also, the President's Message to Congress, December 3, 1860; and Secretary of War Holt's letter to Attorney-general Hayne, February 6, 1861.

† President Buchanan's Annual Message, December 3, 1860; the same to Messrs. Barnwell, Adams, and Orr, Commissioners, December 30, 1860.

See, also, the Report of the Committee of the Convention of the People, referred to in the last Note, in which this cession is distinctly recognized; and Secretary Holt's letter to Attorney-general Hayne, February 6, 1861, in which it is asserted and described.

‡ Besides the three forts—Moultrie, Sumter, and Castle Pinckney—there were the Arsenal, at Charleston; the Custom-house and Post-office, in the same city; and several lighthouses, on the coast.—*Report of the Committee to the Convention*, December 22, 18 0.

§ Vide pages 37, 38, ante

that officer possessed, generally, authority, in law and in fact, in the absence of any instructions forbidding him, to occupy, at his pleasure, any, or either, or all portions of those properties of the United States which were within his particular jurisdiction,* provided only that, in this particular case, agreeably to his special instructions, in every such occupation, he should not "needlessly" "provoke aggression," and that, unless in case of "evident and imminent necessity"—of which, however, HE was to be the sole judge—he should not occupy any portion of such properties the occupation of which, *per se*, "could be construed into the assumption of a hostile attitude" against the inhabitants of South Carolina.† Because of an existing necessity, which, as was his right, HE judged to have been both "evident and imminent,"‡ Major Anderson had duly transferred his Head-quarters together with a portion of his command to a position, within the bounds of his un-

doubted jurisdiction, which had been, previously, unoccupied by more than a nominal military force,* leaving behind him, however, in legal military possession of the position which he had left, a competent portion of his command;† and he had also left, entirely undisturbed and without reinforcement, another portion of his command, in possession of another work, which was nearer to the city than either of the others, and, unquestionably, more capable of being used, either offensively or defensively, against the Carolinians, had he been inclined to have done so.‡

It may have been perfectly true that Major Anderson had been misinformed; that his judgment had been misdirected; that no such "evident and imminent necessity" as he supposed, had really existed; but, nevertheless, he he was, in fact and by right, the *sole* judge of the existing necessity for such a transfer of any, and of what, portion of his command, from one portion of his post to another; he had duly formed a judgment on that subject; and, strictly in accordance with that judgment, he had thus transferred a portion of his command from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter. In all these acts, he had disregarded none of the instructions of the Commander-in-chief; he had violated no existing law; he had invaded no right; he had made no threat; he had assumed no attribute which could, reasonably, be considered hostile—even the Convention of South Carolina which, a week before, had carried South Carolina out of the Union, as far as such a body could thus fracture the Confederacy, after duly considering the subject, entirely disregarded the excitement which that transfer of the garrison had produced, in Charleston, and steadily refused to pronounce a word of condemnation of Major Anderson for having done it,§ and as steadily refused to authorize any interference with the main body of the garrison, in Fort Sumter, or with any detachments

* As the head of an independent command, Major Anderson possessed the right, in himself, by virtue of his office, in the absence of any special orders to the contrary, from the Commander-in-chief, to occupy either of the three forts which were under his command, at his own option; and it was his duty to occupy that which, at that time, was most advantageous to the service and to remove his quarters and his command, from time to time, to meet the requirements of changing circumstances. But, in order that the Major should entertain no doubt on this subject, the President had expressly authorized him to exercise that option, "whenever he should have tangible evidence of a design," on the part of the Carolinians, "to proceed to an hostile act."

Mr. Lossing, in his *Pictorial History*, i., 129; Messrs. Alden and Guernsey, in *Harpers' Pictorial History*, i., 29; and Mrs. Stephens, in her *Pictorial History*, i., 21, present the same views, concerning the Major's right to occupy either of the three forts, at his own option, notwithstanding the two former, with grave inconsistency, elsewhere insist that, after having tied the Major's hands with special instructions, the President wickedly abandoned the garrison to inevitable destruction at the hands of an equally wicked and restless enemy, in whom was concentrated everything that was dishonorable and malignant. Mrs. Stephens indulges in no such amusement of her fancy.

† The President's Instructions, delivered by Major Buell, December 11, 1860—vide page 43, ante.

‡ Major Anderson's telegraphic reply to the Secretary of War, December 27, 1860; his dispatch to the same, of the same date; his reply to Governor Pickens, on the same day—*Governor's Message*, No. 1; his letter (unpublished) to his brother Larr, December 29, 1860; the letter of the Secretary of War, *ad interim*, to the Chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, January 3, 1861.

See, also, the Second Letter of the Commissioners of South Carolina to the President, January 1, 1861, concerning the temper of the insurgents, at the time of the Major's transfer of the garrison to Fort Sumter.

* Vide page 36, ante.

† The Ordnance-sergeant who was left in possession of the fort, when the garrison finally evacuated it, occupied it, officially, as the representative of the United States and in accordance with orders sent to him, through Lieutenant Davis, by Major Anderson.

‡ Castle Pinckney was in complete order; and, because of its nearness, it could have been employed against the city, with great effect, had the Major inclined to occupy and thus employ it. He preferred, however, to leave that work to the inevitable fate which awaited it, on his removal of the main body of the garrison from Fort Moultrie, without throwing any portion of his command into it, for even its temporary defense.

§ The Convention laid on the table a Resolution, offered by Mr. Cheves, pointing to such a condemnation—*Journal*, 115.

of the garrison who occupied, in the name of the United States, by their authority, and under the protection of their flag, the works at Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney.*

At the time of which we write [*Thursday, December 27, 1860,*] the Executive of the State of South Carolina had received no other authority from the sovereign power than that which he had possessed before the adoption of the Ordinance of Secession, as far as such an Ordinance could do so, had divorced the State from her sister States, and again made her a *femme-sole* in the family of nations;† and the sovereignty was, therefore, only represented, at that time, for all extraordinary purposes, by a "Convention of the People," which is the most dignified representative body known to the laws of the Republic. There was, then, no authority constitutionally vested in the Executive of the State to invade the territory of another and, therefore, foreign State, to seize her public property, to captivate her public officers, to occupy her fortifications with armed forces, or to insult her flag; and, during that day, as we have seen, the Convention of the State emphatically declined to pronounce an adverse judgment concerning the movement of the garrison, to which reference has been made,‡ and sternly refused to enlarge the Governor's authority§ or to give warrant for his interference with the foreign affairs of the State.

At that time, too, both within and without the Convention, throughout South Carolina, the United States were considered as a *foreign* power and treated as such;|| and their possessions, within the geographical limits of South Carolina—inasmuch as their jurisdiction over those possessions had not yet been surrendered

and was not even legally questioned*—were at that time, in law and in fact, as far as South Carolina was concerned, *foreign* territory. There can be no doubt, therefore, that, even in the peculiar light of the law of South Carolina, the unprovoked and unauthorized aggressions of those, acting under the Governor's unwarrantable Orders, who invaded territory in which the United States exercised the higher authority, seized the public property of the United States within the city of Charleston, carried their public officers into captivity, occupied their fortifications with armed forces, and insulted and degraded their flag, constituted the undue inauguration of a public War† and were as much offenses against the sovereignty of South Carolina, as such—whether that State was separate or confederated—as they were or could be offenses against the dignity, the laws, and the authority of the United States.‡ The revolutionary spirit which the State had officially invoked, as an avenger of anticipated wrongs to which she had not yet been subjected—if, indeed, she ever could be—had, however, obtained the mastery and, itself, become the master; and laws, and Constitutions, and Conventions—not even the People

* Vide the Report to the Convention, by the Committee on so much of the Message of the President of the United States as relates to the property of the United States within the limits of South Carolina.—*Journal of the Convention*, 70-72.

† On this particular feature of the subject, the reader may usefully consult Grotius's *Rights of War and Peace*, Book I., Chapter I., Section II.—Ed. London, 1682, page 2—"War, as Cicero defines it, is '*Certatio per vim*,' a Debate by force; But custom hath Translated the signification of the word from the Act it self, to the state and condition of those that make War; for as Philo well observes: 'Not only are they Enemies that are actually engaged in Battle, whether at Sea, or Land, but they also, that raise Forts, plant Ordnances, or such like Engines of War, on their Walls, or Forts, though at present they fight not.' Servius, upon those words of Virgil, concerning *Aeneas*,—

"'In War and Arms None greater was than He'

"makes this distinction, By War we understand all consultations and Preparations for War: but by Arms only the use or exercise of them. Therefore in another place he concludes, that 'all that may be reckoned a time of War, wherein either things necessary for fight are preparing, or the fight it self lasts,' so that War may be defined to be the State or Condition of those that contend by force as such."

Puffendorf, also—*Law of Nature and Nations*, Book I., Chapter I., Section VIII.—may be usefully consulted, on this subject.

‡ On this important subject, Grotius is remarkably clear—*Rights of War and Peace*, Book I., Chapter III., Section IV., pages 34, 35.

* The Convention tabled Resolutions to this effect, offered by Mr. De Treville—*Journal*, 114; Mr. Cheves—*Ibid*, 115, 118; Mr. Glover—*Ibid*, 117; and Mr. Middleton—*Ibid*, 118.

† The Resolutions offered by Mr. De Treville, Mr. Glover, Mr. Cheves, and Mr. Middleton, (referred to in the last Note) and one offered by Mr. Memminger, and withdrawn by him, all provided for such an extension of the Governor's authority; but none of them found sufficient favor to secure an approval of them by the Convention.

‡ In Mr. Cheves's proposed Resolution.—*Journal*, 115.

§ In Messrs. De Treville's, Glover's, Cheves's, Middleton's, and Memminger's proposed Resolutions.

|| On the twenty-first of December—the day after the adoption of the Ordinance of Secession—"the Committee on Foreign Relations" reported to the Convention a Resolution providing for the election of three Commissioners to "treat with the Government of the United States, for the delivery of the forts," etc.—*Journal of the Convention*, 58;—and, thenceforth, the United States were considered and referred to only as a *foreign* power.

itself—weighed as much as a feather in checking the lawlessness of the Governor, in his rash purpose of involving the State, as such, in hostilities with the United States. The mischievous project was boldly executed and, as we have seen, perfectly successful; and, amidst the shouts of the tumultuous multitudes and the noise of busy preparation for War, from one extreme of the city to the other, the sun went down, on the afternoon of Thursday, the twenty-seventh of December, having that day seen revolutionary South Carolina herself revolutionized; her Governor boldly defying her laws and all other of her authority, and lawlessly directing a mob, in an unauthorized aggression on a foreign power; and War,—an inter-State War, with all its multiplied horrors—in-augurated as the controlling power.

While the harbor and the city of Charleston were thus, respectively, the scenes of momentous events, the intelligence, in varied forms and with more or less completeness and accuracy, was sent, over the wires, to every portion of the United States; and, North and South, the information aroused the passions and quickened the impulses of all, old and young, who understood its serious import. The great body of the inhabitants, North and South, was already racked with excitement and seemed to thirst for blood; and it is an important fact that, at that time, the masses, in both sections of the Union, were more decided in their tone, and more clamorous for instant and relentless War, than were the greater number of those, in either portion of the Republic, whose years and associations, whose experience and general intelligence, had confirmed the general recognition which, long since, had designated them for leadership among the several discordant Peoples which, then, constituted the United States.* The exciting intelligence, therefore, fell among those, from one extreme to the other, who were not unwilling to receive it; and, without awaiting for the concurrence, much less for the co-operation, of their old-time leaders, they joyfully accepted the issue—in the North, the action of the Major was enthusiastically and exulting applauded: in the South, the antagonism against the North was deeply intensified: throughout the entire Republic, North and South, another incentive to hostilities was presented; and a deeply increased hatred of the opposing party was, everywhere presented.

The Convention of South Carolina, on the

twenty-first of December,* had elected three Commissioners to proceed to Washington to treat with the Federal authorities concerning the relations between that State and the United States;† and that Commission seems to have been the first, at the Capital, to receive the intelligence of the occupation of Fort Sumter.‡ It was immediately communicated to the President, who “received it with astonishment and regret”—astonishment, because he had supposed the garrison was perfectly secure, in Fort Moultrie; regret because he certainly foresaw that it would concentrate the elements of disaffection, throughout the South, which, as we have seen, were then disunited and in discord, and so far influence those, in all parts of the Republic, who were then uncertain and careless, as to lead to the overthrow of certain measures, for promoting a reconciliation, which had been proposed and were already under consideration, and to impel one or both the antagonistic parties to inaugurate a Civil War.§ He had not yet heard of the doings, in Charleston, of Governor Pickens and the ultra-revolutionists whom that gentleman directed; but, very soon after, information was also received of the violent and unauthorized seizure of the Custom-house, Post-office, and Treasury, by that portion of the disaffected Carolinians who recognized the Governor as their leader; and, at once, the President saw in these events the realization of his fears and, thenceforth, inclined to the belief that a purely political solution of the differences was no longer possible.|| Information of the issue of Orders, by the Governor, for the seizure and occupation of Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney had not yet reached him;¶ but he had heard enough to satisfy him that the time for decisive action had, at length, arrived; and—postponing a meeting, at one o’clock, which had been previously appointed by him and the Carolinian Commissioners, in order that he might do so**—a meeting of the Cabinet was called for consultation, at noon, which seems to have been adjourned, soon after, to meet again early in the evening of

* In his autobiographical volume, page 180, Mr. Buchanan says this Committee was elected on the *twenty-second*.

† Journal of the Convention, Secret Session, 58-60.

‡ Buchanan’s *Mr. Buchanan’s Administration*, 180.

§ Ibid, 180, 181.

|| Ibid, 181-183.

¶ As will be seen, hereafter, all information concerning the seizure of the forts, by the insurgents, was carefully withheld from the telegraph, at Charleston.—*Vide page 161, post, Note.*

** The Commissioners’ Second Letter to the President, January 1, 1861.

* This very important fact was everywhere apparent, throughout the Union; and the backwardness of the Federal authorities was quite equalled by that of the Convention of the People of South Carolina, as presented in its action, at the period of which we write.

the same day.* That meeting was an unpleasant one, because of a change in the temper as well as in the policy of the Secretary of War, which was very soon exhibited. That gentleman had been implicated, with Godard Bailey and William H. Russell, in the abstraction of nearly a million of dollars, in State Bonds, from the trust funds of the Department of the Interior; and the President, four days before, had requested him to withdraw from the Cabinet;† and, probably incited by that indication of a loss of the President's confidence,‡ on the occasion of the Cabinet-meeting

* That there was a mid-day meeting of the Cabinet, on the twenty-seventh of December, is evident from Mr. Floyd's letter, resigning his office as Secretary of War, in which it is particularly mentioned, and from the Second Letter of the Carolinian Commissioners to the President, January 1, 1861, in which it is stated that "two Cabinet meetings had adjourned" between the twenty-eighth and the thirty-first of December—the dates, respectively, of their first letter and of the President's reply: that there was one in the evening of the same day is evident from Mr. Buchanan's own statement of what occurred, on that occasion. — *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 187, 188. See, also, dispatch to the *World*, New York, Friday, December 28, 1860.

† Mr. Buchanan's letter to the *National Intelligencer*, October 28, 1862; Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 185, 186-187; J. S. Black's letter to Henry Wilson, on *Edwin M. Stanton*.—*Galaxy*, ix., 826.

‡ It is fashionable to attribute Mr. Floyd's conduct, at the Cabinet-meeting referred to, to another and entirely different cause—the occupation of Fort Sumter and the consequent disadvantage of the insurgent Carolinians, in their desire to secure possession of that work;—but, as Mr. Black forcibly said of one of those attempts to misrepresent the truth, "this is mere drivelling, at best; and it is completely exploded by the record, which shows that" [Major] "Anderson's transfer of his force from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter was in literal obedience to "Orders from the President, which Floyd himself had "drawn up, signed, and transmitted. Moreover, Floyd, "at that time, was not in a condition to arraign any body. "He, himself, had just before that been not only arraigned "but condemned; and the President had notified him that "he would be removed if he did not resign."—*Letter to Henry Wilson*, on *Edwin M. Stanton*.—*Galaxy*, ix., 826.

See, also, Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 186, 187.

It is proper that we should notice, here, the statement of Mr. Lossing—*Pictorial History*, i., 146—that "Floyd "urgently demanded an order for Anderson's return to "Fort Moultrie, alleging that the President, by withholding it, was violating the 'solemn pledges of the Government.' The latter, remembering his implied, if not "actual pledges, was inclined to give the order; but the "warning voices of law, duty, and public opinion made "him hesitate. They spoke to his conscience and his "prudence, about faithfulness, impeachment, and a trial "for treason; and to his patriotism, concerning the good-

referred to, he read, in a discourteous and excited tone, hitherto unknown, a paper declaring that "it is evident, now, from the action of the "commander at Fort Moultrie, that the solemn "pledges of this Government have been violated by Major Anderson" and that "one remedy only is left, and that is to withdraw the "garrison from the harbor of Charleston, altogether"—a demand with which, of course, the

"ness and the greatness of his native land and its claims "upon his gratitude. He paused; and the Cabinet adjourned without definite action."

If this means anything, Mr. Lossing meant to tell his readers that Mr. Buchanan had "pledged" his word—actually or by implication—that Major Anderson and the garrison should remain at Fort Moultrie and do nothing, no matter what the danger might be; that the Major's occupation of Fort Sumter was in violation of that "pledge;" that Mr. Floyd "demanded an order for Anderson's return to Fort Moultrie," and insisted that, by withholding it, the President was violating the "solemn "pledges of the Government;" that the President remembered "his implied, if not actual pledges," and was inclined to fulfil them; that he was restrained, however, by "the warning voices of duty, law, and public opinion," which spoke to him of, respectively, "faithfulness, impeachment, and a trial for treason." etc.; and that, in consequence of his dread of a trial, as a criminal, no such order was then issued.

Now Mr. Lossing, in a foot-note to this very sentence, refers to a document which entirely disproves every word of it which directly charges the President with any wrongdoing or any desire to commit a wrong; and, after having suppressed what it contained which disproved the charges against the President, he coolly refers to it as his only authority for making new charges against that officer, on a matter in which it flatly contradicts him! It expressly denies that the President ever made a pledge, or attempted to make one, on the matter of the garrison in Charleston-harbor, with any one; and it expressly asserts that the parties with whom he was said to have made such a pledge directly and in terms disclaimed any such understanding, by them, of what was said by him, when he is said to have made such a pledge: and yet Mr. Lossing entirely disregards and cancels that portion of the document referred to; and then proceeds to renew the charge, himself, and submits this very document as his only evidence!

But this is not all. On page 149 of the same volume—only three pages from the exposition of his infidelity to the truth of history to which we have just referred, Mr. Lossing commits an authorial *haria-kari*, by stating, on this very subject: "It is the deliberate conviction of Joseph "Holt, the loyal Secretary of War during the last seventy "days of Mr. Buchanan's administration, that no such "pledge was given. It is fair to conclude that men like "the 'Commissioners' from South Carolina, and Jacob "Thompson, all engaged in the highest crime known, "namely, treason to their Government, would not be slow "in the use of the more venal and common sin of making "false accusations, especially when such accusations "might furnish some excuse for their iniquity. No proof

President did not comply.* The Cabinet adjourned at eight o'clock;† and the history of the events of the day closes with that subject.

The rising sun, on the morning of Friday, the twenty-eighth of December, revealed still greater changes, within and around Charleston, than that, on the preceding day, had revealed to the astonished watch, on the decks of the *Nina* and *General Clinch*, when they discovered, to their surprise, that Fort Sumter was occupied by a military force.‡

THE GARRISON, in Charleston harbor, during the preceding day, had effectually consummated the withdrawal of Head-quarters and the main body of the force, from Fort Moultrie, by transferring to its new position, in Fort Sumter, the stores and munitions of war which were in the former, as far as they could be thus removed; § by rendering useless, as far as possible, those of them which were left; ¶ and by definitely, if not ostentatiously, appealing to a higher law than the President's instructions for a warrant for its abandonment of the one, and to a higher power than that of the Republic for a competent support in the occupation of the other. || It had quietly occupied, and was then seated in, Fort Sumter; but it was, by no means, at that time, out of harm's way—indeed, the nakedness of the insur-

gents of the requisite means to assault the work, with even the possibility of success, and their want of competent military leaders, were among its principal safeguards, at that time, and enabled it, weak-handed as it was, and almost destitute of material, to take notice of its weaknesses and, gradually, to provide for their remedy, without being called to other and graver duties of self-defense.

THE INSURGENTS, at that time, were divided by adverse influences and directed, in their action, by discordant authorities—the one portion influenced by and acting, if it acted at all, only under authority bearing the semblance of law, and recognizing only the superior authority of the legitimate governmental representatives of the sovereignty of the State, as seen in the Convention of the People and in the General Assembly: the other portion having no other warrant for what it did, or attempted to do, than the inferior authority of the Governor of the State, exercised in open disregard of all law, legitimate or illegitimate, local or general. The one embraced the more thoughtful and the more substantial, if not the more intelligent, of the Carolinians: the other included not only those theorists whose ill-balanced minds paid no respect to consequences, but the impulsive masses who, as in all cities, were controlled by no principle but the passion of the moment, and whose interests, if they had any, it was supposed, would be promoted by agitation and War. The one, as we have said, was represented by the staid Convention of the People, which, with all the facts before it, and all the power to do so, had deliberately declined to give authority to the Governor, or even to request him, “to take immediate possession of Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney, and to make the necessary preparations for the re-capture or destruction of Fort Sumter;” and it respected that determination and committed no outrage: the other was represented by the impetuous Governor, who, with the same facts before him and with the knowledge of the adverse action of the Convention of the People—which, alone, was recognized, thereabouts, as possessing competent authority to warrant any such action, by any body—had rashly issued Orders for the military occupation of both Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney and for the preparation of means to ensure the capture of Fort Sumter; and, thus, already, had inaugurated a Civil War; and it defied all law, violated all rights, and demanded blood. The control of one was exercised by a Government of comparative order and law: that of the other was a power exercised by a mob, avowedly without regularity, and unquestionably without any other warrant than the unauthorized Order of an usurper. The one aimed to secure a peaceful

“HAS EVER BEEN GIVEN THAT THE PRESIDENT VIOLATED HIS OATH BY MAKING SUCH PLEDGE.”—*Pictorial History*, i., 149, Note 1.

It is not evident to us that there is the least possible difference, *in favor of Mr. Lossing*, between “the venal and common sin of making false accusations,” with which that gentleman charges the Commissioners from South Carolina and Mr. Thompson, in the above extract, and that similar sin of which he thus proves himself to have been equally, if not more flagrantly, guilty—in fact, we incline to the belief that, in making the charges against the President which we first quoted, while the evidence was before him of the *entire innocence* of that gentleman (to say nothing of his suppression of that evidence and his entire silence concerning it and his subsequent averment that the document in which it is fully recorded affords evidence of an exactly opposite character) Mr. Lossing's chance for heaven, if the Apostle writes truly—*Revelation*, xxii., 15—is hardly as good as is that of Jacob Thompson and the Secessionists of South Carolina, who were the Commissioners of that State, at Washington, in December, 1860.

* Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 187, 188; Secretary Floyd to the President, December 29, 1861; General Joseph Holt to Henry Wilson, 1870—*Atlantic Monthly*, xxvi., 472; the same to Henry B. Dawson, August 24, 1872.

† Associated Press dispatch to the New York morning papers, Friday, December 28, 1860—vide the *World*.

‡ Vide page 139, *ante*.

§ Vide pages 142, 143, *ante*.

¶ Vide pages 142, 143, *ante*.

|| Vide pages 147, 148, *ante*.

political solution of the existing differences between the discordant States: the other sought, in War, without compromise, a bloody solution of those differences and, through that, it is supposed, its own social and political advancement. Unfortunately, the latter had prevailed—as the more violent, in such an encounter, generally prevails—and, during the preceding day, the Federal offices, within the city, and the Federal military posts, on Sullivan's and Shute's Folly-islands, had been seized by those who recognized the Governor's leadership in lawlessness and obeyed his Orders, and were, at the time of which we write, occupied, respectively, by officers who were subordinate to him.

It is a notable fact, however, notwithstanding this unwarrantable eagerness for War, on the part of the dominant party, in South Carolina, that that State, on the morning of the twenty-seventh of December, was wholly unprepared for such an emergency, unless an undue and ill-directed zeal, in the greater number of her inhabitants, may be supposed, in itself, to have afforded such pre-requisites. The insurgents were, at that time, without the necessary supply of arms suitable for such duties as they had already undertaken to discharge: * there was not, then, in the entire State, enough gunpowder to enable them to keep up the continued fire of a three-gun battery for four hours; and of shot and shell there was the same meagre proportion: † they lacked competent Engineers

to direct their spasmodic labors: * their troops, or those who were so suddenly converted into troops, were unused to such service; not accustomed to such exposures and hardships as they would be forced to encounter therein; and impatient under the restraints of actual service and the authority of officers whom, as citizens, they were accustomed to regard as equals: † and other States, which were equally aggrieved, and quite as anxious as South Carolina was to obtain relief from dangers which the political revolution, in November, had seemed to threaten, were not yet convinced, at the time of which we write, of the necessity of adopting extreme measures; patiently looked for a continuation of the peaceful relations of the several States of the Union; and were not always willing that South Carolina should drag them into troubles which they preferred to avoid, nor altogether unwilling that she should be subjected to a just penalty for her rashness and her arrogance. ‡

South Carolina to Governor Pickens, March 25, 1861.

This statement describes the nakedness of the insurgents after they had seized the Federal Arsenal, at Charleston: how much more naked were they, at the time referred to in the text, two days before that work, with its contents, was seized by the Carolinians?

* This statement is sustained by the anxiety, on this subject, which Governor Pickens displayed, even as lately as the ninth of January, 1861, when he ordered Colonels Gwyn, White, and Trapier to "come together, immediately, and consider and report the most favorable plan for operating upon Fort Sumter"—*General Order, January 9, 1861*—and we have unquestionable authority for saying that so injudiciously had the labor of the insurgents, on the new works, been directed, that, even as lately as the beginning of March, 1861—when the command of the State troops was necessarily vested in General Beauregard—"the Confederate" [State?]" works were in a very incomplete state, badly planned, and indifferently located and armed. A great deal of labor, however, had been bestowed on them by the troops, who labored zealously and actively on them—there were, I think, but few, if any, negroes then employed on them."—*General P. T. Beauregard to Henry B. Dawson, June 20, 1872.*

† Dispatch in the *New York World*, No. 176, Monday, January 7, 1861.

See, also, Resolution 3, of the series transmitted to the Convention, by the Governor and Council, for its consideration and adoption, on the thirty-first of December, 1860, providing that "the volunteers now in possession of the forts in this State" should be relieved "as soon as a sufficient number of Companies shall be enlisted, officered, and properly drilled."—*Journal of the Convention*, Secret Session, 149.

‡ This fact is so well known to every careful student of the history of that period that it seems to be unnecessary to present special authorities to sustain our statement of

* Thus written, although the Confederate Government, at that time, was not vested with any property therein.

* The Federal Arsenal had not then been seized by the insurgents; and it is said that, even after that event, "we were very badly supplied with small-arms."—*General P. T. Beauregard to Henry B. Dawson, June 20, 1872.* How much more naked must they have been, at the time of which we write?

† "At the rising of the Convention, on the fifth of January, the important and almost exclusive subject which engaged our attention was the occupation, by a hostile force, of an almost impregnable fortress within our harbor; and the chief difficulty with which we had to contend, arose from the extreme want of every offensive preparation for the reduction of the fort or for preventing the entrance of reinforcements within our waters. The great want was the very insufficient supply of ammunition and implements for guns of heavy calibre. Of cannon-powder, twenty-seven thousand pounds only were in possession of the State; and of this, a considerable quantity had been sent to the batteries erected to defend the entrances to the harbors of Georgetown and Beaufort, which left less than twenty thousand pounds near this city, or not more than sufficient to have kept up a FIRE FOR THREE HOURS, on the day when The Star of the West approached within our bay. Of shot and shell, the supply was in the same meagre proportion, except of twenty-four-pounder shot, which had been left at Fort Moultrie, when that fort was evacuated by the troops of the United States."—*Report of the Secretary of War of*

THE FEDERAL AUTHORITIES, at Washington, also, were not without discord, at the time of which we write. The events of the past two days, as far as the information of them had been made public, had created great anxiety, thereabouts, among both those who sympathized with the insurgents and those who did not; and the President, not previously informed of the incapacity of Fort Moultrie for a successful defence and supposing the garrison to have been perfectly secure, therein,* was astonished that a necessity to abandon that work had been supposed to exist and quite inclined to order the garrison to re-occupy it.† He had issued no Order to that

it. We content ourselves, therefore, with a single specimen of the language employed by others than Carolinians, to express their views of South Carolina's rashness:

"We have never had a doubt that it was the deliberate purpose of South Carolina, by some rash, illegal steps, to involve all her sister Southern States in the calamity of Civil War. She is not content to be allowed to go out of the Union peacefully. Her object is to drag other States with her and involve them all in a common and terrible conflict with the General Government. Her self-conceit and her selfishness know no bounds. But will Virginia become 'hitched on,' a miserable dependant, to her tail? We shall see."—*Richmond [Va.] Whig and Public Advertiser*, Vol. xxxviii., No. 1., Tuesday, January 1, 1861.

"It will be seen from our telegraphic dispatches that War has actually commenced at Charleston, so far, at least, as the authorities and citizens of South Carolina are concerned. The forbearance of Major Anderson, under the circumstances, is, in the highest degree, commendable. But it is the deliberate and long-cherished policy of South Carolina to involve, by her rash and selfish action, the whole South in a War of her own making! In our judgment, it is a shame and an outrage that a single State should thus precipitate the whole country into War and bloodshed. The whole white population of South Carolina is about two hundred and fifty thousand—and or about four times the population of the city of Richmond. And yet that little handful of mad-caps will inevitably plunge into a prolonged and desperate fight, 'thirty-odd millions of people!'—*Ibid*, Friday, January 11, 1861.

* *Buchanan's Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 180, 181.

† "When I learned that Major Anderson had left Fort Moultrie and proceeded to Fort Sumter, my first promptings were to command him to return to his former position, and there to await the contingencies presented in his Instructions."—*President Buchanan's reply to the Commissioners*, December 31, 1860.

* "the President determined to await official information from Major Anderson himself. After its receipt, should he be convinced, upon full examination, that the Major, on a false alarm, had violated his instructions, he might then think seriously of restoring, for the present, the former status quo of the forts. This, however, was soon after known to be impossible,

effect, however; and the rudeness of the Secretary of War, at the meeting of the Cabinet, on the preceding evening, to which reference has been made, may have inclined him to withhold it, for the present. It is true, the President earnestly desired to do nothing which would, unnecessarily, irritate those who were in insurrection, and thus render more difficult the reconciliation which he, in common with so many thoughtful men, the country over, so anxiously desired; but it is quite as true that he, also, desired, with equal earnestness, to discharge the duties which devolved on him, day by day, in that eventful period, to the full extent of the authority which the Constitution had vested in him and of the means which had been provided for that purpose, by the Congress of the United States. He had evidently determined, therefore, to do nothing which should interfere with the garrison until he should be informed of the necessity which existed for such an interference;* and, at the time of which we write, it was entirely undisturbed by the Commander-in-Chief, very much to the disgust of all who were in sympathy with the Carolinians.†

During the afternoon of that day—Friday, the twenty-eighth of December—the President received, unofficially, in their private capacity, as citizens, the three gentlemen whom South Carolina had sent to Washington, as her Commissioners, to treat with the Federal authorities concerning the relations existing between that State and the United States.‡ These gentlemen were, evidently, very much excited by the intelligence which they had received, on the preceding day—some portion of which was yet unknown, alike, to the President and the public, to the north-

"in consequence of the violent conduct of South Carolina, in seizing all the other forts and public property in the harbor and city of Charleston."—*Buchanan's Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 181.

"Had they [the Carolinian Commissioners] simply requested that Major Anderson might be restored to his former position at Fort Moultrie, upon a guarantee, from the State, that neither it nor the other forts or public property should be molested; this, at the moment, might have been worthy of serious consideration. But, to abandon all these forts to South Carolina, on the demand of Commissioners claiming to represent her as an independent State, would have been a recognition, on the part of the Executive, of her right to secede from the Union. This was not to be thought of, for a moment."—*Ibid*, 182.

* *Buchanan's Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 181, quoted in Note †, Column 1, Page 160, ante.

† *Ibid*, 184.

‡ The Second Letter of the Commissioners to the President, January 1, 1861; *Buchanan's Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 181.

ward of Charleston*—and they proceeded to state their grievances arising from the military occupation of Fort Sumter, and to declare that, for those grievances, they must obtain redress preliminary to entering upon the negotiation with which they had been intrusted; that they could not make any proposition for the adjustment of the existing differences, until the movement of Major Anderson should be explained; and that the immediate withdrawal of the garrison, not only from Fort Sumter, but from the harbor of Charleston, was a *sine qua non* to any negotiation whatever. The President patiently listened to the novel and insolent demands of his visitors; quietly told them that it was to the Congress of the United States, and not to their President, they must address their appeal; and politely offered to communicate to that body, as the only competent authority to take action on it, any communication which they should send to him for that particular purpose.†

During the same afternoon,‡ but subsequent to the visit of the three gentlemen whom South Carolina had sent as her Commissioners, to whom reference has just been made, intelligence seems to have reached Washington concerning the occupation of Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie, by the insurgent Carolinians, on the preceding afternoon and evening;§ and the President appears to have hesitated no longer, on the receipt of that information, in the determination that the garrison, in Charleston harbor, should be supported at all hazards. ||

* Vide Note §, post.

† For a description of this notable interview, see Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 181-182.

See, also, the Second Letter of the Commissioners to the President, January 1, 1861, and Mr. Buchanan's reply to General Scott, October 28, 1862.

‡ Dispatch to the *New York World*, published December 29, 1860.

§ It is said that, notwithstanding the Commissioners of South Carolina were informed of the occupation of the forts as early as eleven o'clock on the preceding evening [*Thursday, December 27*] the operators in the telegraph-offices were forbidden to transmit the intelligence for the Federal authorities or the Northern Press, until after the Commissioners should have waited on the President, on the afternoon of the twenty-eighth, lest the latter should be affected by the report and respond unfavorably to the Commissioners' Address and demands. It was not until afternoon, on the twenty-eighth of December, therefore, that the important intelligence of the seizure of the forts was allowed to be sent, northward, over the wires, except for the information of those who especially represented the insurgents.—*Special Despatch to The New York World, Volume I., No. 170—Saturday, December 29, 1860.*

|| President Buchanan's reply to the South Carolina Commissioners, December 31, 1860; Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 183.

HIS. MAG. I. 11.

Immediately after their informal reception by the President, to which reference has been made—Friday, the twenty-eighth of December—the three Commissioners addressed a written communication to that gentleman, embracing, among other matters, the same remarkable demand for the withdrawal of the garrison from the harbor of Charleston, which they had previously made; * and, on the next day, agreeably to the President's request, made six days before, the Secretary of War resigned his office and was succeeded, *ad interim*, by Postmaster-general Holt. †

Although the President had not yet replied to the letter which the Commissioners had sent to him, immediately after their informal interview with him, on the preceding Friday, either through the retiring Secretary of War or some other hidden channel, the latter evidently obtained information of what would undoubtedly be its character as well as concerning the new policy which, since the insurgents had seized the public property in Charleston and its vicinity, the President had established and determined to execute; and, on Saturday, the twenty-ninth of December, they promptly communicated that information to their constituents, in the latter city, by telegraph. The insurgents had learned that the occupation of Fort Sumter and the dismantling of Fort Moultrie were wholly the acts of the local commander of the post, and that they were done without the knowledge of the President; ‡ and they had also been informed of the disposition of the latter, while that officer was yet unfirm concerning the aggressions of the insurgents, to order the garrison to re-occupy its

* This important letter may be found, with its enclosures, in the Executive Document, House of Representatives, Thirty-sixth Congress, Second Session, No. 16, pages 5-7; and, without its enclosures, in the Appendix of the *Journal of the Convention of the People of South Carolina*, 354; in the *Rebellion Record*, I., Documents, 11, 12; * and in *Harpers' Pictorial History of the War*, I., 30.

In his reference to this letter, in his autobiographical volume, *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, page 182, Mr. Buchanan mentions it as "of the next day" after the Commissioners' interview with him, which would make it "of" December 29th, instead of "December 28th;" but, although it may have been received by him on "the next day," it was evidently "of" the same day as the interview, as he, himself, says it was, in his reply to General Scott, October 28, 1861.

† Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 168; *The Rebellion Record*, I., Documents, 10.

‡ *Charleston Courier*, December 28—Supplement Va.

* Mr. Moore erroneously dates this letter "December 29;" and, equally in error, he dates the President's reply to it, "December 30," instead of "December 31."

abandoned quarters;* the intense excitement which the movement of the garrison had produced, on the preceding Thursday morning,† therefore, had wholly subsided; and, until the dispatches from the Commissioners again aroused the populace, every one awaited the adjustment of the differences, at Washington, which was confidently looked for; and the most perfect quiet prevailed.‡ The intelligence of the President's evidently resolute determination to confirm the occupation of Fort Sumter, was, therefore, wholly unexpected; and, at nine o'clock in the evening, when it reached Charleston, the deepest indignation prevailed among those who received it. At ten o'clock, the *Mercury* issued an Extra, announcing the stern fact that "the Government does not consider 'itself under any obligation to withdraw the 'troops from Charleston-harbor,' and declaring that 'no hope now remains of any adjustment of difficulties.'" Soon after, a new edition was issued, with a postscript containing a dispatch, received, in cypher, from Mr. Adams, one of the Commissioners, in these words: "Guard the entrance to the harbor. 'Hasten preparations for War;' and, from one extreme of the city to the other, a most intense excitement prevailed.§ On the following morning [Sunday, December 30,] the excitement continued—even the staid Convention of the People so far yielded to its force as to meet and consider the urgent question of the morning, without, however, doing anything beside resolving "that it was the sense of the Convention that the vigor of military preparation "and defence should not be relaxed," confirming the nomination of the Executive Council of the State, and discussing and postponing action on propositions to enlist two Regiments into the service of the State and to destroy the beacons, extinguish the lights, and remove the buoys which had been placed at the entrance of the harbor and within it, for the guidance of mariners desiring to enter the port of Charleston.|| As may be reasonably supposed, however, the ultra-revolutionists, headed by the Governor of the State, found fresh warrant, in these dispatches, for their unauthorized acts of aggression; and, during the day, without even seeking the authority of the Convention, which, hitherto, had been considered necessary, schemes

were formed for an assault on Fort Sumter; the Federal Arsenal was seized; breastworks were ordered to be built on Morris'-island; and, in other ways, the most strenuous efforts were made to arouse the masses and to push the State into open and bitter conflict with the United States.*

During the morning of the same day, General Scott, asked the President, by note, for special authority to send, "without reference to the "War Department, and otherwise as secretly as "possible, two hundred and fifty recruits from "New York harbor, to reinforce Fort Sumter, "together with some extra muskets or rifles, "ammunition, and subsistence-stores, expressing "a hope, at the same time, that a sloop-of-war "and a cutter might be ordered for the same "purpose, as early as to-morrow morning"—Monday, the thirty-first of December.† The President received the General's request, and, as he had already determined to strengthen and re-victual the garrison, he then determined, also, to do so without further delay; but he adhered to his well-settled conviction that disciplined Regulars would be more effective, for that purpose, than raw recruits; and that a swift and powerful war steamer would be better adapted, as a transport, than the smaller and weaker vessels on which he must depend, if the reinforcement should be sent from New York; and, on the following day, [Monday, December 31] instead of ordering the dispatch of the recruits and the sloop and cutter which General Scott had asked for, Orders were issued to the Secretaries of War and the Navy, to send the *Brooklyn*, commanded by Captain Farragut, with three hundred Regulars and a supply of provisions and munitions of war, for that purpose.‡

As we have already stated, that powerful vessel had been held in Hampton Roads, for some weeks past, in constant readiness to depart for Charleston, at "the first moment of danger" to the garrison of that post: § and, during the day of which we write, [Monday, December 31, 1860] the appropriate General Orders to the respective officers, military and naval, were duly issued by the respective Secretaries, and sent to General

* That fact had been telegraphed, in detail, to every leading newspaper in the Union, as will be seen by an examination of the files of any of them.

† Vide pages 139, 140, *ante*.

‡ Correspondence of the *New York World*, Charleston, December 31, 1860, in the *World* of January 4, 1861.

§ Ibid.

|| Journal of the Convention, 142-146.

* Correspondence of the *New York World*, Charleston, December 31, 1860, in the *World* of January 4, 1861.

See, also, page 169, *post*.

† Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 188, 189; General Scott to the *National Intelligencer*, October 21, 1862.

‡ President Buchanan to Secretary Thompson, January 9, 1861; Secretary Holt to the *National Intelligencer*, March 5, 1861; Mr. Buchanan's reply to General Scott, October 28, 1862; Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 189.

§ Vide page 43, *ante*.

Scott.* For some unexplained reason, however—suggested, it is intimated, by “an individual “believed to possess much knowledge and practical experience in naval affairs†”—after the General had thus received the necessary Orders for the prompt and efficient reinforcement of the garrison, in Fort Sumter, to which we have referred—the execution of which, however, was subsequently postponed, for two or three days, for reasons which were equally satisfactory to the President, to the Cabinet, and to General Scott‡—the latter urged the former to countermand those General Orders and to substitute others, authorizing the employment of a mercantile steamer, in New York, instead of the *Brooklyn*, then ready to go to sea from Hampton Roads; and he also urged, for reasons which originated with himself, the dispatch of two hundred and fifty of the recruits who were in the Depot, at New York, as a reinforcement for the garrison, instead of the three hundred disciplined Regulars who had been so long held in constant readiness, for that particular purpose, in Fortress Monroe. The President sturdily insisted on the execution of his own ideas, as those ideas were presented in the General Orders already issued and, at that moment, in General Scott’s “own pocket;” and a special

meeting of the Cabinet was called to give effect to that determination and, at the same time, to keep faith, on that subject, with a member of that body, who had secured a promise from the President on the subject; * but the General so strenuously insisted on the proposed changes, on the ground that they involved “a question of “of military strategy,” that, at length, “with great reluctance, and solely in deference to the “opinion of the commanding General, the President yielded to that unfortunate change”—countermanding the General Orders already issued; and instructing the Secretaries, respectively, to issue others in accordance with the General’s proposition.†

It is to be regretted that this change was made in the President’s Orders, notwithstanding it was the venerable and distinguished General-in-chief of the Army who thus professionally induced the President to yield the well-settled and sensible conclusions of his own unaided investigation of

* Buchanan’s *Mr. Buchanan’s Administration*, 189; Mr. Buchanan’s reply to General Scott, October 28, 1862.

† Buchanan’s *Mr. Buchanan’s Administration*, 190; Mr. Buchanan’s reply to General Scott, October 28, 1862.

‡ “At the interview with President Buchanan, on the “evening of the thirty-first of December, the General “seemed, cordially, to approve the matured plan of sending reinforcements by the *Brooklyn*. * * * At this “interview, the President informed him he had sent a “letter but a few hours before to the South Carolina Commissioners, in answer to a communication from them; “and this letter would doubtless speedily terminate their “mission—that, although he had refused to recognize “them, in their official character, yet it might be considered improper to transmit the Orders, then in his possession, to the *Brooklyn*, until they had an opportunity of “making a reply; and that the delay for this purpose “could not, in his opinion, exceed forty-eight hours. In “this suggestion, the General promptly concurred, observing that it was gentlemanly and proper. He, therefore, “retained the Orders to await the reply.”—Buchanan’s *Mr. Buchanan’s Administration*, 190.

This postponement was subsequently considered in a Cabinet meeting, on the same evening, and approved, without dissent from any of its members.—*Secretary Thompson to President Buchanan*, January 8, 1861, and the *President’s Reply*, January 9, 1861.

See, also, Mr. Holt’s letter to the *National Intelligencer*, in reply to Mr. Thompson’s *Address to the People of Mississippi*, March 5, 1861; Mr. Holt’s letter to the *National Intelligencer*, in reply to Mr. Thompson’s rejoinder, March 25, 1861; and General Scott’s letter to the same paper, October 21, 1862.

* “On Monday evening, 31st December, 1860, I suspended “the Orders which had been issued by the War and Navy “Departments to send the *Brooklyn*, with reinforcements “to Fort Sumter. Of this, I informed you, on the same “evening. I stated to you my reason for this suspension, “which you knew, from its nature, would be speedily “removed. In consequence of your request, however, “I promised that these Orders should not be renewed “without being previously considered and decided in “‘Cabinet.’ This promise was faithfully observed, on “my part. In order to carry it into effect, I called a “special Cabinet meeting, on Wednesday, 2d January, “1861, in which the question of sending reinforcements to “Fort Sumter was amply discussed, both by yourself “and others. The decided majority of opinions was “against you. At this moment, the answer of the South “Carolina ‘Commissioners,’ to my communication to “them of 31st December was received and read. It produced much indignation among the members of the Cabinet. After a brief conversation, I employed the following language: ‘It is now all over, and reinforcements “‘must be sent.’ Judge Black said, at the moment of “my decision, that, after this letter, the Cabinet would be “unanimous; and I heard no dissenting voice. Indeed, “the spirit and tone of the letter left no doubt on my “mind that Fort Sumter would be immediately attacked; “and, hence, the necessity of sending reinforcements “there, without delay.”—*President Buchanan to Jacob Thompson*, January 9, 1861.

See, also, Secretary Holt’s letter to the *National Intelligencer*, March 5, 1861, which letter, we know, was submitted to Mr. Buchanan, by its author, before it was transmitted to the *Intelligencer*, and was fully approved by him.

We have, also, abundant other evidence on this subject, generally and in detail, kindly supplied to us, in verified form, by General Holt, himself.

† Buchanan’s *Mr. Buchanan’s Administration*, 190; Mr. Buchanan’s letter to the *National Intelligencer*, October 23, 1862.

the subject; and history, faithfully written, will bear testimony, to all time, that, in this instance, at least, great military abilities were not all that were required for the proper determination of "a question of military strategy." Had the *Brooklyn*, commanded by Captain Farragut, been dispatched from Hampton Roads, on Monday, the thirty-first of December, as the President originally desired and ordered—or even on Wednesday, the second of January, when he last ordered it—not only would her own capability for either offensive or defensive service ensured a safe and successful passage to Fort Sumter and an effective re-inforcement of the garrison with experienced troops; but she would have found the Carolinians entirely unprepared to offer any resistance whatever,* and enabled Major Anderson, with his increased force and with her as an auxiliary—had he been inclined to do so—to have adopted, immediately, an aggressive policy; to have driven the insurgents from both Sullivan's and Morris's islands; to have reoccupied the two works of which the United States had been dispossessed; and, very probably, to have crushed the insurrection, while it was yet in embryo. But, as we have said, the venerable soldier either had other purposes or was the victim of ill-founded suspicions or unworthy information; and he urged the President, for what he said were purely military reasons, to countermand the General Orders, already issued, on which depended, so largely, the welfare, if not the perpetuity, of the Republic. That gentleman, although he was a civilian and unacquainted with the intricacies of military science, was prompted by his own unaided common sense to adhere to his own well-considered policy of speed, power, and efficiency, in the proposed undertaking; and as we have said, he reluctantly yielded to the

* Since this paragraph was written, we have conversed on the subject of it with a well-known member of the Charleston Bar, who was an active participant in the events of that period, and, both then and now, associated with those whose means of knowing the exact truth were unsurpassed even by Governor Pickens himself; and we have his entire approval of what we have stated in the text—Indeed, he said, emphatically, there war, then, "nothing, whatever," to even show an opposition to the entrance of the *Brooklyn*, or of any other vessel, into the harbor, or to her passage to the city, as stated in the text.

Our readers will perceive the great importance of this information; and if any shall desire additional information on this subject they may find it, officially recorded, in the Report of the Carolinian Secretary of War to Governor Pickens, dated March 25, 1861, on the condition of the defences of the State, on the date of "the rising of the Convention" of the People, on the fifth of January preceding—four days before the repulse of the *Star of the West*, and two days after the *Brooklyn* would have reached Charleston.

persuasions of the General; countermanded the General Orders which, under his instructions and in his name, the Secretaries had issued; and authorized the employment of a portion of the recruits then in the Depot, in New York, and the mercantile steamer *Star of the West*—changes which necessarily occupied several days and, as we shall see, hereafter, were productive of the most disastrous results to the expedition, to the country, and to mankind.

While the Executive of the United States was thus anxiously endeavoring, with the limited means under his control, to sustain the little garrison which was then the subject of so much angry discussion, the Congress of the United States—in whom, alone, reposed the constitutional authority to provide the means for raising an increased military force, as well as that for employing it*—deliberately refused to pass any Act or Resolution which would serve either to preserve the peace, by peaceful measures, or to enable the President, with an increased military force, to preserve it, in case of an attack on the various military posts, throughout the South, by the disaffected, in that portion of the Republic.† In-

* The Act of February 28, 1795—*Statutes at Large*, i., 424—does not authorize the President to employ the Militia of the several States in any other case than to suppress insurrections against State Governments, as such—the fathers of the Republic cautiously guarded the rights of the several States, as such, against what was too well known, to them, to be the tendency of power to seek a concentration of it, in the general officers—and "Congress positively refused to pass a law conferring on the President" any such authority, until the twenty-ninth of July, following, when Mr. Lincoln received it.—*Statutes at Large* xii., 281.

† On the eighth of January, 1861, the Congress was officially informed, by Message, of the condition of affairs—*Executive Document*, No. 26, *House of Representatives*, *Thirty-sixth Congress, Second Session*—and it was sent to a Special Committee of five members, of which Mr. Howard of Michigan was Chairman. On the thirtieth of January, 1861, that Committee, through Mr. John H. Reynolds, reported a Bill—*House Bill*, No. 696—enabling the President to call forth the Militia or to accept the services of Volunteers, for the purpose of protecting the forts, magazines, arsenals, and other property of the United States, and "to recover possession" of such of them as "has been or may, hereafter, be unlawfully seized or taken possession of, by any combination of persons whatever." But, as it has been said, "Congress was not, then, prepared to assume such a responsibility;" and Mr. Reynolds, in order to save a direct refusal, moved the recommitment of his Bill, and, thus, the proposed measure was strangled at its birth.

Nineteen days after this defeat—on the eighteenth of February—the Military Committee of the House, through Mr. Stanton, its Chairman, reported another Bill—*House Bill*, No. 1003—merely extending the authority of the President, under the Act of 1795, to employ the Militia of

deed, neither of the two great political parties, as those parties were then represented in the Congress, seemed to care anything about the matter; and, while the aggregate body steadily refused to enable the President, by increased military power, to repel force with force, the representatives of the dominant party deliberately coquetted with those of the disaffected Southerners and, thereby, defeated two propositions, made by Mr. Crittenden, at different times, each of which not only promised to secure such a reconciliation, by peaceful means, as was so anxiously desired, but which seemed, almost, to ensure it.*

the States and "such Volunteers as may offer their services" for that purpose, in suppressing "insurrections against the authority of the United States;" but all hostile action, on the part of the Federal authorities, for the recovery of the forts and arsenals which had been already seized, was carefully guarded against. Even this tame affair was too strong for the House—the *Republicans leading in the procastination*—and, on the twenty-sixth of February, on motion of Mr. Corwin of Ohio and opposed by Mr. Stanton, by a vote of 100 to 74, the further consideration of the Bill was postponed and the measure defeated.—*Congressional Globe*, 1232.

* The Committee of Thirteen consisted of five Republicans, five members from slaveholding States, and three Northern Democrats. On the twenty-second of December, Mr. Crittenden submitted to this Committee a Joint Resolution providing for the amendment of the Constitution of the United States—the, so-called, "Crittenden Compromise"—and it was confidently believed that that measure would preserve the peace and restore the harmony of the Republic. *The five Republican members of the Committee, however, united with Messrs. Jefferson Davis and Robert Toombs,* in opposing it: and, on their united votes, the measure was defeated.*

Notwithstanding it was very evident that the requisite two-third vote of Congress, for the inauguration of an attempt to amend the Constitution, could not be obtained, Mr. Crittenden, on the third of January, 1861, submitted a Joint Resolution for the submission of his proposition to a vote of the several States.—*Senate Documents*, No. 54—and it will be remembered how earnestly the Congress was appealed to, by Memorials, to approve it. But, after three different postponements—effected by the united votes of all the Republican and a portion of the Southern Senators—on the sixteenth of January, on motion of Mr. Clark of New Hampshire and with the votes of all the Republicans who were present—the leading Secessionists declining to vote, at all—it was so amended, by a vote of twenty-five to twenty-three, as to destroy its character.—*Congressional Globe*, 1860-'61, 409—and, finally, on the second of March, it was defeated.—*Congressional Globe*, 1860-'61, 1405.

* It is proper to say that Messrs. Davis and Toombs "expressed their readiness to accept the proposition of "Mr. Crittenden, as a final settlement of the controversy, "if tendered and sustained by the Republican members"—*Congressional Globe*, 1860-'61, 1391; the same, Appendix, 41—but the latter declined to do so.

But, if the Congress was inactive, the Carolinians were not so—the one party, among them, steadily resisting the rising tide of disaffection which, in the end, was to overwhelm it; the other quite as steadily pushing its revolutionary theories into stern and relentless practise.

The Convention of the People, hitherto regarded as that representative body which possessed the highest authority—second in dignity only to that possessed by the sovereign power, the People, itself—had met, day by day, and sturdily refused to approve the aggressions which the Governor, without the least warrant in law, had so rashly inaugurated.* It was, evidently, the

* On the twenty-eighth of December—the day after it had so emphatically laid on the table every proposition which was made to authorize the Governor to seize Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie, to take military possession of Sullivan's and other islands, and to employ force to prevent reinforcements from being thrown into Fort Sumter—in Secret Session of the Convention, Judge Magrath offered two Resolutions—the first declaring the transfer of the garrison from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, pending the negotiations, at Washington, to have been "an act of hostility;" the second "approving the conduct of the Governor, in taking immediate possession of Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie and in holding these places, "henceforth, in the name of the State;" at the same time, "requesting" the Commissioners, at Washington, "to present to the President of the United States the necessity for the immediate withdrawal of the troops of "the United States, at Fort Sumter, and the possession of "that Fort, by this State, as necessary for the peace of the "State and the protection of property within its limits." Mr. Keitt and Mr. Wardlaw severally offered amendments to those Resolutions; but, by a vote of one hundred and eleven to forty, both the Resolutions, themselves, and the two Amendments were promptly laid on the table.—*Journal of the Convention—Secret Session—pages 121-125.* On the same day, while it was yet in Secret Session, the Convention also sent to the table a proposition "recommending and providing for a Convention of the Slaveholding "States of the United States, to form the Constitution of "a Southern Confederacy," which Mr. Memminger had proposed.—(*Ibid.*, 125, 126)

On the following day, [Saturday, December 29.] the Governor sent a Message to the Convention, informing that body that he had seized Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie and then held those works; that he considered "the evacuation of Fort Moultrie, under all the circumstances, a direct violation of a distinct understanding," on that subject, "and bringing on a state of War;" and that he "thought it due to the safety of the State that he "should take the steps he had taken." The Convention, consistently and promptly, laid this Message on the table, without further notice.—(*Journal of the Convention—Secret Session—pages 128, 129*); and a motion, made by Mr. De Treville, to "authorize and request" the Governor to enlist two Regiments, each consisting of six hundred and forty privates, for the term of six months, promptly met the same fate, on the motion of Mr. Hartlee.—(*Ibid.*, 130,

purpose of that body, as long as a hope remained that a peaceful adjustment of the existing differences might be secured, to avoid every thing, both sentiment and action, which might, possibly, be considered as hostile to the United States; and not until that hope was dispelled, did it seem to adopt, very unwillingly, a very slightly different policy.*

131).—During the same day Mr. Rhett proposed, again, the adoption of an Ordinance “recommending and providing for a Convention of the slaveholding States of the United States, to form the Constitution of a Southern Confederacy;” but, by a vote of seventy-six to fifty-five, it was promptly laid on the table.—(*Ibid*, 133, 134).—Immediately afterwards, Mr. Gregg offered an amendment to a pending Resolution which proposed the formation of a *Provisional* Confederacy, providing that “the President of the Convention be instructed to transmit to the Conventions of the People that may be assembled in other slaveholding States, copies of our Ordinance of Secession, with a respectful invitation to join in the formation of a [permanent] Southern Confederacy;” but that proposition, like all others of that character which had preceded it, “was ordered to lie on the table.”—(*Ibid*, 135).—The Convention was, evidently, not unwilling to assist in the formation of a *provisional* confederation of the disaffected Commonwealths of the South, for their mutual support, in their struggle to secure a redress of their common grievances; but it would not even entertain a suggestion that that Confederacy should be made *permanent*. Therefore, it laid Mr. Gregg’s proposed amendment on the table; and no authority whatever had been given by the Convention, at the time of which we write, for any action tending to the formation of a *permanent* Southern Confederacy.

* On Sunday, the thirtieth of December—probably under the influence of the adverse advices from the three Commissioners who had been sent to Washington—in Secret Session, it declared, as “the sense of the Convention, that “the vigor of military preparation and defence should not be relaxed”—(*Journal of the Convention—Secret Session*—page 145);—but, on motion of Mr. Cheves, it referred Mr. De Treville’s Resolutions to authorize the enlistment of two Regiments into the service of the State—(*Ibid*, 145); and adjourned without adopting two Resolutions, offered by Mr. Brown—the first to *advise* the Governor “to move or destroy the beacons on Sullivan’s and Morris’ Islands and on the Main of Christ Church, and also to forbid the lighting of the lamps at the Light-house, Castle Pinckney, and at Battery Square, till further directed, and to remove the boys;” the second authorizing the employment of a Cutter and corps of pilots, whose duty it should be “to board all neutral vessels and safely to conduct them into the port; and also safely to pilot out of the harbor such as may be duly authorized to put to sea, and that no other boats be permitted to act in this service, or as pilots, till otherwise directed”—(*Ibid*, 145, 146).—which Resolutions, on the following morning, were withdrawn by their mover.—(*Ibid*, 148.)

On Monday, the thirty-first of December—the adverse advices from the Commissioners, in Washington still,

The General Assembly of the State—that body which, ordinarily, represented the sovereign power, in all that related to the common weal—as we have said, had adjourned for the Christmas holidays, as its custom was; and not until the evening of the third of January, 1861, had

probably, influencing some of the members—the conservative influence which, hitherto, had controlled the Convention continued to flag; and the Governor was “authorized and requested” to enlist *one* Regiment of six hundred and forty privates, for twelve months; and he was also “authorized, whenever the public interest may, in his opinion, require it,” to enlist a second Regiment, for a similar term. The Governor was, also, “authorized to appoint three or more Engineers, and to organize a Corps, as soon as the same can be done;” and, “as soon as a sufficient number of Companies should be enlisted, officered, and properly drilled, they [were to] be employed to relieve the Volunteers now in possession of the forts in this State;”—(*Ibid*, 149, 150)—who, it is evident, were then awakening to the nature of the duties which they had assumed, suffering from their exposure, and anxiously seeking relief.

There was, in fact, no intention, in the Convention, to secure an increase of the military force of the State nor any improvement in its efficiency: it was merely a change of material, substituting what, subsequently, was known as a “hiringling soldiery” for one composed of volunteers who had become tired of the service into which they had rushed and desired to return home, “as soon as” they could honorably do so.

A proposal, which was made, during the day, by Mr. Chesnut, to “empower and instruct” the Governor to issue letters “of marque and reprisal to all applicants for the same, against all vessels belonging to any of the States or citizens of the States lying North of Mason’s and Dixon’s line,” “in case of any attempt, on the part of the Federal Government of the United States, to coerce the Commonwealth of South Carolina,” was sent to the Committee on Foreign Relations—(*Ibid*, 150); and, during the same day, the Convention concluded to authorize the formation of a *Provisional* Confederacy, on a specified basis and for a term not to exceed two years.—(*Ibid*, 151. See, also, *Appendix to the Journal*, 349–353.)

On Monday, the first of January, 1861, the Convention approved a Report of the Committee on the Constitution of the State, on a proposition, made by Mr. Hutson, on the preceding day, authorizing the Governor, “whenever, in the course of the struggle into which the State now seems likely to be drawn, hostilities may be waged or threatened against the City of Charleston or its neighborhood, and the Governor, upon consultation with the Executive Council, may deem the measure necessary,” “to declare and enforce martial law, in whole or in part, in and over Charleston, its harbor and neighboring villages; all the adjacent islands, including Morris’ Island; and all other places within five miles of the Court-house; to remove, thence, all persons whose presence he shall consider detrimental to the public service; to prevent the ingress of such persons; to regulate, at discretion, all travel to and forth, and otherwise to govern as in a

it resumed its labors.* But, even at that late date, that body—both the Senate and the House—appeared to be wholly unmoved by the excitement which surrounded it; and nowhere, in the record of the doings of either body, can be found any evidence of undue excitement, undue disaffection, or undue desire to break the public peace. It legislated on matters of roads, and *post mortem* examinations, and other subjects of every-day concern; and, generally, without any appearance of haste or peculiar sympathy with those who were crowding the Republic into Civil War, it acted with evident

"camp: Provided, that such authority shall be, at all times, subject to be limited, controlled, or revoked by this Convention or by the General Assembly."—(*Journal—Secret Session—174*).—It refused, however, to "interfere with any property of the United States which is not indispensably necessary for the protection or welfare of the State"—(*Ibid*, 155);—although it authorized the Governor and Council to "receive into the service of the State, for a period not exceeding six months, such Volunteer Companies as may tender their services, if, in his judgment, the exigencies of the times require the immediate reception of additional troops."—(*Ibid*, 159, 160.)

On Wednesday, the second of January, at the Governor's instance, the Convention "enjoined" Mr. Pressley, the Assistant Treasurer of the United States, at Charleston, "from paying any drafts on the Treasury until the further action of this Convention"—(*Journal—Secret Session—pages 163, 164*);—appointed a Committee "to prepare designs to be submitted to this Convention, from which to select a flag, to be known as the Ensign of the State of South Carolina"—(*Ibid*, 167, 168);—and authorized the appointment, by its President, of Commissioners to such of the slaveholding States as might call Conventions, during the recess.—(*Ibid*, 168.)

On Thursday, the third of January, the Convention authorized "all citizens of the United States, not domiciled in South Carolina, at the time of the adoption of the Ordinance of Secession," "to hold and to dispose of" such "real estate, within its limits," as they then owned, "without hindrance or molestation by this Government"—(*Journal*, 171);—on the following day, [*Friday, the fourth of January*] "the interdict on the Assistant Treasurer" [of the United States, at Charleston] "in relation to drafts on funds in his hands [was] removed," and those funds permitted to be applied to their legitimate purposes,—(*Journal*, 180); and the proposition to authorize the Governor, in certain contingencies, to issue letters of marque and reprisal, on the adverse Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations was rejected.—(*Journal*, 183);—and, on Saturday, the fifth of January, evidently in no very beligerent mood, it adjourned, *sine die*.—(*Journal*, 191.)

Our readers may judge from this survey of all that the Convention did which may be supposed to have excited hostilities, how little ground there has been, in fact, for supposing and asserting that that body promoted Civil War and, by its action, hurried South Carolina into open conflict with her sister States and with the United States.

* Senate Journal, 144; House Journal, 268.

caution and respect for the ordinary dignity and formalities of legislative bodies—indeed, besides the passage of a Bill for the establishment of a Coast Police,* and Resolutions respectively borrowing and placing to the credit of the Governor,† for military contingencies,‡ the sum of one hundred and fifty-thousand dollars,§ and providing for the transfer of the arms and munitions of War, belonging to the United States and fallen into the hands of the State, to the State Ordnance Department,¶ the General Assembly, at the time of which we write, [*January 9th, 1861*] had actually done nothing, pointing to hostilities, except, now and then, to receive a document or a proposition to enquire concerning the expediency of adopting some measure, and to refer them, one after another, as soon as received, to some Committee for examination and report—none of which Committees, however, had yet reported.§

In fact, the General Assembly was no more inclined to incite hostilities than was the Convention of the People: and so evident was this, that even the Governor considered it necessary, in his communications to that body, to appear as peaceful in his tone and as considerate in his respect for the finances of the State, in all that he did or proposed to do, as was possible in one who was so impetuous in his character.

As we have already seen, however, a different spirit prevailed in the Executive Chamber of the State; and the Governor and those on whose counsels he relied boldly usurped the authority

* House Journal, 284; Senate Journal, 157.

† House Journal, 282, 283; Senate Journal, 159.

‡ House Journal, 296, 358; Senate Journal, 180.

§ An Order to inquire and report concerning the propriety of issuing letters of marque and reprisals was sent to the Senate Committee on Military and Pensions, on the third of January.—(*Senate Journal*, 145)—and, on the seventh, an Order was sent to the same Committee "to inquire and report whether any legislation was necessary, on the part of the General Assembly, in reference to the Resolution of the Convention authorizing the formation of a Regiment of enlisted men for the service of the State;" together with an inquiry as to the "propriety of establishing a nucleus of a standing army for the Commonwealth of South Carolina."—(*Ibid*, 156).—On the third of the same month, a Message from the Governor was received and similarly referred.—(*Ibid*, 148, 149).—which reference was subsequently re-considered; the Message ordered to be printed; and the consideration of it "passed over for the present."—(*Ibid*, 152);—and, on the seventh of the same month, "Message No. 2" was received and, in like manner, referred.—(*Ibid*, 158.)

The House, as will be seen by a reference to its Journal, was as little moved by excitement as the Senate; and our readers may determine, from these facts, how much or how little encouragement the insurgents received from this portion of the Government of the State.

which neither the General Assembly, nor the Convention of the People, nor the Constitution of the State had bestowed on them, and hastened to wield their powers, thus unduly acquired, for the destruction of the peace, if not of the best interests, of the State and of the Republic.

We have seen that, on Thursday, the twenty-seventh of December, while the Convention promptly and peremptorily refused to either "authorize" or "request" him to do so—and the General Assembly was not then in session—the Governor assumed the responsibility; issued his Orders to those who were subordinate to him; and seized Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie—both of which were then occupied by detachments from the Army of the United States—as well as the Custom-house, Treasury, and Post-office—all of which were, then, in possession of Federal officers.*

On the following day—Friday, the twenty-eighth of December—while the General Assembly was yet in recess and the Convention again refused even to regard the transfer of the garrison "as an act of hostility" and declined to "approve the conduct of the Governor," either in taking possession of or in holding the two forts,† that officer seems to have done nothing particularly worthy of notice, unless it may be considered such that he supposed it to be necessary to prepare an apology to the Convention for his usurpation of authority and inauguration of hostilities—an apology which was composed of a direct misrepresentation of the truth, concerning an alleged "distinct understanding between the "authorities of the Government, at Washington, "and those who were authorized to act on the "part of the State"‡ and of a pretence that he

"thought it due to the safety of the State that " [he] "should take the steps" he had taken.*

On Saturday, the twenty-ninth of December, although the Convention of the People, on the preceding day, had coldly laid on the table both the Governor's apology, to which we have already referred, and a motion, offered by Mr. De Treville, authorizing the enlistment of two Regiments, for six months, for the immediate relief of the volunteers then occupying the works which had been seized and had adjourned without having authorized any such action, or any other hostile measure,† the Governor issued Orders to Colonel Pettigrew, in Castle Pinckney, directing him to "keep the strictest discipline possible—"no entrance to the fort to be allowed, except "with your" [his] "permission; all the heavy "guns toward Fort Sumter to be put in the best "condition, with full supply of ammunition; "the fort to be defended to the last extremity." An Order was also sent to render an inventory of the property, at that place; and others directing the practise of the men with heavy guns,‡ for which latter purpose, Lieutenants Gibbes and Reynolds, from the West Point Academy, who had thrown up their Commissions in the Army of the United States, were, soon after, sent to the Castle.§ Similar Orders were sent to Lieutenant-colonel De Saussure, in Fort Moultrie; || and, soon after, Colonel Walter Gwynn, Colonel Calhoun, and Mr. Ramsay were sent to that work, as Engineers, with Orders—besides those directing the restoration of the dilapidated work and armament, there—"to raise, immediately, mer-"lons and other works, to protect, from the fire "of Fort Sumter, some five of the heavy guns "which commanded Maffit's Channel," in order that an approach, by sea, might be obstructed. At the same time, Colonel Hatch, the Quartermaster general of the State, was ordered to throw "temporary bridges and boats across the creek, "back of Sullivan's island," in order to connect that island with the main and, in an emergency, secure a retreat for the troops then occupying Fort Moultrie; while the commander of those

* Vide pages 148, 152, 153, *ante*.

† Journal of the Convention, 122, 1. 3-125.

‡ We have already alluded to this hacknied subject of what is called "an understanding," between the President and the Representatives of South Carolina, that the garrison at Charleston should not be strengthened nor victualled while the insurgents should continue to let it remain undisturbed, and that the transfer of the garrison, by its immediate commander was a violation of that alleged "understanding;" and our readers may find, on pages 43, 44, *ante*, what we have said on the subject.

As both the President and the Representatives with whom he is so often said to have entered into such an "understanding" agree in denying, *in toto*, the existence of any such an agreement—(Compare Mr. Buchanan's autobiographical Mr. Buchanan's Administration, 167, 168, with the Statement of Messrs. Miles and Keitt, of what transpired between the President and the South Carolina Delegation, prepared for publication at the request of the Convention of the People of that State (Journal of the Convention, 186) and printed by its order—Appendix to the Journal, 372-377)—we can best serve the truth by referring the reader to those expositions and, from them and

from the additional fact that Major Anderson himself declared that, in transferring the main body of the garrison to Fort Sumter, he had acted on his own volition and without consulting the President or asking his permission, leave the reader to determine, for himself, how much or how little merit there was in the Governor's statement.

* Governor Pickens to the President of the Convention, December 28, 1869.

† Journal of the Convention, 126-142.

‡ Governor Pickens to Colonel Pettigrew, December 29, 1861. See, also, General Orders to General Schnierle, December 31, 1860.

§ General Orders to General Schnierle, December 31, 1860.
|| *Ibid*.

troops, Lieutenant-colonel De Saussure, was, at the same time, "directed to retire," "if pressed too hard by the guns of Fort Sumter," "but to occupy the island as long as possible, in any event.*"

On Sunday, the thirtieth of December—probably under the influence of the adverse dispatches from Washington—although the Convention of the People made no further advance toward revolution than it had already done,† the United States Arsenal, at Charleston, was seized by the insurgents acting under the Governor's orders, by means of which a large supply of arms and munitions of war was secured for the purposes of the disaffected.‡

* General Orders to Major-general Schnierle, December 31, 1860.

† Journal of the Convention, 142—146.

‡ "At this point of writing, I have received information, "by telegraph, from Captain Humphreys, in command of "the Arsenal, at Charleston, that 'it has, to-day (Sunday, "the 30th) been taken, by force of arms.'—President Buchanan to Messrs. Barnwell, Adams, and Orr, December 31, 1860.

See, also, Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 182, 183.

Mr. Lossing—in his *Pictorial History*, i., 137—while describing the events of the *twenty-seventh* of December, says "the Government Arsenal was seized in the name of "the State;" describes the contents of that establishment; says "these" [*arms and stores*] "were used at "once; men, in Charleston, were armed and equipped "from this National treasure-house; and, within three "hours after the ensign of the Republic had been raised "over Sumter, two armed steamers which had been "watching Anderson's movements, left the city, with "about four hundred men, for the purpose of seizing "Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie."

If these words mean anything, they mean to indicate that, on the afternoon after Major Anderson carried the garrison into Fort Sumter, while the Citadel and Armories were filled with the Militia, awaiting further orders from the Governor, the Federal Arsenal "was seized in "the name of the State," and the arms and stores which it contained appropriated to the equipment of the assembled Militia; after which, the latter embarked on two armed steamers, and proceeded to seize Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie. We have undoubted authority, however, for saying that this is wholly untrue and the facts were simply these: On the occasion referred to, the Militia—all of whom were the uniformed Companies of the City—assembled in their respective Armories, generally in the Citadel, and were armed with their own arms, unless, in some cases, a tomahawk was added to the equipment. A guard was stationed around the Federal Arsenal, in order to protect it from the excited multitude; and, without having disturbed that establishment, in the smallest degree, the troops left the city and occupied the forts, as already stated. The troops were armed from their own Armories, only; three hours after the flag-raising, at Fort Sumter, as stated by Mr. Lossing, *one tug-boat, the Nina*

It was not until Monday, the thirty-first of December—the day on which the President, through the Secretaries of War and the Navy, issued to General Scott the two General Orders for the immediate dispatch of the *Brooklyn*, from Hampton roads, with three hundred picked men and an ample supply of provisions and munitions of war, for the relief of the garrison*—that the Convention of the People authorized and requested the enlistment of the First Regiment of State troops; and, if the public interest should require it, the enlistment of a second Regiment was also, at the same time, authorized.† On that day, however, without waiting for any authority to do so, the Governor announced that "a point for a battery" had been already "selected" by Colonels Gwynn and Manigault, on Sullivan's island, beyond Fort Moultrie and out of the range of the guns of Fort Sumter; but he also divulged the fact, at the same time, that no progress had been made in throwing up any work, there; that no troops had been sent down to occupy it; and that, at that time, he had no armament for it—"as soon "as possible, heavy columbiads are to be placed "there," he said; but, at that time, those coveted columbiads were, evidently, not to be had, for that purpose. At the same time, the Governor announced that, also without any other authority than his own, "a point has also "been selected on Morris's island, beyond the "guns of Fort Sumter, and a battery ordered "there;" and Major Stevens, of the Citadel "Academy, with a detachment of forty cadets"—that little party which, within ten days, by its fire on the *Star of the West*, became so famous—"is ordered there, now," he said, "to "urge the erection of the battery forward, as "fast as possible. A detachment or Company "of Rifles, under Captain Tupper, will be "ordered there, to-day," he continued, "to "assist in the same work, and, also, to defend "it, if a force should be landed to take it. At "present, *two twenty-four-pounders are sent*

—instead of "two armed steamers"—carried a portion of the troops, instead of all of them, to Castle Pinckney; instead of *three*, not until *night*, hours later than the flag-raising, were the remainder of the troops embarked and carried to Fort Moultrie; and nor until *three days after all these events occurred* ("Sunday, December 30th," as stated by Major Humphreys, in his dispatch to the President) was that Arsenal seized by the State officers, for the use of the State, as described by Mr. Lossing.

Mr. Greeley, in his *American Conflict*, i., 409, mentions the seizure of the Arsenal, which occurred on the thirtieth of December, before that of the Post-office and Custom-house, which occurred on the *twenty-seventh* of that month.

* Vide, pages 162, 163, *ante*.

† Journal of the Convention, 148—150.

"there, with the intention to increase and "strengthen them as soon as heavy guns can be "got ready and mounted. Captain Johnson, with "a detachment of fifty men, is now in possession "of Fort Johnson, with orders to prevent any "communication from Fort Sumter and cut off "supplies." On the same day, orders were also given to General Schnierle to prevent all communication between Charleston and Fort Sumter, "except to allow the officers of the garrison to "have their mails, but nothing else;" and, generally, that officer was invested with the "chief military command.*

On the following day—Tuesday, the first of January, 1861—probably because of reports which had reached Charleston, of the President's General Orders for the dispatch of the *Brooklyn*, with reinforcements and supplies for the garrison—General Schnierle was ordered to proceed to Fort Moultrie, immediately; to take personal charge of the State troops, there, as well as of those on Morris's-island, at Fort Johnson, and within Castle Pinckney; and, in conformity with the terms of the General Orders, issued the day before, to defend those several positions, to the best of his ability, under all the circumstances of the case.† Not the least significant occurrence of that day, however, was the transmission of a letter to Governor Pickens, by Brigadier-general James Simons, who was also the Speaker of the House of Representatives, in the General Assembly of the State, in which letter—without, in his own expressive words, "sacrificing, to matter of etiquette, questions and issues of such momentous importance as now surround us"—the General frankly expressed his opinion of the several military movements which had been so prematurely initiated by the Governor's unwarranted Orders—a paper which, more than all others, exposes the nakedness and helplessness of the Carolinians, at that time, and the unpardonable rashness, if not the entire imbecility, of those who had already dragged the State into a Civil War.‡ The significance of that remarkable letter is not diminished, too, by the fact that, on the day after that on which it was written, General Schnierle, the newly-appointed commander, in the field, of the insurgents' forces, was suddenly taken ill, and could not continue to exercise the command; and that General Simons, the author of that scathing review, was sent into the field to succeed him.§

* General Orders to Major-general Schnierle, December 31, 1860.

† General Orders to General Schnierle, January 1, 1861. See, also, Governor Pickens's letter to General Simons, January 2, 1861.

‡ General Simons to Governor Pickens, January 1, 1861.

§ General Orders to General Simons, January 2, 1861.

On Thursday, the third of January, the Governor sent a Message to the General Assembly, in which he related the evacuation of Fort Moultrie and the occupation of Fort Sumter, by the main body of the garrison of the post, and his own action in the premises; assigned, as a reason for that action, "necessity, and a "view to endeavor to give security and safety, "in the present state of the country;" and declared his confident reliance "upon the Legislature to sustain the Executive in all proper "measures"—a confidence which was not reciprocated by that body with any remarkable degree of alacrity, notwithstanding the candor with which the Governor seemed to confess his usurpation of authority.*

Four days afterwards—Monday, the seventh of January, 1861—the Governor sent another Message to the General Assembly, telling that body that the Convention of the People had authorized the enlistment of two Regiments, for one of which, in order to save expense, he had issued only the Lieutenants' Commissions—unless in the case of one Captain, whose services were desired, in order that a Company of Artillery might be raised—and for the enlistment of the Second Regiment, nothing had then been done. He had evidently ascertained that War was an expensive, as well as a hazardous, amusement; and he had so far become sensible of the duty which he owed to others as well as that which he owed to himself, as to be willing to join with others, in hoping "that circumstances may arise which will give a pacific "settlement to our difficulties"†—a hope which was not realized, we regret to say, only because there were rash men, on either side, who saw, or supposed they saw, in the turmoils and sacrifices of a Civil War, the readiest means for their own advancement.

There seems to have been little else done, in the field, during the period of which we write; and there is little doubt that, at that time, South Carolina had gone as far, in her sad work of revolution, as her limited ability, unassisted by her sister States, enabled her to go. It is, indeed, true that, by the seizure of the Federal Arsenal, on the thirtieth of December, she had obtained a supply of arms and munitions of war, sufficient for her present purposes; but, for purposes of insurrection, she was, at the same time, wholly without credit, beyond her own Banks; compelled to borrow, from one of those institutions, the first tiny outlay of the Governor, for his rashly-incurred "military continen-

* Journal of the Senate, 148, 149; Journal of the House, 269-271.

† House Journal, 293.

cies;”* and, because of that poverty of resources, obliged to withhold her commissions from the field officers and all, except one, of the Captains of her first authorized Regiment;† while those of her inhabitants who were already in the field were rapidly tiring of a service to which, hitherto, they had been strangers, or were wilting under its novel hardships and falling back into the sick lists.‡ There need be no wonder, therefore, that those, among the Carolinians of that period, who had been most noisy in their demands for “independence,” when, at the time of which we write, they found the burden of their great undertaking too heavy for their puny shoulders, were found so willing to draw others after them, into insurrection, and so frantically urged the other slave-holding States to share their self-imposed burdens and to assist in fighting their yet bloodless battles—precisely as those in Massachusetts had done, so successfully, on a former occasion of a similar character.

In the mean time, the garrison of the post had proceeded to strengthen the position, in Fort Sumter, which it had so suddenly occupied, and to make the necessary preparations for repelling any attack which the Carolinians should make on it.

It is true that a general impression prevailed, during the entire period of which we write, that the garrison, thus posted, could safely defy all the forces which the insurgents could possibly bring against it; § that it held Charleston under its control, and could destroy that city, at any moment; ¶ that it needed nothing, what-

ever, to make its new position as strong and as comfortable as was necessary*—even Major Anderson, in his official dispatches to the President,† declared that he needed neither

eighth of December, 1860, in a reference to Governor Pickens, said: “He knows how entirely the city of “Charleston is in my power.”

* We write this from our own recollection of the impression which then prevailed, throughout the country: and, as will be seen, it was in perfect accord with the Dispatches and private correspondence of the garrison.

† Notwithstanding the Secretary of War and the family of Major Anderson have continued to refuse permission for even a reading of the Major's dispatches to the Government, for our instruction, we are enabled, without thanks to either, to present the following extracts from those dispatches—all that we need for the illustration of this portion of our text:

“Thank God, we are now where the Government may send us additional troops at its leisure. To be sure the uncivil and uncourteous action of the Governor, in preventing us from purchasing anything in the city, will annoy and inconvenience us, somewhat; still we are safe.” After referring to the small supply of soap and candles, among his stores, he continued: “Still we can cheerfully put up with the inconvenience of doing without them for the satisfaction we feel in the knowledge that we can command this harbor as long as our Government wishes to keep it.”—Dispatch to the War Department, December 31, 1860.

“My position will, should there be no treachery among the workmen whom we are compelled to retain for the present, enable me to hold this fort against any force which can be brought against me; and it would enable me, in the event of War, to annoy the South Carolinians by preventing them from throwing in supplies into their new posts, except by the aid of the Wash Channel” [Wappo-creek?] “through Stono River.”—Dispatch to

* On the fifth of January, “The President of the Bank of the State of South Carolina,” by a vote of the House of Representatives, was “authorized and requested to advance, from the funds of the Bank, the sum of One hundred and fifty thousand dollars, to be expended for military contingencies, upon the Check of the Governor, countersigned by such member of the Executive Council as shall be, under direction of the Governor, in charge of the fiscal relations of the State.”—*Journal of the House, Session of 1860, 282, 283; Journal of the Senate, 159.*

† Message to the General Assembly, No. 2, dated January 7, 1861.—*House Journal, 293.*

‡ This is evident from the action of the Convention, when, on the thirty-first of December, it authorized and requested the Governor to enlist one Regiment in order that he might “relieve the Volunteers now in possession of the forts in this State.”—*Journal of the Convention, 149, 150.*

§ All who will bring to mind, again, the general impression which prevailed, at that time, on that subject, will need no further testimony, thereon.

¶ We write this from our own very distinct recollection of the current reports of that period; and Major Anderson, in a Dispatch to the War Department, on the twenty-

* Compare the words of the latter portion of the above extract from Major Anderson's Dispatch to the President with the following, from General Simons's Report to Governor Pickens, dated “Charleston, January 1, 1861:”

“I feel it to be my duty to report to you my opinion of the military movements which have been initiated” [by the insurgents.]

“First: The line of operations embraces four points: 1. Fort Moultrie. 2. Castle Pinckney. 3. Fort Johnson. 4. Morris' Island. By a map which accompanies these papers, it will appear that your lines of communication with these, as at present established, are directly within the range and effective power of Fort Sumter—the citadel of the harbor—controlling every point. At the first return fire from Fort Sumter, your lines of communication are utterly cut off with every single post, except, perhaps, Castle Pinckney. Let me simply observe, that you are indebted to the forbearance of the enemy for the liberty of transporting the reinforcement and supplies which you ordered at midnight, and which are to be sent this day, at two o'clock, to your battery, now in course of erection on Morris' Island. A single gun

men nor supplies, so confident was he of his

the War Department, January 6, 1861.

The former of the two Dispatches was not received by the Department until after the *Star of the West* had left New York; and it was that which convinced even General Scott that that expedition, for the Major's relief, was entirely unnecessary and, as we shall see, hereafter, induced him to send a telegraphic dispatch to Colonel Henry L. Scott, in New York, countermanding the Order for its departure.

See, also, Captain Seymour's letter to his father, "Fort Sumter, December 26," published in the *Troy (N. Y.) Times*.

For the mere purpose of sustaining our narrative, in the text, we might rest on the two extracts from Major Anderson's Dispatches which we have presented, above; but so much has been written, by partisan writers, concerning the alleged neglect of the garrison, by President Buchanan and his Cabinet, in the face of alleged appeals for assistance which, it is pretended, proceeded from the Major and his command, that we incline to continue our exposure of the fraud which has been imposed on the public and which—by reason of the life long reticence of the Major and of the remarkable conduct of the Secretary of War and the immediate family of the Major, in withholding the correspondence, on that subject, from all students of the history of that period who have not held partisan pens—has fastened itself on the world as veritable history.

The Major's Dispatch of December 31st, 1860, as we have said, reached the War Department on the fifth of January, and confirmed the impression which his Dispatch of the twenty-seventh of December had made, that no reinforcement was then necessary.

On the evening of the eleventh of January—six days afterwards—Lieutenant Talbot of the garrison arrived at Washington, with Dispatches concerning the repulse of the *Star of the West*; and, on the evening of the thirteenth of

"from Fort Sumter would sink your transport and destroy your troops and supplies. These lines of communication are the prime consideration of a General. It is vain to say others will be adopted. It is enough that they do not exist, now; and, when the present resources fail, your troops will be wholly isolated and cut off from each other and the main."

And yet, notwithstanding his own knowledge of these facts, presented to the President, also, by himself, in the Dispatch from which we have quoted, the Major zealously continued to "forbear" and to allow the insurgents to construct their works, without interfering with them, and thus allowed them to perfect and to carry on their schemes of insurrection, not only until what actually occurred which he, himself, officially recognized as "War;" but until, weeks afterwards, the insurgents had effectually neutralized the superior power which, during the period of which we write, he unquestionably possessed, with full authority to employ it, whenever he, himself, should determine to do so!

And yet there are those who insist that Major Anderson was not only loyal, but zealous in the discharge of the particular duty to which he had been called!

present ability to maintain his position against

January. Lieutenant Hall of the garrison also arrived at Washington, in company with Attorney-general Hayne, also as bearer of important Dispatches from the Major. Both these officers openly declared that the garrison "is not in want of more men or provisions."—*Telegrams to the New York World, Monday, January 14, 1861*, and other New York papers—and it was, also, "the oft-expressed conviction" of those gentlemen that the garrison was "not only safe in its position, but that it could command the harbor of Charleston and hold the fort in opposition to any force which might be brought against it."

On the sixteenth of January, with the Major's two Dispatches of the thirty-first of December and the sixth of January before him, yet unanswered, and still further influenced by what Lieutenant Talbot had reported, Secretary Holt wrote to Major Anderson; "Your late Dispatches, as well as the very intelligent statements of Lieutenant Talbot, have relieved the Government of the apprehensions previously entertained for your safety. In consequence, it is not its purpose, at present, to reinforce you. The attempt to do so would, no doubt, be attended by a collision of arms and the effusion of blood—a national calamity, which the President is most anxious to avoid. You will, therefore, report frequently your condition and the character and activity of the preparations, if any, which may be being made for an attack upon the fort or for obstructing the Government in any endeavors it may make to strengthen your command. Should your Dispatches be of a nature too important to be intrusted to the mails, you will convey them by special messenger. Whenever, in your judgment, additional supplies or reinforcements are necessary for your safety or for a successful defence of the fort, you will, at once, communicate the fact to this Department, and a prompt and vigorous effort will then be made to forward them."

That the Major did not, subsequently, consider that either "the safety" of the garrison or "a successful defence of the fort" would require either "additional supplies or reinforcements," is evident from the stern fact that, notwithstanding Secretary Holt's promise of immediate relief, on application therefor, he asked for neither, as long as Mr. Buchanan remained in office; and not until the day of Mr. Lincoln's inauguration did the Department even suspect that the entire safety of the garrison and its entire capability to defend itself, "successfully," against any force which the insurgents could bring against it, were subjects of reasonable doubts—indeed, on the contrary, on the thirtieth of January, 1861, two weeks after the Secretary's proffer, the Major wrote to the President: "I do hope no attempt will be made by our friends to throw supplies in; their doing so will do more harm than good;" and, on the fifth of February, a week after the last, although he described, in more glowing terms than were justified by the facts, the insurgents' batteries and the difficulty and danger which would attend any attempt to enter the harbor, he did not even ask a desire for either additional stores or a stronger force.

We have the highest living authority for saying that,

all comers; and so decided were the Major's Reports, as well as his private correspondence,*

"in view of these very distinct declarations and of the earnest desire to avoid a collision as long as possible, it was deemed entirely safe to adhere to the line of policy indicated" in Secretary Holt's Dispatch to the Major, on the sixteenth of January, 1861, already quoted from; and that, "in that Major Anderson had been requested to report 'at once,' whenever, in his judgment, additional supplies or reinforcements were necessary for his safety or for a successful defence of the fort," so long therefore, as he remained silent upon this point, the Government felt that there was no ground for apprehension. Still, as the necessity for action might arise at any moment, an expedition was quietly prepared "without consulting the Major" and was ready to sail from New York, on a few hours' notice, for transporting troops and supplies to Fort Sumter—a precaution on the part of President Buchanan which he has received as little credit for as for other portions of his action in the same matter—and when Mr. Lincoln assumed the Presidential office, that expedition, not yet called into action by the receipt of any demand for relief, from Major Anderson, passed into the custody and control of that gentleman and his Cabinet.

Our readers, from this exposition of hidden documents, may learn, FIRST: What Major Anderson, himself, wrote concerning the safety of his command and of the post they occupied: SECOND: How little reason, in fact, there has been for accusing Mr. Buchanan and his advisers of having neglected Major Anderson and his command or of refusing to regard the Major's alleged frequent appeals to them for assistance; THIRD: The superior power which the Major possessed, during December, 1860, and January and February, 1861, to prevent the insurgents from carrying out their yet unfridged schemes of aggression; FOURTH: How carefully and how loyally he abstained from exercising that superior power—known to himself as well as to the enemy and subject only to his own control—for the suppression, in its infancy, of that insurrection which was already recognized, by himself, in his correspondence with Governor Pickens, as a public War; FIFTH: How zealous he was, at that time, in the discharge of the particular duties to which he had been especially called: SIXTH: How much or how little he was responsible for the establishment and consequences of that insurrection which he thus made no attempt to hinder or suppress, even while it was under his own control; and, SEVENTH: How fairly he, during his life-time, by his silence, and his family and the Secretary of War, since his death, by their unyielding secreation of the official documents, have treated the character of President Buchanan and his advisers, even in the midst of the unmeasured abuse which has been, hitherto, cast on it; and how much those careful students of the history of that period, who have not pandered to personal nor partisan vanity or interests, have been insulted and outraged by such a suppression of the evidence necessary for the establishment of the truth.

* "I exerted all my ability to render an untenable Post as strong as possible—and, finally, fully satisfied that I must be sacrificed if I remained there, I, after earnestly praying that God would guide me, resolved to remove

on that subject, and so loud and defiant were the echoes of the northern Press,* that even the President was, thereby, as seriously misled concerning the capability of the work for sustaining a vigorous and well-supported attack, as he had been, before, concerning that of Fort Moultrie.† Yet, at that very moment, the work was in the hands of its builders and not nearly

"my command to this Post, and accordingly came. God be praised, we are now in a strong-hold—not impregnable, as many think it, but a very strong work and one which, by God's blessing, we can make so safe, in a work as to defy the whole power of the State of South Carolina."—Unpublished letter to his brother, Larz Anderson, December 23, 1860.

"I am now nearly ready. The people have supposed that this work was ready to be defended when I came in. It was far from it; and it will take me, even now, one week's hard work to have it in a complete state."—Major Anderson to "a gentleman in Cincinnati," January 11, 1861—in the Cincinnati Commercial, copied by the New York Tribune, January 29, 1861.

* The following will serve as specimens of thousands of such items which were then published:

"Major Anderson feels confident of his ability to hold Fort Sumter against any onslaught not covered by a strong naval force, while its reduction by regular siege must be a work of time, probably of months, by any armament at the command of the revolutionary leaders."—Letter from Charleston, December 24th, in the New York Tribune of December 27th, 1860.

"Twenty-five well-drilled men can hold it against all Charleston." * * * "South Carolina is completely disabled, in a military point of view: and may be safely left to fume at her 'sovereign' leisure."—New York World, December 28, 1860.

The Richmond Whig of January 11, 1861, while referring to the visit of Larz Anderson to Fort Sumter and his return therefrom, said: "He reports Anderson has ample supplies and is confident of being able to hold the fort against any force. He makes no requisition for reinforcement, leaving that matter to his superiors."

On the twenty second of January, the same paper published a report of the garrison's condition, as reported by four men sent to New York, on the Marion—"Anderson has plenty of provisions and ammunition and can laugh a siege to scorn, if he chooses, for six months to come."

On the eighth of March, the same paper very accurately announced that, up to the fourth of that month, Major Anderson, "in his communications with the War Department, continued to speak of his condition as safe, and advised against the sending of reinforcements."

We have room for no more of these articles.

† After having referred to Major Anderson's Dispatch, accompanied with separate Reports and Estimates from each of his officers—which more than one of the survivors have described to us—Mr. Buchanan says of it, "This was read by Mr. Holt, greatly to his own surprise and that of every other member of the Cabinet, on the morning of the fourth of March at the moment when the Thirty-sixth Congress and Mr. Buchanan's administration were

finished—as we have already said,* the quarters of the enlisted men were not enclosed; the second tier of embrasures was mostly unbuilt, and the spaces which had been left for them, in the wall of the fort, were protected by nothing else than temporary screens of light boards which a few blows with an axe would have knocked down, and as many passages into the work, thereby, been opened to any vigorous and well-directed assailant; not a single gun-carriage was fit for use, so long had they stood, uncared for, exposed to the Summers' sun and the Winters' storms; and not more than a single gun was in position, in any part of the work. Besides, the work had been so constructed that it was entirely without flank-defences of any kind, from which, alone, an assaulting-party could have been effectually resisted; and the garrison was so small in numbers that only a single man could have been opposed to the assailants, at each of the embrasures which, as we have said, from their evident and well-known insecurity, seemed to invite the insurgents to the assault and to reproach them for what was either their ignorance, their indolence, their insufficiency of means, or their want of personal courage, in not making one.

The little garrison, therefore, gladly absorbed the fifty-five † men of the Engineer working-party who remained in the fort when the others withdrew, the Regimental Band, and all others, combatants and non-combatants, who were within the ramparts; ‡ and all, as one man, promptly proceeded to make the work as defensible as possible and as bravely resolved to defend it, as long as there was a reasonable hope for success. § A portion of the work-benches were immediately removed from the men's

quarters; the necessary doors and windows were hung therein; and such other work as was necessary to ensure habitable lodgings for the garrison was immediately done. Loose stones were gathered, without and within the work, and a quantity of flagging and a number of iron facings for embrasures, originally intended for other purposes, were taken; and, with these, and bricks, and earth—the latter collected along the sea-wall and wherever it could be found—the openings in the walls which had been left for the second tier of embrasures were closed, as speedily and as thoroughly as possible; while those in the gorge, which were similarly exposed, were filled with stones, and iron, and lead concrete. The several gun-carriages were overhauled; their checked and warped chassis carefully straitened; and their other defects remedied, as fast as they were needed to receive the guns for which they were designed. A portion of the guns, some of which weighed four or five tons and were to be elevated more than fifty feet, were slowly and laboriously raised, by the weak-handed garrison, to their appropriated places on the ramparts; supplied with manœuvring implements; and made ready for immediate use. Machicouli galleries, plated with iron and pierced for musketry, were pushed over the parapet, at the angles of the work, overhanging the sea-wall and taking the place, as perfectly as possible, of the sadly-needed flank-defenses, enabling the garrison, at its pleasure, either, in comparative safety, to open a musketry-fire on assailants, beneath, or to drop shells among them, with equal impunity. As soon as possible, also, splinter-proof shutters and traverses were constructed; the parade was cleared; mines were established in the wharf and along the gorge; communications were opened to all parts of the fort and through the quarters; by an ingenious contrivance, suggested by Lieutenant Davis, a portion of the ordinary shells of the ordnance-stores was converted into excellent hand-grenades and made ready to be dropped over the parapet, should an assault be attempted by the insurgents; and whatever the feeble force of the garrison, directed by skilful officers, could accomplish, either for the safety of the post or the infliction of injury on an assailant, was promptly and effectively done.*

* "about to expire."—*Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 211.

* Vide pages 36, 140-142, *ante*.

† Annual Report of the Engineer Department for 1861, November 30, 1861.

This Report has been repeatedly confirmed by Generals John G. Foster and Jefferson C. Davis, in the course of their several conversations with us, on this general subject.

‡ General Jefferson C. Davis informs us that a relief was subsequently formed of these non-combatants and placed under his command; that they were drilled by him; took their turn, on duty, with the commands of Captains Doubleday and Seymour; and fully and satisfactorily discharged all the duties, as soldiers, which the occasion demanded.

§ Major Anderson to his brother, Larz Anderson, January 26 and 29, 1861.

All the surviving officers of the garrison are very emphatic in their approval of the spirit with which all who were within the fort fulfilled the duties which, day by day, devolved on them.

* In this description of the labors of the garrison, we have relied on the Annual Report of the Engineer Department, for 1861, November 30, 1861; on General John G. Foster's letter to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, November 2, 1865; on General Abner Doubleday's letters to Henry B. Dawson, July 13, October , and October 31, 1870; on allusions thereto, in General Truman Sey-

While the garrison was thus earnestly and anxiously employed, without having received any advices from Washington of an intention, on the part of the Federal authorities, to open a communication with it, by sea,* early on the morning of Wednesday, the ninth of January, the Major and his command were surprised at the appearance, off the entrance to the harbor, of a large steamship, heading for the fort and rapidly approaching.† Not a man of the troops was to be seen:‡ she presented no indication of either her nationality, her character, or her mission:§ she displayed no colors:¶ she made no signal.¶ She rounded the point on Morris's island; took the ship-channel, inside of the bar; and proceeded up the harbor, preceded by the guard-boat *General Clinch*, from the lat-

ter of which rockets were sent off and lights displayed, as signals to the insurgents that she was an enemy's vessel, and that her visit was an unfriendly one.* It is said that she hoisted the American flag "on her flag-staff," after she crossed the bar,† although it does not seem to have been seen by either the Carolinians‡ or the garrison.§ both of whom were anxiously watching her movements; and when she had approached within two miles of Fort Sumter and was yet opposite Morris's-island, a ball was fired athwart her bows, from the battery which the insurgents had thrown up, there:¶ and, it is said, at the same time, two steamers, one of them towing a schooner, put out from Fort Moultrie, probably for the purpose of cutting her off and seizing her.¶ A large garrison-flag was immediately hoisted at her fore-mast-head;** and she continued on her course "for over ten minutes," the fire of the insurgents being continued, from both Morris's-island and Fort Moultrie, and several of their shots passing over her; while one of those shots is said to have struck her, just abaft the fore-rigging, and stove in her planking; and "another came "within an ace of carrying away her rudder."†† As soon as her character and nationality were ascertained by the garrison, as far as the mere display of a regular garrison-flag at her fore could convey such information, Major Anderson ordered the guns of the fort which bore on Morris's-island to be made ready for action, and

mour's various letters and on his *Memoranda of The Story of Fort Sumter*, all addressed to Henry B. Dawson; on General John G. Foster's letter to Henry B. Dawson, February 3, 1872; on General Jefferson C. Davis's letter to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872; on Major Anderson's letters to his brother, Larz Anderson, January 21 and 26, February 11, 19, and 24, 1861; and on conversations, thereon, among other matters on this general subject, with Generals Jefferson C. Davis, John G. Foster, and Samuel W. Crawford. With Generals Davis and Foster, especially, our interviews have been frequent and extended; and their kindness and patience, in answering our questions, have never flagged—it will be evident to every one that, with their assistance and that of the documents referred to, we cannot have wandered very far from the exact truth.

* Of this there can be no reasonable doubt, as both General Holt—at that time Secretary of War—in letters to us, and all the officers of the garrison with whom we have conversed on the subject agree in stating that the Major and his command were entirely uninformed of the intention of the Government to send any relief to the garrison; and, as it was not then needed nor desired, none was looked for.

† General Jefferson C. Davis has repeatedly described to us the approach of this steamer; the surprise and anxiety, concerning her, of the garrison; and the attempts which were made to ascertain what she was and what was her object in seeking an entrance into the harbor.

‡ Captain McGowan says "the soldiers were all put "below and no one allowed on deck but our crew"—*Report to Marshall O. Roberts*, January 12, 1861—and General Davis informs us that the glasses at Fort Sumter, which were turned on the vessel, failed to discover any one, on deck, from whom could be inferred either the character or the nationality of the ship.

§ General Davis is our authority for this statement.

¶ General Davis is our authority for this statement; and it is also sustained by the *Charleston Courier*, of the next morning, which expressly states that not until the first shot was fired by the battery, across the bows of the steamer, were "the stars and strips displayed" and that, "as soon as the flag was unfurled," the fire was continued.

¶ General Davis is our authority for this statement.

* Report of Captain McGowan to Marshall O. Roberts, January 12, 1861; *Charleston Courier*, January 10, 1861.

† Captain McGowan, in his Report to Marshall O. Roberts, says, "We had the American flag flying at our flag-staff, at the time" when the battery opened its fire on the ship, without saying just when it was hoisted; but, as it is said to have been "flying" when the shot was fired, it must have been hoisted previously.

‡ This is very evident from the words of the *Courier*, quoted in Note II, in the last column, ante.

§ General Jefferson C. Davis is very decided in his statement, on this particular portion of the subject; and General Joseph Holt, in a very careful presentation of the facts, as he then officially learned them, has fully confirmed it, in a carefully-prepared letter addressed to ourself.

¶ Captain McGowan's Report to Marshall O. Roberts, January 12, 1861; *Charleston Courier*, January 10, 1861.

General Davis has confirmed these statements, in a conversation on that subject.

¶ Captain McGowan's Report to Marshall O. Roberts, January 12, 1861;

** Captain McGowan's Report to Marshall O. Roberts, January 12, 1861; *Charleston Courier*, January 10, 1861.

General Davis has confirmed these statements, in a conversation on that subject.

†† Captain McGowan's Report to Marshall O. Roberts, January 12, 1861.

they were, accordingly run out for that purpose; and, at the same time, the officers of the garrison were hastily assembled, for consultation and counsel.*

The Council which was thus convened, at that important crisis, deserves something more than a passing notice. It was a Council called by an officer of the Army of the United States, commanding a garrison, within a fort belonging to and situated within the limits of the United States. It was called by him, to consult as to the propriety, under existing circumstances, of opening a fire on the assailants, for the purpose of either relieving the strange vessel from the peril to which she was exposed or of avenging the insult offered to the flag of his country. It was, in short, a Council called for the purpose of inquiring what was *then* the duty of the garrison, in the face of a deliberate attack, by the insurgents, on an unarmed vessel of commerce, displaying and sailing under the colors of the Republic. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that when the officers filed down the winding stairs, from the parapet, and entered the Major's quarters, in order to exchange their several opinions and to advise their chief, they were duly impressed with the importance of the duty which had thus suddenly devolved on them; and there is no doubt that they duly weighed the brief introduction of the subject, by the Major, and the pithy arguments, *pro* and *con*, which were quickly presented. The Major it is said, "explained the Orders of the "War Department" and asked the advice of his officers, nine in number;† A portion of those officers "contended that the flag of the "United States was fired on, by hostile batteries, and that their simple duty, *as soldiers* "sworn to defend the American flag, was to "revenge this insult to both;" others of them "deprecated precipitate measures as closing "the door on any further compromise by which "the threatening Civil War could be averted; "and they referred to the Orders of the War

* General Jefferson C. Davis is our authority for this statement. The only additional authority, concerning the Council of War which was thus hastily convened, which we have seen, is the letter of General John G. Foster to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, November 2, 1865, and references thereto in the correspondence of General Joseph Holt with myself, while that gentlemen was noticing this general subject.

† General Foster, in his letter to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, while describing this noted Council, wrote of five officers advising a fire and five opposing, *ten* in all; but we can find only *nine* who could have thus voted—Captains Doubleday, Seymour, and Foster, Lieutenants Davis, Hall, Meade, Talbot, and Snyder, and Assistant-surgeon Crawford—the Major, as the commander seeking the advice, not voting.

"Department for authority.*" Besides "the "Orders of the War Department,"† no controlling authority, affecting the proposition to open a fire on the insurgents, was laid before the Council or referred to by those who advocated delay—"confidential verbal instructions "by the President," peremptorily controlling the great subject under consideration (if any such really existed, in force, at that moment, as has since been pretended)‡ strange to say, were not, then, alluded to—and the vote was taken, advising the Major to withhold his fire§ —advice which agreed with his own views, in every particular.¶ The Council was dissolved; and when the officers filed up the spiral stairs, to the parapet, to order the gunners to run in their guns, they were told that the stranger

* General John G. Foster to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, November 2, 1865.

† These Orders may be found on page 42, *ante*.

‡ Reference is here made to those astute authors, and to those partisan speakers, and to those peculiar friends of Major Anderson who have so strenuously insisted that the hands of that officer were "tied" by "confidential verbal "instructions," delivered to him by the President in person—Orders which were so "confidential," indeed, that neither the President nor the Major were ever known to have alluded to them, even in their most confidential Councils, subsequent to their delivery, and so sacred that what was gathered from the innuendos of the Major, *which is evidently all that is known of the matter*, must not be divulged to the ears of the uncircumcised, by those who have become the envied repositories of the precious fragments!

Our readers will believe as much of these yarns as they please: as for myself, we shall decline to believe that Major Anderson sought the advice of his officers on a matter which the Commander-in-chief had already peremptorily forbidden him to meddle with. We cannot believe the Major would have sought to involve all his officers in such an offence against the positive Orders of the President as the opening of a fire on the insurgents, on the occasion referred to in the text, would have certainly presented, had he really received such Orders as is pretended; and that, too, without telling them, before asking their advice, just wherein he was at liberty to act and wherein he was forbidden. *In short, we do not believe there were any such "confidential verbal Orders" as has been pretended—this Council affords the best evidence that there were none;—and we do not believe, whatever, else, may have been his failings, that Major Anderson wilfully acted in bad faith towards his officers or asked them to advise him about doing what, in fact, he was previously forbidden to do.*

§ General Foster, as we have said, supposes five officers voted in favor and five against opening on the insurgents: General Davis supposes five opposed and four favored the proposition to open fire; and that Major Anderson favored the views of the majority.

¶ We have the most unquestionable authority for making this statement—the Major was perfectly satisfied with the advice of the majority.

had suddenly wore round, and was then steering down the channel; and, soon after she recrossed the bar and, closely watched by the guard-boat, proceeded to sea—the insurgents' fire on her having been kept up until she had proceeded beyond the range of their guns. No other signal or communication, of any kind, was made by the mysterious stranger than the display of her colors, as above related; and the garrison was left as ignorant as it was found, concerning her name, her character, and the object of her visit—the display of a regular garrison-flag alone creating a suspicion that she had been sent out under the auspices of the War Department of the Federal Government.*

* General Davis is our authority for this statement.

See, also, Captain McGowan's Report to Marshall O. Roberts, January 12, 1861.

Concerning the garrison-flag and its purpose, as a signal, Captain McGowan said, "a large garrison-flag, thirty by forty feet, had been furnished to me, with orders to hoist it in case Fort Moultrie fired upon the vessel; and that being recognized, Major Anderson would protect the ship by the guns of Fort Sumter. After the first shot, this flag was hoisted at the fore, and could be plainly seen from Fort Sumter."—*Letter to the New York Daily Tribune, January 14, 1861, in the Tribune of January 16*—and the Reporter of *The Evening Post*, who accompanied the *Star of the West*, on this memorable voyage, said, "The Captain has an immense American flag, twenty feet by forty feet, and has been instructed to raise this at his mast-head the moment the first shot is fired. There is, already, an ordinary United States flag, aft; and raising this large one forward can hardly fail to inform Major Anderson that we consider ourselves under his protection."—*Letter to the Evening Post, January 6, 1861—in that paper of the 12th.*

The flag was "seen from Fort Sumter;" it was distinguished as "a large garrison-flag;" the purpose for which it was hoisted—as a signal for the protection of the guns on Fort Sumter—was evident and not misunderstood by Major Anderson; the guns of the fort were run out, in order to extend that protection which the vessel then needed; but, when the critical moment arrived when those guns could have been usefully employed, in the protection of the vessel, those guns were not employed for that purpose; in consequence, the *Star of the West* was not protected; and, without fulfilling the object for which she had been sent, she was withdrawn from the one-sided contest.

Besides, it is positively asserted that Mr. Larz Anderson, the Major's brother, who, had very recently visited Fort Sumter, at the instance of General Scott, had carried with him, to the Major, the information of the issue of the General Orders for the dispatch of the *Brooklyn*, for the relief of the garrison, to which we have referred, and of the subsequent countermand of those General Orders in order that "a side-wheel mercantile steamer" might be substituted and a hostile demonstration avoided.—*Washington letter to The New York Tribune, January 16th, in that paper of the 17th.*—and, in view of the fact

The story of the mysterious stranger which had thus made her way into the harbor of Charleston, been fired on by the insurgents, and ignominiously retreated, is now matter of history and, to some extent, at least, known to all the world. It is a story for which our readers have been already prepared by our recital* of the remarkable proposal of General Scott to strengthen the garrison with raw recruits, transported in an unarmed merchant-vessel; of the reluctant approval of that proposal, by the President; and of the opportunity that was thereby afforded to the insurgents to offer an obstruction to the entrance into the harbor of any vessel, no matter by whom commanded nor how skillfully handled. It is a story, however, which must be re-told, no matter whose reputation may be, thereby, impeached; and we are enabled to relate it with unusual accuracy, in all its details.

It was the ill-fortune of General Scott, during the greater portion of his professional life, to be unfriendly with those who were, officially, his superiors; † and the President and the Secretaries of War, successively, during the greater portion of the period of which we write, were not exempt from the general affliction. ‡ Besides, he was a politician, as well as a soldier, § and coveted promotion in other fields than in that of arms; and he was, therefore, never averse to the display of himself or of his opin-

that Mr. Anderson had been sent to Fort Sumter by General Scott, for the purpose of obtaining information for the especial use of that gentleman—which we have the best living authority for averring—it is very reasonable to suppose that he also bore to the Major, from the General, ample information, not only of what had been done already, but, also, what was proposed and what ordered.

Our readers, with these facts before them, can safely judge, for themselves, whether or not Major Anderson was reasonably ignorant on the subject, and whether or not, in this instance, at least, he faithfully discharged the imperative duty which had then devolved upon him, as a soldier and an officer in the service of the United States.

* Vide pages 162–164, ante.

† As instances of this disposition—for we cannot pretend to notice all his controversies—we refer to that, in his early career, with General Brown; to those, in the strength of his manhood, with General Gaines and Secretary Marcy; and to that, in his imbecility, which prompted him, on the thirtieth of December, 1860, to cast a slur, if not a doubt, on Secretary Holt.

‡ His letters to the *National Intelligencer* and his official communications with President Lincoln afford the most ample testimony of that ill temper, in General Scott, toward President Buchanan and his successive Secretaries of War.

§ The strange mixture of politics and arms, in his Views and in his correspondence, generally, clearly indicate that double quality in the General.

ions, political as well as military—for both of which he possessed the highest possible respect—whenever, either in contrast with those with whom he was unfriendly or in some other form, he could be magnified and they depreciated, or whenever his interests and influences, real or imaginary, might, in any way, be thereby promoted. It was not strange, therefore, that the excitement which preceded the presidential election, in November, 1860, should have arrested his attention; nor is it more strange, that he—a Virginian, coveting political honors and fully sensible of the political weight of the South, in the determination of party measures—should have carefully canvassed the political situation; deliberately concluded that an amicable dissolution of the existing Confederacy and re-organization of the disunited States into “new Confederacies, probably four,” was advisable;* and sought and found an opportunity, informally, to let the substance of those *Views*, at that opportune hour, find sympathising readers, the country over, through the public press.† At the same time, however, the General seems to have either hoped or feared that even the peaceful departure of the “wayward sisters” of the South, from the existing Union, which he had thus suggested, would be found too tedious for the madcaps of that portion of the Republic, and that there was, therefore, at that moment, “some danger of an *early* act of rashness, *preliminary to secession*, viz., the seizure of some or all of the following posts:—Forts Jackson and St. Philip, in the Mississippi, below New Orleans, “both without garrisons; Forts Morgan, below Mobile, without a garrison; Forts Pickens and McRea, Pensacola harbor, with an insufficient garrison for one; Fort Pulaski, below Savannah, without a garrison; Forts Moultrie and Sumter, Charleston harbor, the former with an insufficient garrison, and the latter without any; and Fort Monroe, Hampton Roads, without a sufficient garrison;” and, therefore, he gravely continued, “in my opinion, ALL these works should be immediately so garrisoned as to make ANY attempt to take ANY ONE of them, by surprise or coup de main, RIDICULOUS.”‡

* The General's *Views* and the Supplement to those *Views*—the former sent to the President and both of them to the Secretary of War—state this, among others, as his well-settled opinion of the proper remedy for the discontents and dangers of that eventful period.

† Vide page 179, post.

‡ General Scott's *Views*, addressed to the President, on the twenty-ninth of October, 1860.

Mr. Lossing, in his *Pictorial History*, i., 75, 76, has referred to this remarkable paper and made extracts from it; but he has dated it “October 30, 1860,” instead of the twenty-ninth of that month; he has considered it as

On the twenty-ninth of October, 1860, these brave words, together with the other *Views*, on which they were based, were communicated, “in great haste,” to the President of the United States;* and, on the following day, a copy of them, “better transcribed,” was sent to Mr. Floyd†—also a Virginian and then the Secretary of War—unto both of whom, the President and the Secretary, quite as well as to the General-in-chief of the Army who thus addressed them, the fact was perfectly patent that every man of that Army who could possibly be spared from the most urgent duty, elsewhere, was, at that very moment, actively and necessarily engaged, on some portion of our extended western frontier, in protecting exposed settlers and fitting emigrants from the assaults of hostile Indians;‡ that, at most, only five Companies—four hundred men, in all—were then “within reach,”

containing only “words of warning to the President and Secretary of War,” and studiously concealed that portion of the paper which “conceded” the “right of secession” and prompted the organization of “the fragments of the great Republic” into “new Confederacies, probably four;” and he has founded on it only a compliment to General Scott and, by innendo, an attack on the President.

See, also, his *Pictorial History*, i., 125, 126, for further indications of Mr. Lossing's partisan proclivities, and his concealment of facts, concerning those *Views*, which, if presented, would have reversed the tenor of his narrative and damaged his hero.

Messrs. Guernsey and Alden, on the other hand, while they very singularly commended what they were pleased to consider “the political sagacity and foresight which made General Scott the great peace-maker,” honorably presented the *Views* as well as the letter which General Scott employed to supplement those *Views*—*Harpers' Pictorial History*, i., 34—and thereby enabled their readers to determine, as best they could, from his own words, wherein General Scott was not as much a secessionist, in fact, as were Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee.

* General Scott to Secretary Floyd, October 30, 1860.

† Ibid.

‡ The reader is referred to Mr. Buchanan's letter to the *National Intelligencer*, in reply to General Scott, October 28, 1862, and to his autobiographical volume—*Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 105-107, 169-172—for carefully-prepared exhibits of the facts, with the evidence, on which this portion of the text has been based; and the fidelity of these exhibits is conceded by Mr. Lossing—one of the most decided of those writers who have seen nothing in Mr. Buchanan's administration which they can approve—when he says, while describing the Army, as it was, more than nine weeks after Mr. Holt had become the chief of the War Department, “The total regular force was sixteen thousand men; and these were principally in the Western States and Territories, guarding the frontier settlers against the Indians.”—*Pictorial History*, i., 298.

for the grave duty, to which the venerable soldier had assigned them, of making "ridiculous" "any attempt" which any body might be induced to make, "to take any one" of these six ungarrisoned and three insufficiently-garrisoned and widely-separated works, and to occupy it;* and that no one, except the Congress—which was not then in session—could add a single man to the little force, either for that purpose or for any other, without openly and undeniably, if not unnecessarily, violating "the supreme law of the land.†"

As a matter of course, for the best of reasons, the garrisons of the nine forts referred to by the General were not, at that time, re-inforced; but, notwithstanding the fact that these *Views* must have been considered, to some extent, at least, a confidential communication, by the General-in-chief of the Army, on official business, to the President and Secretary of War, both of whom were his official superiors, the substance of them was known, very shortly after they were written, from one extreme of the Republic to the other;‡ and notwithstanding, also, the atten-

tion of the disaffected, North and South, was thus plainly directed to the nakedness of those forts and to the ease and entire safety with which all of them could be captured, even by an inconsiderable force, it is a notable fact, worthy of attention, that no one, even in the most seriously disaffected States, seems to have profited, or been disposed to profit, by the ven-

tory for the Views, even had it been the author's intention to regard them as confidential. That such was not the case, may be well inferred from their very nature. "Not confined to the recommendation of a military movement, by far the larger portion of them consists of a political disquisition on the existing dangers to the Union; on the horrors of Civil War and the best means of averting so great a calamity; and, on the course which their author had resolved to pursue, as a citizen, in the approaching Presidential election. These were themes entirely foreign to a military Report, and equally foreign from the official duties of the Commanding General. Furthermore, the *Views* were published to the world, by the General himself, on the eighteenth of January, 1861, in the National Intelligencer, and this without the consent or even previous knowledge of the President. This was done at a critical moment in our history, when the cotton-States were seceding, one after the other. The reason assigned by him, for this strange violation of official confidence towards the President, was the necessity for the correction of misapprehensions which had got abroad, 'both in the public prints and in public speeches,' in relation to the *Views*."—BUCHANAN'S *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 99, 100.

That Mr. Buchanan was exactly correct in his remarks on this proclivity in General Scott, will be seen in the evident knowledge which *The New York Herald* had of the circumstances related in the text, as early as the thirtieth of October—the day after the *Views* were sent to Mr. Floyd—when it said, "*The President and Secretary of War have been strongly urged to strengthen the garrisons along the Southern Atlantic Coast, the Gulf, and the Mississippi.*"—*Washington Correspondence*, October 30th, in the *Herald* of the 31st.—and other newspapers, North and South, at that time, made pointed references to the promulgation of the General's *Views*.

It is seen, also, in *The New York Tribune* of December 17, 1860, in which is a Special Despatch from Washington, dated on the preceding day, in which it is said: "It is known, positively, that General Scott sent an official communication to the WAR DEPARTMENT, OVER A MONTH AGO, ADVISING THE RE-ENFORCEMENT OF THE CHARLESTON FORTS, OF WHICH NO NOTICE WAS TAKEN. The President was afraid of the responsibility and Secretary Floyd was disinclined."

In an editorial of the same paper, on the same day it was said, "The Secretary of War having prevented the reinforcement of Fort Moultrie, SIXTY DAYS ago, when it would have excited no attention," etc.

No further evidence is needed to establish the fact, related in the text, that General Scott's confidential communications for written as much for the public eye as for those of the persons to whom they were addressed.

* General Scott to Secretary Floyd, October 30, 1860.

† Mr. Buchanan says of this: "It will not be pretended that the President had any power, under the laws, to 'add to this force' [*the five Companies, less than four hundred men, which were all the Regulars who were, then, 'within reach' of the Commanding General, for any purpose whatever*] 'by calling forth the Militia or 'accepting the services of volunteers to garrison these 'fortifications'—*Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 104—and, in view of the fact that there was, then, no insurrection—even South Carolina was then performing all her 'relative duties, though most reluctantly, to the Government'—no one can say, truthfully, that such an attempt to increase the Army, at that time, for any purpose, had one been made, would not have been not only productive of dissension but an indisputable usurpation of authority not already vested, by law, in the Executive of the United States.

‡ The habit of General Scott, in such matters as this, to allow the substance of what he had written in confidence, to others, to find immediate circulation through the public press is so well known that it seems to be unnecessary to produce evidence of the truth of what has been said of it, in the text.

Mr. Buchanan, whose accuracy in such matters cannot be successfully impeached, alludes to this peculiarity in the General as well as to its operation, in the instance before us, in these words: "From the strange inconsistencies they" [*the Views*] "involve, it would be difficult to estimate whether they did most harm in encouraging or in provoking secession. So far as they recommended a military movement, this, in order to secure success, should have been kept secret until the hour had arrived for carrying it into execution. The substance of them, however, soon reached the Southern people. Neither the Head-quarters of the Army at New York nor, afterwards, in Washington, were a very secure depository

erable soldier's opportune suggestions—the forts and all the public property, North and South, remained, entirely undisturbed, in the custody of the Federal officers who had, hitherto, had charge of them; and no one seems to have been any more inclined, after the General's exposition, to violate the public peace, than he had been, before it was made. These stern facts tell a significant story concerning the peculiar temper of the period; and our readers must reconcile the teachings of that story, as best they may, with the alleged incendiary disposition of the South, at that time, on the one hand, and with the alleged danger, on the other, of their immediate incendiary action.

On the fifteenth of December, six hundred raw recruits having, meanwhile, accumulated in the dépôts at Carlisle Barracks and New York, the General renewed his recommendation to strengthen the garrisons of such of the nine Southern forts as then had garrisons and to occupy all the others;* and, of course, he would have sent a portion of that questionable party of unqualified civilians, all of whom were wholly unused to the duties of soldiers, to Forts Moultrie and Sumter, for that purpose.

It has been very aptly said of this proposition, by one who was capable of understanding its exact merits and who knew the author of it, personally,† that “it is scarcely a lack of charity to infer that General Scott knew, at the time when he made this recommendation, that it must be “rejected;” and, because that recommendation was in open and direct opposition to the well-considered policy of the General's official superior, the President of the United States, which policy was already fixed and, a few days before, had been publicly announced, in his Message to Congress;‡ because the President, as we have seen, had already provided other means, in the war-steamer *Brooklyn* and in the reserves within Fortress Monroe, for speedily and effectively relieving the garrison, at Charleston, “at the first moment of danger”§—with all of which

the General was fully acquainted;* because the Senate was then engaged in an attempt, through a Committee of Thirteen, to effect a peaceful reconciliation, which such a movement of troops, under existing circumstances, would have entirely defeated; † because the project of General Scott, for the occupation of the nine forts referred to and their defence against as many antagonistic popular outbreaks, with so insignificant a force as was then “within reach,” was wholly insufficient for such a purpose and would have been productive of evil rather than good effects; ‡ and, because what was said, generally, of the existing necessity for strengthening the several garrisons and for occupying the ungarrisoned works throughout the entire Southern seaboard, together with the recommendation, by General Scott, and the refusal of the President to do so, were, before daylight on the following morning, published, the country over, in the press of the political party which opposed the Administration,§ and was made the text for extravagant laudations of General Scott and equally extravagant abuse of President Buchanan,—for these reasons, we say—it is due to the

* This fact is evident from the allusion which the General has made to Secretary Floyd's reference to those preparations, in a conversation which the former is said to have had with him and the President, on the general subject of the relief of the forts.—*Autobiography*, ii., 614; Report to the President, March 30, 1861.

† The “Committee of Thirteen” was ordered, on motion of Senator Powell, of Kentucky, on the eleventh of December, and appointed on the twentieth of the same month; and its purpose was to consider “so much of the President's Message as relates to the present “agitated and distracted condition of the country, and “the grievances between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States.”

‡ It will be evident to the meanest intellect that six hundred raw recruits, even if assisted by portions of the five Companies of Regulars which, alone, were then “within reach” of General Scott—and no one pretends that the entire strength of those five Companies could have been detached for such a purpose—would have made sorry work in assuming a belligerent attitude against the entire South, *not yet in arms*, by ostentatiously occupying the nine fortifications referred to by General Scott and thereby provoking hostilities, even where hostilities were not, then, thought of.

§ In his Report to the President, March 30, 1861, General Scott says he called on Secretary Floyd, on the *thirteenth* of December, 1860, and “personally urged upon the “Secretary the same views, viz., strong garrisons in the “Southern forts,” which he had urged in the preceding October, and “again pointed out the organized Companies and the recruits at the principal dépôts available for “the purpose:” three days afterwards, on the *sixteenth of December*, information of what had thus occurred at Washington was transmitted, with laudations of the General and deprecations of the President, to the *Tribune*.

* The evidence that this request was thus renewed, may be found in the General's own statements of it, in his autobiographical *Memoir*—ii., 614—and in his Report to the President, March 30, 1861. It is proper, however, to state, in connection with that evidence, that, in referring to it, Mr. Buchanan promptly replied, “While *I have no recollection whatever of this conversation*, he” [the General] “doubtless states correctly that I did refuse to send three hundred men to re-inforce Major Anderson, at Fort “Moultrie, who had not, then, removed to Fort Sumter.”—*Mr. Buchanan's letter to the National Intelligencer, in reply to General Scott's Report*, October 28, 1862.

† Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 168.

‡ President Buchanan's Message to Congress, December 3, 1860.

§ Vide pages 48, 162, 163, *ante*.

cause of history to say of it, that this proposition was evidently made by the General, more as a politician than as a soldier, and for partisan rather than for patriotic purposes.

The recommendation, by General Scott, to which reference has been made, however, whatever may have been the motive of its author in making it, was not complied with; and, as we have said, the press of the dominant party promptly teemed with abuse of the President, because of what, for that particular purpose, was considered as his "criminal" neglect of brave men and not less "criminal" sympathy with the insurgents; while corresponding laudations of what was claimed to have been General Scott's sagacity, and humanity, and patriotic devotion to the safety of the garrison occupying Fort Moultrie and, through it, to the best interests of the Republic, were openly placed in startling contrast.*

Under these circumstances and aroused by such appeals, sustained by the reported anxiety of the General-in-chief, it is not surprising that there should have been some whose sympathies with what was thus said to have been the endangered and neglected garrison of Fort Moul-

trie prompted them to move, individually, for its immediate and effective relief; and it is a privilege which we enjoy, to know, certainly, that three gentlemen of Westchester-county, New York, personal friends of our own—Colonel James A. Hamilton, Hon. Moses H. Grinnell, and John E. Williams, Esq., all residents of the town of Greenburgh—promptly tendered four hundred picked artillerymen, from among the citizen soldiery of New York, whom they offered to place in Fort Moultrie, at the earliest possible moment, as a reinforcement of the garrison of that particular post, at their own expense and without any cost to the country. The project originated with Colonel Hamilton;† and, on the twenty-ninth of December, 1860, the tender was made by him to General Scott,† his two associates binding themselves, respectively, to pay their several shares of the expense. On the first of January, 1861, notwithstanding his seeming anxiety to strengthen the post, a short time before, the venerable General-in-chief—after having submitted the proposal to the President and fully concurred with that gentleman in the opinion that there was, at that time, no immediate military need for such aid of the regular force as was thus humanely and patriotically offered—declined to receive the proffered rein-

and other morning newspapers, in the city of New York and, probably, throughout the entire country.

In his Report to the President, March 30, 1861, General Scott says that, "by appointment, the Secretary accompanied me to the President, December 15, when the same topics—secession, etc.—were again pretty freely discussed;" on the second morning after that alleged interview, the *seventeenth of December, 1860*—the sixteenth was Sunday, when no paper was published—the *Tribune*, *Herald*, and other morning newspapers, in New York, promptly circulated the information of this interview of the General and the President, and of what had occurred when the General and the Secretary of War thus visited the President.

That the circulation of this information was not confined to the North nor to those who were supposed to be opposed to the insurgents will be seen in the following—concerning General Scott's interview with the President, on *Saturday, the fifteenth of December*—taken from the letter of *The New York Tribune's* Charleston Correspondence, dated in the latter city, on *Monday, the seventeenth of the same month*: "The news, by telegraph, that General Scott is warmly urging reinforcements, and that General Cass has resigned because the President will not send them, creates quite a breeze."

* Reference is made to the editorial in *The New York Tribune of Monday, the seventeenth of December*, in which Mr. Buchanan was said to have been insane, and in which his course was contrasted with General Scott's, "sixty days ago," and violently condemned. On the following day, also, the President was charged, by the same paper, with getting the forts ready for their surrender to the insurgents, at the expense of the United States, and abused in the best style of that violent partisan publication.

* Colonel James A. Hamilton to Henry B. Dawson, July 22 and 25, 1872.

The originator of this important undertaking, as we have seen, was Colonel James A. Hamilton, who is well-known to the greater number of our readers as a son of General Alexander Hamilton, of the Army of the Revolution, and Elizabeth, daughter of General Philip Schuyler, of the same Army and one of the ablest and purest of the soldiers and statesmen of that eventful period.

In his earlier years—while General Jackson was President, we believe—Colonel Hamilton was District-attorney of the United States for the Southern District of New York and, for a time, Acting Secretary of State of the United States; and he is widely known, even in his retirement, as one of the most influential citizens residing in this ancient and influential County.

Colonel Hamilton was, at the time he made this attempt to relieve the garrison of Fort Sumter, not far from *seventy-three years of age*; and yet he not only personally organized the expedition, as far as he was allowed to do so, but he also proposed to accompany it, in person, and share its labors and its honors—Messrs. John E. Williams and Moses H. Grinnell having agreed to share with him the expense of the undertaking.

The concurrent opinions of the President and the General-in-chief, that no such assistance was necessary, and the consequent declination of the latter to co-operate with the proposed excursionists, alone prevented the consummation of what, probably, would otherwise have been one of the most successful measures for ensuring the peace as well as the integrity of the Union.

† Colonel James A. Hamilton to General Scott, December 29, 1860.—Supplement.

forcement or to approve of its dispatch from New York.*

At length, as we have seen, the main body of the garrison was transferred to Fort Sumter; † the Federal buildings, in Charleston, and two of the forts, in the harbor of that city, were seized and occupied by the insurgents; ‡ the Secretary of War, unto whom, a few weeks before, the General-in-chief had sent his *Views* of the situation and his thoughts, if not his wishes, concerning the future of the Republic, had been dismissed from the Cabinet, in disgrace, and joined the disaffected; § and, more than ever before, the peace of the Republic, if not its very existence, seemed to have been endangered. The President, no longer restrained by the avoidance of hostile acts, by the insurgents, as we have seen, had determined to move troops for the relief of the garrison at Charleston, if not for the re-occupation of the forts which the insurgents had already occupied and for the recovery of the public property which they had already seized; || and he had called Joseph Holt to the War Department, in the place of John B. Floyd, whom he had dismissed; ¶ and there could be no reasonable cause for dissatisfaction, in any one who was not himself disaffected, with the President's revised policy nor any reasonable distrust, except among the insurgents, of the officer in whose hands was placed the authority for the execution of that policy. The new Secretary was hardly seated in his office,** however, before, as we have already seen, the General-in-chief of the Army, with characteristic antagonism to those who were his official superiors—displayed, too, much more offensively than he had displayed any such antagonism which he might have held against Mr. Floyd, the predecessor of Mr. Holt—privately requested

the President's personal * permission to send to Fort Sumter, "*without reference to the War Department and otherwise as secretly as possible,*" two hundred and fifty of the raw recruits who were then in the depot at New York, together with some extra rifles or muskets, ammunition, and ordnance-stores; and, at the same time, he expressed a hope "that a sloop-of-war and a cutter might be ordered, for the same purpose, as early as to-morrow." † This urgent request for immediate relief for the little garrison of Fort Sumter was made by note, on Sunday, the thirtieth of December—the General being too unwell to leave his house ‡—on the following morning, [December 31st, 1860] the President, who, as we have already seen, had previously determined to support the garrison, immediately and at all hazards, promptly ordered the Secretaries of War and the Navy, Messrs. Holt and Toucey, respectively, to send the *Brooklyn*, from Hampton-roads, at the earliest possible moment, with the three hundred men who had been so long reserved in Fortress Monroe, for that particular purpose; § and, on the evening of that day, General Scott "called to congratulate the President on the fact that the Secretaries had already issued appropriate Orders to the respective Army and Navy-officers; "and stated that these were then in his own "pocket." ||

* The reader will bear in mind that, although the President is the constitutional Commander-in-chief of the Army and, therefore, the source of all authority, therein, the General Orders which, either nominally or really, proceed from him, always pass through the Secretary of War and are countersigned and issued by the Adjutant-general of the Army; and that all official communications to him, from the Army, can reach him, *in order*, only through the Department. It will be seen, therefore, that when General Scott addressed a communication directly to the President and officially solicited the personal permission of the latter—which would have been the equivalent, in authority, of a General Order—to send an expedition to Charleston, "without reference to the War Department," he manifested an evidently unfriendly spirit to the newly-seated Secretary and as evidently inclined to draw the President into discord with those who were, then, his confidential advisers in the Administration.

† General Scott to President Buchanan, December 30, 1860—in his Report to President Lincoln, March 30, 1861.

‡ "Lieutenant-general Scott begs the President of the United States to pardon the *irregularity* of this communication. *It is Sunday; the weather is bad; and General Scott is not well enough to go to church.*"—General Scott to the President, December 30, 1860.

§ Mr. Buchanan to *The National Intelligencer*, in reply to General Scott's Report, October 28, 1862: Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 189.

See, also, Note *, Column 2, Page 183, *post*.

|| Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 189.

Our applications to the Departments of War and the

* "Geo. W. Lay, Lieut. Col., A. D. C.," to Colonel James A. Hamilton, "Washington, January 1, 1861."

The entire narrative of this very important interlude in the *Story of Fort Sumter*, in Colonel Hamilton's own words, as communicated to us, for the purpose of this publication, may be found in the Supplement to the *Story*, which will immediately follow it.

† Vide pages 50-53, *ante*.

‡ Vide pages 148, 152, 153, *ante*.

§ Vide page 161, *ante*.

|| Vide page 162, *ante*.

** Vide page 161, *ante*.

** Mr. Holt was called to the head of the War Department, on Saturday, the *twenty-ninth* of December, 1860; and on Sunday, the *thirtieth*, the General—who had been in Washington, for more than a fortnight—addressed a *private* note to the President, *directly*, requesting permission to disregard the usage of the service and the courtesy which was due to the new Secretary, in sending, "without reference to the War Department," a private expedition to Fort Sumter.

It is stated that on the same evening on which General Scott thus repaired to the Executive Mansion and congratulated the President on the fact that General Orders had been issued for the dispatch of the *Brooklyn* to Charleston, with a reinforcement and supplies for the garrison of that post, and were "then in his own pocket," a meeting of the Cabinet was held—evidently before the General saw the President—at which it was determined to suspend the promulgation of the General Orders referred to, until the Commissioners from South Carolina should have sent their reply to the letter which the President had addressed to them, on the preceding day; * and that the Secretary of the Interior, in his zeal to prevent the reinforcement of the garrison, obtained the President's promise that, even when the present cause for the suspension of those General Orders should have been removed, they should not be promulgated "without being 'previously considered and decided, in Council.' " During the same evening, the President seems to have communicated to the General, not only his wish that, until otherwise ordered, the two General Orders should not be promulgated, but the reason for that suspension of them, to which the latter gave his unreserved concurrence. †

Navy, respectively, for copies of the General Orders which were issued on this occasion—so important for the correction of errors which have been thrust into history as verifiable facts—have been disregarded.

It does not accord with the ideas of those in authority, to allow the public archives of the Republic to be employed by some of those who are engaged in writing the History of the Republic, even for the correction of known errors or the establishment, beyond peradventure, of known truths. We must be contented, therefore, with the evidence which we possess, and which we have pleasure in being enabled to present, above.

* Secretary Thompson to President Buchanan, resigning his seat in the Cabinet, January 8, 1861; the President's reply to Secretary Thompson, January 9, 1861; Secretary Holt's letter to *The National Intelligencer*, in reply to Mr. Thompson's *Address to the People of Mississippi*, March 5, 1861.

We are authorized to say that the last-named of these was read and approved by Mr. Buchanan, on the day of its date, before he returned to Wheatland, after the inauguration of his successor in office.

† Secretary Thompson to President Buchanan, January 8, 1861, and the President's reply, January 9, 1861.

‡ "At the interview already referred to, between the 'General and myself, on the evening of Monday, the 'thirty-first of December, I suggested to him that, although I had not received the South Carolina Commissioners in their official capacity, but merely as private 'gentlemen, yet it might be considered an improper act 'to send the *Brooklyn* with re-inforcements to Fort Sumter until I had received an answer from them to my 'letter of the preceding day: that the delay could not

It seems, however, that, for some reason, the President determined to anticipate the receipt of the Commissioners' reply to his letter and to prepare for the immediate dispatch of the *Brooklyn*, agreeably to his original purpose; and, with that view, in conformity with his promise to the Secretary of the Interior, a special meeting of the Cabinet was called, on the morning of Wednesday, the second of January, to consider and give advice on the subject. The subject was again discussed, at that meeting; and "a decided 'majority of opinions' concurred in favor of sending the *Brooklyn*, as originally proposed by the President, for the support of the garrison of Fort Sumter. That determination of the President and his advisers, singularly enough, was no sooner ascertained, and the members of the Cabinet had not yet left the room in which they had assembled—if, indeed, they had yet risen from their seats—when the reply of the Carolinian Commissioners was received and laid before the assembled Secretaries. Its temper is well known; and "it produced much indignation 'among the members of the Cabinet." After a brief discussion, the venerable President said, "It is now all over; and reinforcements must 'be sent;" and Judge Black, the Secretary of State, accepted the proffered gauntlet by responding, "After this letter, the Cabinet will be unanimous." Not a dissenting voice was then heard—even the zealous Secretary of the Interior was confounded by the tone of the Commissioners' reply and offered no further objection to the proposed measure—and, fully impressed with the idea that Fort Sumter would be immediately attacked and that its garrison must, therefore, be immediately and effectively strengthened, the President and his advisers separated, each departing to his post of duty—the Secretaries of War and the Navy, respectively, without any further intercourse with the President, proceeding to carry out what was, in fact, the then well-settled policy of the President.*

"continue more than forty-eight hours. He promptly 'concurred in this suggestion, as gentlemanly and proper; and the Orders were not transmitted to the *Brooklyn*, that evening."—Mr. Buchanan to the Editor of *The National Intelligencer*, in reply to General Scott's Report, October 28, 1862.

See, also, Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 189, 190.

* President Buchanan to Secretary Thompson, accepting his resignation, January 9, 1861.

We are indebted, for the documents and information which we possess concerning the action of President Buchanan and his Cabinet, on the evening of the thirty-first of December, 1860, and on the second of January, 1861, on which we have written the preceding two paragraphs, to our distinguished friend, General Joseph Holt, who, as Secretary of War was not the least influential member of

During the same day, [Wednesday, January 2, 1861] General Scott was informed of the removal of the special cause which had prompted a short delay in the dispatch of the expedition; but, meanwhile, the venerable soldier had fortified his own peculiar policy of sending a reinforcement of raw recruits, from New York, instead of the Regulars from Fortress Monroe, with an extravagant notion that insurgent Virginians were then preparing to seize the latter work; * that the three hundred Regulars who had been so long held in reserve, in that post, would thus become necessary for its defence against local insurgents; and that, if any relief was to be extended to Fort Sumter, it must, necessarily, be that which could be afforded by the recruits from New York—disregarding the important fact, however, if he had ever learned it, that there was not, then, near New York, a war-vessel of sufficient size and power to be employed in such a service as he had designated; and that, therefore, if such an expedition should be organized in that port, at all, unsupported mercantile vessels must, for that reason, be relied on, for that purpose.† Besides, he had strengthened himself with the opinion of a distinguished merchant of New York, by whom the necessity of retaining the control of the Chesapeake-bay had been very properly urged; ‡ and he is said, also, “after advising with an individual believed to possess much knowledge and practical experience in naval affairs,” to have “unluckily become convinced that the better plan to secure both secrecy and success would be to send to Fort Sumter, a fast side-wheel mercantile steamer, from New York, with the

both those meetings. We have not considered it necessary to seek any other authority; and we imagine our readers will not.

* We have the authority of one of General Scott's most intimate personal friends—a widely known and as widely honored merchant of New York—for this statement, made by him to us, for the purpose for which we now use it. He informed us, also, that he derived his information, at the time, from General Scott, in person.

It is probable that the General referred to this cause of his alarm, when, in his letter to the Editors of *The National Intelligencer* of the eighth of November, 1862, while alluding to this general subject of danger to Fortress Monroe, from disaffected Virginians, he said “printed handbills were every-where posted in Eastern Virginia, by an eccentric character, inviting recruits to take that important work”—a madman's freak which no sane Virginian, except General Scott, seems to have honored with the slightest attention.

† General Scott's Report to President Lincoln, March 30, 1861.

‡ The gentleman to whom we have referred in Note *, ante, by whom the information was personally communicated to us, for the purpose of this enquiry.

“two hundred and fifty recruits,”* to whom reference has been made. Thus fortified, the General opposed the President's determination to promulgate the two General Orders which were “then in his own pocket” and which had been temporarily withheld from publication, by opposing the issue of them, in any case, and by insisting on the issue, instead, of one which should be more nearly in accord with the note which he had addressed to the President on the preceding Sunday, [December 30, 1860] authorising the dispatch, from New York, in whatever conveyance should be found there, of two hundred and fifty recruits, with a supply of arms and subsistence-stores.

The distinguished reputation, as a soldier, which General Scott then enjoyed and his urgent protest against the plan of operations proposed by the President and, two days before, apparently approved by himself, having been thus thrown into the opposition, the Secretaries of War and the Navy appear to have been checked in their earnest attempts to dispatch the *Brooklyn*, “forthwith,” on her errand of relief; and they respectively submitted the matter, in its new association with the commanding General's opposition, for the final determination of the President. It does not appear that there was any meeting of the Cabinet to consult on the change—“this unfortunate change,” as it has since been aptly called—which General Scott was thus insisting should be made in the plan of relief which the President and his advisers had so judiciously organized; but it was urged so strenuously, as “a question of military strategy,” that the venerable President was induced, “with great reluctance and solely in deference to the opinion of the commanding General,” to yield to the pressure; to consent to the countermand of the two General Orders which, since the preceding Monday, had reposed, unpromulgated, in General Scott's “own pocket;” and to authorize, instead, the employment of a side-wheel merchant steamer, the purchase and shipment of supplies, in New York, and the detachment of a party of recruits from the depot at the latter post.†

* Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 190.

† President Buchanan to the Editor of *The National Intelligencer*, in reply to General Scott's Report, October 25, 1862.

See, also, his autobiographical *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 189, 190; the following significant words, written at the time, by an avowed opponent of the Administration: “The original design was to have sent these reinforcements down by the *Brooklyn*, and arrangements had been made, accordingly, when, upon further reflection, it was thought wisest to avoid the appearance of a hostile demonstration, and this commercial steamer

The General, on the preceding Monday evening, had professed to approve the President's policy of sending the *Brooklyn*, from Hampton-roads, with the three hundred Regulars from

"was chosen."—*Washington letter to the Tribune, January 9, 1861, in the Tribune of the 10th*—and the *Washington Correspondence of The New York Herald, January 5th, 1861, in the Herald of the 6th*.

We have not forgotten that Mr. Lossing has said—*Pictorial History*, i., 152—that "under the advice of General Scott and Secretary Holt, orders were given 'for her' [the *Brooklyn*] 'to be made ready to start, at a moment's notice:' we have simply preferred to remember, on both Mr. Buchanan's and General Scott's direct testimony—now before us—that the *Brooklyn* was 'ready to start' from Hampton-roads, fully provided with the necessary means for strengthening the garrison with experienced troops and for supplying it with needed stores, 'at the first moment of danger,' solely on the motions of President Buchanan assisted by Secretaries Toucey and Floyd, before General Scott knew anything about the matter and before Mr. Holt had become a 'Secretary;' and we have preferred to remember, also, on authority quite as reliable as the last, that, so far from the Order 'for her to be made ready to start' on her mission of relief having been issued at the instance of General Scott, before that Order was issued, that gentleman had desired the organization of another kind of an expedition, 'without reference to' Secretary Holt; and that, before that Order was promulgated, he threw the great weight of his professional reputation in opposition to it, and caused it to be countermanded.

We have not overlooked the fact, too, that Mr. Lossing has stated that the Order for the dispatch of the *Brooklyn*, as stated in the text, "was revealed to the conspirators," who were to do wonders in opposition to Captain Farragut's departure from Hampton-roads, under the General Orders referred to in the Text; that, "informed of this betrayal of his secret, the President countermanded the Order;" and that, "when Thompson, the Secretary of the Interior,—who was, doubtless, the criminal in the matter—threatened the President with his resignation because of such Order, the latter promised that none like it should be issued, 'without the question being first considered and decided in the Cabinet.'"—*Pictorial History*, i., 152;—but we have preferred to rely on what Mr. Buchanan and General Joseph Holt have written—the latter directly to us—from which we learn that the revelations to the conspirators, of which Mr. Lossing wrote, were made concerning the *Star of the West*, not the *Brooklyn*; that the General Orders referred to were not "countermanded," at the time of which Mr. Lossing wrote, but suspended for a few hours, only; that that temporary suspension of the General Orders did not arise from any revelations made "to the conspirators," as Mr. Lossing has asserted, but because the President had not ceased to remember what was due, in courtesy, to a correspondent, and preferred to await that correspondent's reply to a letter, already in his hands, before pushing those Orders into execution; and that if the Secretary of the Interior really made the threat which Mr. Lossing alludes to, he failed to adhere to his own determination, when, thirty-six hours

Fortress Monroe,* which, notwithstanding the delay to which reference has been made, could have reached Fort Sumter, during day-light, on the fourth of January,† and effectually relieved the garrison, if nothing else;‡ and, at that time, he had also waited on the President and congratulated him on the issue of the two General Orders for carrying it out, both of which were then, unpromulgated, "in his own pocket:" on Wednesday, less than forty-eight hours after that seemingly earnest tender of his congratulations, with grave inconsistency, if nothing else, he quite as urgently begged the President's permission to substitute an entirely different Order, involving, at once, delay, publicity, and inefficiency; and that request, supported with an urgent avowal that "a question of military 'strategy' was involved in the subject, was urged, as we have intimated, with great pertinacity.§

How intelligently the General acted, in thus urging a change in the settled policy of the President and a substitution of a different General Order for the two which were, at that moment, "in his own pocket," unpromulgated, may be

after, the suspension of those General Orders was ended and the promulgation of them formally ordered, in the presence of the Secretary himself.

The evidence is ample and was before the world, when Mr. Lossing wrote, that General Scott was, in his principles, a full grown secessionist; that he ostentatiously urged the occupation of the forts, in the South, at the same time that he acknowledged there were no troops, "within reach," with which to occupy them; that he abruptly declined the acceptance of volunteers which were offered, for that purpose, even when they were offered free of charge to the United States, declaring, at the same time, with grave inconsistency, that there was no present necessity for their services, even in the occupation of the forts near Charleston; that he opposed the President, when the latter proposed the dispatch of the *Brooklyn*, with supplies and reinforcements for the garrison of Fort Sumter, even while Mr. Floyd was Secretary, quite as much as he did so, at a later date, when Mr. Holt had become the head of the Department; that he continued to oppose the project, even after the General Orders for its execution had been issued and deposited "in his own pocket;" and that, on his urgent solicitation, alone, the *Star of the West* was sent out on the mission which resulted in disaster and disgrace if not in the Civil War, from the effects of which the Republic will never wholly recover.

* Vide Page 182, ante.

† The *Brooklyn* would have left Fortress Monroe on the second of January, had not General Scott urged the countermand of the General Orders which had been already issued for that purpose: it is very well known that less than two days were required for her to have steamed from Hampton Roads to Charleston, bringing her to that port, as stated in the text, on the fourth of that month.

‡ Vide Note *, First Column, Page 164, ante.

§ Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 189, 190

determined by any one who shall inquire, carefully, (as the General should have done, if he did not) what the temper of the Virginians, at that day, was, and what their capabilities for doing mischief: how judiciously he acted, too, may be ascertained by all who shall remember how much nearer Fortress Monroe was than New York, to Fort Sumter; how much more useful disciplined Regulars would have been to Major Anderson, at that time, than raw recruits could possibly have been; how much time would have been saved, which was then occupied in seeing and loading a vessel, in a distant port, and in moving her at least one-third more distance; how unprepared the Carolinians were, on the fourth of January, to offer any resistance, to any body; how little the *Brooklyn* would have suffered from any fire which the juvenile artillerists, on Morris's-island, or any other artillerists, could have then interposed; and what Captain Farragut would have probably done, had any such fire been opened on her, from any quarter, when compared with the conduct, under similar circumstances, a few days later, of Captain Mc Gowan, in the *Star of the West*.

Unfortunately, the urgency of General Scott and his demand that it should be regarded as "a question of military strategy," prevailed; and, "with great reluctance and solely in deference to the opinion of the commanding General, on a question of military strategy," the President consented to the substitution of another General Order, authorizing the employment of a mercantile steamer, in New York; the shipment, on her, of a supply of subsistence-stores and munitions of war; the employment of two hundred and fifty recruits, as a reinforcement of the garrison; and the dispatch of all, as soon as possible, for Charleston-harbor.* Orders were, accordingly,

* Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 189, 190. See, also, Page 184, ante

We are not insensible of the fact that, in this paragraph and that which precedes it, we have disregarded, as worthless, the greater part of what has been written, on this subject, and called "History," by those who have preceded us.

Mr. Lossing, in his *Pictorial History*, I., 152, affects to consider the President as mere material in the hands of his "counselors," to be moulded, either for honor or dishonor, as clay in the hands of the potter is moulded; and, in a patronizing tone, he says of that gentleman, he "seemed disposed to do his duty boldly," "under" [the] "better counselors" who remained in the Cabinet; and yet it is patent to all who care to know anything concerning the subject, that Mr. Floyd, alone, had then retired from the group who composed the "counselors" referred to; that, for some time previous to his retirement, that gentleman had been only tolerated by the President, without possessing the President's confidence or the respect of his associates; and that he left the Cabinet only

issued to Lieutenant-colonel Lorenzo Thomas, an Assistant Adjutant-general of the Army, then in New York, to procure a vessel and make the

because his resignation was asked, in order that he might be spared the mortification of a peremptory dismissal. With only this single change in those "counselors," it is not very evident to us wherein the remarkable change in the President's policy, "*under better counselors*," was then developed.

But, we are told by Mr. Lossing, in the same connection, that "General Scott was called into Cabinet-meetings, for consultation;" and that that gentleman may be considered, therefore, as an element in the production of the alleged change in the President's policy, of which Mr. Lossing tells us. We have yet to learn, from any reliable source, however, that General Scott was ever so far in harmony with either the President or his "counselors" as to induce the former to "call" him into the "Cabinet-meetings" for "consultation;" and we say, and are ready to prove, that, neither as a soldier nor as a citizen was he then entitled to any such distinction. He may have been invited into the Council-chamber, at some time, to give information, on some subject; but that occasion was not within the period of which Mr. Lossing then wrote, since, as we happen to know, from excellent authority, there was no such meeting of the Cabinet, nor any other, between the special meeting on the morning of Wednesday, the second of January, 1861, and the repulse of the *Star of the West*, on the ninth of the same month.

Again, Mr. Lossing says, on the same page, while speaking of the *Brooklyn*, "now," ["at the opening of the new year"] "under the advice of General Scott and Secretary Holt, orders were given for her to be made ready to start at a moment's notice." But the General, unfortunately, had shown his opposition to the employment of the *Brooklyn*, as well as his antipathy to Secretary Holt, two days before, in asking the President's permission to send "from New York"—and necessarily, if from that place, in a merchant-vessel—the raw recruits on which he depended; and that he asked might be done "without reference to the War Department," in which he evidently had no confidence.—*Letter to the President, December 30.*—He knew nothing of the Orders to send the Regulars and the *Brooklyn* from Hampton Roads, until he received them, for promulgation.

Again, Mr. Lossing says, in the same volume, page 153, "fortunately, the President listened to his new counselors, Secretary Holt and General Scott; and it was resolved to send troops and supplies to Fort Sumter by a more secret method than had yet been devised. Instead of employing a vessel-of-war for the purpose, the staunch merchant-vessel, *Star of the West*, built to run between New York and Aspinwall, on the California route, was chartered by the Government and quickly laden with supplies." But if the substitution of the *Star of the West* for the *Brooklyn*, and Captain Mc Gowan for Captain Farragut, and the arrival of the steamer off Charleston harbor after instead of before a battery had been erected to oppose her entrance, and defeat and disgrace instead of success and the end of the insurrection, are to be considered the "fortunate" circumstances of which Mr. Lossing writes, we should have preferred to

necessary preparations;* and, in the absence of a war-vessel which could be employed in such a service†—a contingency which was known in Washington, before the new Orders were issued—that officer chartered the mercantile steamer *Star of the West*, commanded by Captain John McGowan; shipped the necessary stores; and hastened her departure, as much as possible. She was cleared for Havana and New Orleans,‡ and no one in the office of her husband seemed to

have been among the “unfortunates.” of that era.

The truth is, the reputation of Mr. Lossing's hero—General Scott—would have suffered had ALL his *Views* been presented to the readers of the *Pictorial History*; and that portion of them wherein he declared himself a secessionist was therefore suppressed: his assumed importance, as General-in-chief, must be maintained, at all hazards, and, therefore, it is pretended, by Mr. Lossing, that under his (Scott's) advice “orders were given for the *Brooklyn* to be “made ready to start at a moment's notice;” although the evidence was as accessible to Mr. Lossing, when he wrote that book, as it is to us, now, that the *Brooklyn* was thus held, with special Orders, in Captain Farragut's hands, to sail, “at the first moment of danger” to the garrison, in Fort Moultrie, long before General Scott was aware of the fact—Compare Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 165, 177, with General Scott's *Memoirs*, written by himself, ii., 624:—that he steadily opposed the employment of that powerful war-steamer, on that particular service; and that the employment, instead, of a mercantile steamer, the *Star of the West*, was the ONLY plan which he ever proposed for the relief of the garrison, at Charleston: his skill, as a soldier, too, must be maintained; and Mr. Lossing promptly affected to regard, as a “fortunate” circumstance, the substitution of the *Star of the West* for the *Brooklyn*, with all the train of defeat, disgrace, and disaster which followed that “fortunate” change.

* Colonel Henry L. Scott to Henry B. Dawson, July 28, 1872.

† “Secretary Holt and myself endeavored, in vain, to “obtain a ship of war for the purpose” [*the relief of Fort Sumter*] “and were finally obliged to employ the “passenger steamer *Star of the West*.”—General Scott's *Autobiography*, ii., 621.

See, also, Colonel Henry L. Scott to Henry B. Dawson, August 1, 1872.

‡ We have relied on the following, among others, as our authorities for this statement:

I.—“Cleared. Steamship *Star of the West*, McGowan, “Havana and New Orleans—M. O. Roberts.”—*Ship-news*, New York Daily Herald, Sunday, January 6, 1861.

II.—“CLEARED. Steamships *** *Star of the West*, Mc Gowan, New Orleans and Havana, D. N. Carrington.”—*Ship-news*, in The New York Daily Tribune, Monday, January 7, 1861.

III.—“THE STEAMER *STAR OF THE WEST*.—This steamer “cleared on Saturday for Havana and New Orleans.”—“*City Items*,” in The New York Tribune, Monday, January 7, 1861.

On the other hand, Mr. Lossing says—*Pictorial History*,

suppose that those were not her destined ports;* but the stores composing her freight, in many instances, were marked for Fort Sumter and openly shipped;† some of her crew freely and unreservedly stated that she was destined for Charleston, and would receive troops, in the stream, during the night;‡ and it was freely discussed, throughout the vicinity of the wharf, where she laid, as an undisputed fact, that she had been employed for the relief of the garrison of Fort Sumter.§ She sailed at five o'clock on the evening of Saturday, the fifth of January; proceeded down the Bay, where she was hove to and took on board four officers and a party of soldiers,|| with their arms, ammunition, etc.; and.

i., 153.—“She was cleared for New Orleans and Savannah in order to mislead spies.”

We have preferred to follow the authorities which we have referred to, above.

* “Rumors were rife that she was to convey troops to “Charleston; but the story was ridiculed at the office of “the owners, and they requested its contradiction.”—“*City Items*,” in The New York Daily Tribune, of Monday, January 7, 1861.

† We have the authority of a distinguished General Officer of the Army of the United States, who was, himself, a prominent participant in the stirring events of that period, for this statement. He informed us, personally, that he saw packages, distinctly marked for the garrison of Fort Sumter, in Charleston-harbor, carted to the wharf where the *Star of the West* was moored, for shipment on her, on the occasion referred to.

‡ “Several belonging to the vessel said that she was “going to Charleston, and would take on troops, in the “stream, during the night.”—“*City Items*,” in The New York Daily Tribune, Monday, January 7, 1861.

§ “Her hurried preparation and destination were known “on Friday night, and commonly talked about, on West “and South-streets. The men employed in getting her “ready for sea were instrumental in exposing her mission.”—*New York Tribune* of January 14, 1861, page 7.

|| The number of soldiers thus employed has been variously stated; and we are not yet satisfied concerning the exact number.

Mr. Buchanan, in his autobiographical volume, alluded to “the two hundred and fifty recruits” which were to be thus sent to Charleston—*Vide* page 190—and Secretary Thompson, in his letter resigning the office of Secretary of the Interior, referred to the “two hundred and fifty “men, under Lieutenant Bartlett,” who had sailed, in the *Star of the West*, for that post. The greater number of writers on the subject, including Messrs. Lossing, Greeley, Pollard, Mrs. Stephens, Whitney, Guernsey and Alden, Moore, Raymond, and Abbott, and most of the newspapers of the day also, state the number at two hundred and fifty men, exclusive of officers; but Captain McGowan, in his Report to the owners of the *Star of the West*, says that only two hundred were received on board his ship, in which he was sustained by the Reporter of the *Evening Post*, who accompanied the expedition. We leave the subject, therefore, for others to determine.

at nine o'clock, she crossed the Bar and went to sea.*

It is a curious fact that the *Star of the West* had not yet left New York when General Scott, himself, was convinced of his own folly in sending such an expedition on such an errand, and became one of the most active in seeking to stop it—he had heard of, and been staggered by, the intended occupation of the sand-hills, off the entrance to the harbor, by the insurgent Carolinians: † he had heard of Major Stevens, and his forty boys from the Citadel Academy, and his two twenty-four-pounders, just then posted on Morris's island, and been cowered by the undeveloped terrors of their skill as juvenile artillerymen: ‡ he had discovered, at that late hour and under the above-named inducements, the possibility that an unarmed merchant man, filled with unwilling and undisciplined civilians, would be roughly handled and, probably, discomfited, in such a reception as even these youngsters, with their two twenty-four-pounders and their boyish enthusiasm, would undoubtedly extend to her: § he had heard, also, (not for the first time, however, although he had, then, the first time, regarded the information as noteworthy) that Major Anderson regarded himself secure, in his new position, in Fort Sumter, and had asked for no such reinforcement nor any other. ¶ He considered, therefore, that the *Star of the West* was not exactly what was then required, for such a service; and he hastened to seek the approval, by the Secretary of War and the President, of a countermand of the General Order which had authorized and directed her departure. The vindication of the President was thus made so complete and the conviction of the General was also so emphatic that, as our readers may imagine, the venerable soldier found no difficulty, either in the War Office or in the Executive mansion, in procuring a prompt and unreserved approval of his latest "views;" || and, in accordance with

the teachings of those views, he immediately dispatched a telegraph to his son-in-law and Chief of Staff, Colonel Henry L. Scott, then in New York, to stop the proposed expedition, if not to abandon it.* The steamer had left the harbor, however, before the telegram reached the Colonel; † and, sadly to the annoyance of the General, as well as to that of the President, the unarmed steamer and her helpless passengers sped forward to the scene of their own and their country's humiliation.

But the transmission of a telegram was not all that was done to save the country from the disastrous result of General Scott's pertinacity in preferring his ideas of "military strategy" to the teachings of common sense. The information of the failure of the General's telegram to arrest the expedition was received in Washington, on Sunday, the sixth of January; ‡ and, on the following day, the Secretary of the Navy dispatched an Order to Captain Farragut to put to sea, with the *Brooklyn*, with all speed, and to search for the *Star of the West* and to aid and succor her, in case she should need it; and General Scott simultaneously sent an Order to the commander of the detachment of recruits which the *Star of the West* carried, which Captain Farragut was to deliver to him, reciting the Order of the Secretary of the Navy, and directing him "to land his troops at Fortress "Monroe and discharge the ship" §—the best acknowledgement which the General could have made of his own professional inefficiency. The *Brooklyn* sailed on the following day, the ninth of January; || but, long before, the *Star of the*

* Colonel Henry L. Scott to Henry B. Dawson July 28, 1872.

See, also, Secretary Holt's letter to the Editor of *The National Intelligencer*, March 5, 1861; Mr. Buchanan to the same, October 28, 1862; Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 190, 191.

† "I simply received a telegraphic dispatch to detain the steamer which I personally gave to General Thomas, with all diligence, on the evening of its date, who then told me it was too late to stop the steamer."—Colonel Henry L. Scott to Henry B. Dawson, July 28, 1872.

‡ Washington Correspondence of *The New York Herald*, January 8th, in the *Herald* of January 9th, 1861.

§ Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 191, 192.

|| "The war-steamer *Brooklyn* sailed from Norfolk yesterday, her destination, it is supposed, being Charleston."—*New York Daily Tribune*, January 10, 1861.

See, also, *The New York World*, of Thursday, January 10, 1861—which states that she left her anchorage at 2 P.M., on that day; and the *New York Daily Herald*, of the same date.

A dispatch from Norfolk, in the *Tribune* of the next day, says the *Brooklyn* went off in such haste that "she would not stop to discharge" the pilot, Mr. Guy, and carried him off, to sea.

* Captain McGowan's Report, January 12, 1861.

† Secretary Holt to the Editor of *The National Intelligencer*, March 5, 1861.

See, also, the Washington letter of January 8th, in *The New York Herald* of January 9th; that of January 9, 1861, in *The New York Tribune* of January 10, 1861; and Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 191.

‡ Secretary Holt to the Editor of *The National Intelligencer*, March 5, 1861.

See, also, Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 191.

§ Secretary Holt to the Editor of *The National Intelligencer*, March 5, 1861; the same to President Lincoln, March 5, 1861.

|| "The 'countermand' spoken of was not more cordially sanctioned by the President than it was by General Scott and myself."—Secretary Holt to the Editor of *The National Intelligencer*, March 5, 1861; Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 190, 191.

West was beyond her reach, and, at that time, had reached the entrance to the harbor, at Charleston.

With all her lights extinguished, "to avoid 'being seen' by the Carolinians, the *Star of the West* reached the Bar, off Charleston-harbor, at half past one o'clock, on the morning of Wednesday, the ninth of January; but, because the buoys had been removed and the lights extinguished, by the insurgents, she was obliged to feel her way, without knowing her exact position and, at four o'clock, she hove to, to await the opening day. At day-break, the guard boat, *General Clinch*, discovered her, and burned one blue and two red lights, as signals of her approach and for the purpose of calling the Carolinians, on Morris's-island, to prepare for her reception. Every soldier which she carried was sent below; and, with consistent pusillanimity, her real character and the purpose for which she had been sent to Charleston were studiously concealed *—as if her coming had not been announced, in that city, long before, both by the vigilant representatives of the Charleston Press† and by those friends of the insurgents, in New York,‡ who had seen and heard what any shrewd observer could easily have seen and heard, concerning her destination and purposes, even before she had cast off her lines, at her wharf, in that city—to say nothing of information also sent, subsequently, by the Secretary of the Interior, to Judge Longstreet, with his earnest entreaty to use force, if necessary, to prevent her from reaching the fort§—and if she really displayed any colors, at that time, or for some time subsequent thereto, it was done with so much bashfulness that the anxious eyes which watched her movements from within the walls of Fort Sumter,|| as well as those of the Carolin-

ians, who were not less vigilant, entirely failed to discover them.

The story of the reception she met, from the juvenile artillerists, under Major Stevens, who were posted on Morris's-island, has been already related and need not be repeated, in detail—she was fired on, with the two twenty-four pounders which, served by the party of Cadets from the Citadel-academy, commanded by Major Stevens, at that moment, constituted the sum and substance of Carolina's effective armament: * she was struck, once, in her hull; and her planking, at that place, was "stove in": † her Captain, evidently more anxious to protect his insurance‡ than to discharge the particular duty on which he had been sent, wore round his ship; § put out to sea; slunk away to the port whence he had sailed, a few days before; || and fell back into the obscurity from which he had not sufficient manliness, nor sufficient ambition, nor sufficient sympathy for the beleaguered garrison whom he had been sent to strengthen, nor sufficient patriotism, to extricate himself, even when so remarkable an opportunity had been afforded him to have done so, simultaneously with a notable service to the pent up garrison and a greater service to his anxious country. ¶

During the morning, after the *Star of the West* had gone to sea, Major Anderson addressed a letter to Governor Pickens,** reciting the

McGowan and the Reporter of the *Evening Post*, who was on board the *Star of the West*, agree in their respective statements that there was a flag, on the flag-staff, at the stern of the ship.

* We are assured by one of those who assisted in throwing up the earth-work—one of the best known members of the Bar, in Carolina—that no other battery was then completed; and there can be no doubt of the entire accuracy of his statement.

† Captain McGowan's Report, January 12, 1861.

‡ It was communicated to the Charleston *Mercury*, on the afternoon of Saturday, the fifth of January, by Doctor Alexander Jones, of the *New York Herald*.—*Dispatch in The Tribune January 23, 1861.*

§ In reply to our inquiry, on this subject, while conversing with one of the most eminent merchants of New York, we received the answer given in the text; and the high standing of our informant and his well-known acquaintance with the facts are such that we desire no better evidence, on this subject—were we at liberty to mention his name, which we withhold at his request, our readers, too, would be assured of the accuracy of his statement.

§ Captain McGowan's Report, January 12, 1861.

See, also, Greeley a *American Conflict*, i., 412.

|| "There were dozens of telegraphic despatches immediately sent off to Charleston, announcing her departure, 'the moment she left this port,' " * —*New York Daily Tribune*, January 10, 1861.

¶ Secretary Thompson's *Address to the People of Mississippi*; Secretary Holt to the *National Intelligencer*, March 5, 1861; and his second letter, to the same paper, in response to Mr. Thompson's answer to the first, March 25, 1861.

|| General Jefferson C. Davis assures us that no colors were displayed, at that time, in such a manner that the garrison could see them, nor at any time, except the large garrison-flag, on the fore, to which reference has been made.

|| Captain McGowan's Report shows that the *Star of the West* ran back from Charleston in ten hours less time than were taken to run down to that port, from New York.

¶ "That vessel, BUT FOR THE HESITATION OF THE MASTER, 'might, as is generally believed, have delivered at the 'fort the men and subsistence on board.'"—*Memoir of General Scott, Written by himself*, ii., 621.

See, also, the Washington Correspondence of *The New York Tribune*, January 20, in that paper of the 21st.

** Major Anderson to Governor Pickens, January 9, 1861.

It is proper to remark, here, however, that both Captain

circumstances of the opening of their fire, by the battery on Morris's Island and by Fort Moultrie, on the unarmed steamer "bearing the flag of [his] Government;" declaring his ignorance "that War had been declared by South Carolina "on the United States;"* hoping that the ag-

* If, under any circumstances, South Carolina could, legally, have "declared War" "on the United States," it certainly ill-became Major Anderson to recognize. *in an official note*, the existence of any such right, in any State, *under such circumstances as then existed*; and when he sent that note to Charleston, under a flag of truce, he still further recognized the claim which South Carolina had then unduly presented, to be considered and treated as an independent nation.

It will scarcely be necessary for us to say, here, that, because South Carolina, at the time of which we write, had no constitutional right to withdraw from the Confederation and re-assume the powers which she had previously delegated to it, without the affirmative vote, constitutionally given, of each of her sister States, to thus amend the organic law of the Republic, her pretensions to independent nationality, at that time, were not valid, either in law or in fact; and that, therefore, she was utterly incapable, at that time, of declaring War on any other power and utterly disqualified to receive, much less to require, a *flag of truce*, from any officer, of any other power. In fact, at that time, the Carolinians were simply *insurgents*; and if Major Anderson was not aware of that stern fact and, necessarily, was ignorant of their legal status, as such, he was unfit for the position which he then occupied. As a soldier—in which capacity only he then stood—his duty was, clearly, *not* to volunteer the official recognition of any pretensions, on the part of the Carolinians, that South Carolina was an independent nation or possessed the right, in herself, to declare and levy War; but—as the Royal officers did, in 1776, when the Americans sent flags of truce to their lines—he should have sent them back, without recognition, until those whose right it was to do so, had recognized those who sent and those who bore them as something more than insurgents and rebels.*

We leave others to determine the question, whether or not, in thus hastening, uninvited, to recognize, in an official note, the validity of South Carolina's pretensions to a right to declare War and to require the honors which belong only to an independent nationality, Major Anderson was an innocent victim of his own ignorance or a swift witness, obeying the impulses of his own evident sympathy with those who were thus in insurrection and whom he thus addressed, at the expense of his duty to the United States, as an officer of their Army, commanding a post in front of an enemy.

* In order that we may not be misunderstood, we copy a letter sent by Major-general William Phillips, to one of his subordinate officers, who evidently commanded an outpost to which a flag had been directed, by the Americans, during the War of the Revolution:

"The boat from *Ticonderoga*, called a flag of truce, "may be sent back with the persons who came in it. It "is unnecessary to say more to those people than to repeat

gression had been committed without the Governor's sanction or authority; declaring that, *under that hope*, he had refrained from opening a fire on the assailants, from Fort Sumter;* inquiring if the fire was really opened in obedience to the Governor's instructions; and notifying the latter that, if the aggression was not disclaimed, it would be considered an act of War and would be followed, on the return of his messenger, by a refusal to permit any vessel to enter the harbor within the range of his guns.† The Governor's answer recited the existing relations between South Carolina and the United States, as those relations were understood in the Executive Chamber of that State; and declared that any attempt to reinforce the garrison of Fort Sumter or to re-take the works then occupied by the State troops was considered an hostile act; that the strange steamer was the bearer of such a reinforcement, disregarded the warning shot which was sent across her bows, and *was fired on by authority*; and that the Major himself must be the judge of his own responsibility in what-

* It may be well for those who desire to ascertain the exact truth of the different portions of *The Story of Fort Sumter*, to notice and remember what Major Anderson declared, in his note, to have been the reason he had refrained from, opening a fire on the assailants of the *Star of the West*, as it was not in harmony with the reasons which injudicious friends of the Major are fond of presenting as the true reasons for that "forbearance."

† We have not yet found any authority, in a Major of the Army, commanding an outpost, anywhere, to determine and declare what shall or what shall not be regarded by him, officially, as public War. It is clear, however, that Major assumed such an authority, in this instance; and we invite the especial attention of our readers to the manner in which the Major subsequently conducted the "War" which he had thus established.

"that His Excellency, the Commander-in-chief, does not "permit flags of truce or any communication with the "American Rebels, unless coming to implore the King's "mercy.

"The allowing these Rebels in this Boat to return, and "not made prisoners, is an instance of the clemency of "His Majesty's officers to these unfortunate people; but "it is recommended to them to be careful how they venture within the posts of the Army, as they will be treated as spies.

"CAMP AT ST. JOHN'S, November 15, 1776.

"W. PHILLIPS, M. General.

"To Captain SHANKS, commanding the Naval Department, at St. John's, to be sent by him to Lieutenant "Longcraft; and a copy of this may be given to the "Rebels."

This letter indicates how little consideration an open insurgent is entitled to, at the hands of a faithful officer of the Government against which the insurrection is directed.

ever he might do in the premises.* To this defiant answer, Major Anderson weakly replied, during the same day, informing the Governor that he "deemed it proper to refer the whole matter to [his] Government;" that he should defer the establishment of his threatened blockade of the port, "until the arrival from Washington of the instructions [he might] receive;" † that he had appointed Lieutenant Theodore Talbot, of the garrison, his messenger, for the purpose of communicating with the President; and expressing a hope that no obstruction would be offered to the Lieutenant's departure, on that service ‡—a favor which the Governor seems to have duly extended to him.§ The Lieutenant reached Washington in safety; delivered the Major's dispatches to the President; and, by his very intelligent statements of the condition of the garrison and of the capability of Fort Sumter to make a vigorous defence, he relieved the President of the apprehensions which he had previously entertained for their safety, and led to the immediate suspension, for the present, of all thoughts, on his part, of attempting to reinforce them. ¶

But, notwithstanding the repulse of the *Star of the West* and the consequent relief of the anxiety of the insurgents concerning the probable reinforcement of the garrison from that quarter, it was not long before the departure of the *Brooklyn*, from Hampton-roads, evidently for Charleston, was made known, through dispatches received in the latter city; and again the martial spirit of Carolina—made still more bellicose by reason of the successful issue of its first adventure, a few hours before—was again aroused, for action. The troops were again assembled, for service in the field; the buoys which had not been already removed were taken up; the guards were doubled; additional guns were hastily mounted on the points whence, it was supposed, they could best obstruct her passage; hulks were floated down and sunk in the channel; the passenger steamship *Marion* was seized and ordered to be razed and armed; and, generally, every possible preparation was

made for her reception and repulse.* As the *Brooklyn*, on her arrival off the Bar, after having ascertained that the *Star of the West* had been there and departed, made no attempt to enter the harbor, the excitement which had been produced by her expected participation in the struggle quickly subsided; and the Carolinians as quickly resumed their ordinary occupations.

The information of this new evidence of South Carolina's disaffection, of course, revived all the excitement, the country over, which the evacuation of Fort Moultrie had created, a few days before; but other subjects very soon arrested the attention of the public, and, in a day or two, the assault on the *Star of the West* ceased to be regarded as the subject to be first spoken of and that which should be most carefully discussed. †

Thus was originated, in this manner was conducted, and thus was terminated this celebrated expedition—an expedition which was not necessary, had not been asked, and was designed as much to promote the ambition of an aspiring politician as to display the continued vigilance of an effete soldier. It was an expedition, too, which, in all its parts, reflected as little credit on the professional ability and the personal good sense of its venerable author as on the manliness and patriotism of the officer who commanded it. Charity may, indeed, cover, with her mantle, the imbecility of the venerable soldier in whose impaired intellect the project of sending it was conceived and under whose persistent demands, backed by a reckless partisan Press, it was finally authorized; but, at the same time, justice demands that the venerable President, who had steadily resisted the unwise project, because of its hopelessness, and as steadily insisted on the employment of a more formidable force, shall be sheltered from the unjust assaults, too often prompted by unworthy motives, which, from that day to this, have considered him as hopelessly imbecile and unalterably a traitor. Had the *Brooklyn* been sent from Hampton-roads, on the second of January, as the President desired, and earnestly insisted, and duly ordered, instead of the *Star of the West*, from the city of New York, at the close of the fifth of that month, under General Scott's especial guidance, the garrison would have been reinforced, effectively, on Friday, the fourth of that month, almost before the Carolinians had begun to shovel up their first rude

* Governor Pickens to Major Anderson, January 9, 1861.

† General Jefferson C. Davis says that, notwithstanding the apparent suspension of Major Anderson's threat to blockade the harbor, he really did establish such a blockade, for two or three days.

‡ Major Anderson's second letter to Governor Pickens, January 9, 1861.

§ Lieutenant Talbot was entertained, at "The Charleston Hotel," by the Carolinians, and left for Washington, "late last night."—*Dispatch from Charleston, December 10, in The New York Tribune of January 11, 1861.*

¶ Secretary Holt to Major Anderson, January 16, 1861; the same to President Lincoln, March 5, 1861.

* Dispatch from Charleston, January 10, in *The New York Tribune* of January 11; Letters from Charleston, January 10 and 11, in *The New York Tribune* of January 15; Letter from that city, January 13, in *The New York Tribune* of January 18.

† We depend on our personal recollections, on this subject.

earth-work; and even, at that time, if Major Stevens, and his young artillerymen, and their twenty-four pounders had already been placed in the position which they so successfully occupied, five days later, Captain Farragut, in the *Brooklyn*, would have thought of everything else than dollars and cents, and have presented to his gallant young opponents an example of manliness, in the cause of his country and of humanity, which might not have been useless to them—it is not improbable, too, that, in that case, with three hundred tried soldiers added to his command and the frigate, herself, as an auxiliary, Major Anderson might have been induced, at least, to re-occupy the works over which the palmetto flag of Carolina, then, so uncertainly fluttered, if not to place Charleston, herself, under tribute; and so entirely helpless was the State, at that moment, and so completely unprepared for war, that neither her sister-States nor her own inhabitants could have rescued her or her cause from the defeat and humiliation which, in such a case, would have been their inevitable lot.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

IV.—BOOKS.

† Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y." or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient to them.]

1.—*Wilfrid Cumbermere*: an autobiographical story. By George Macdonald. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. x., 498.

The romantic autobiography of a dispossessed heir, not poor, without pride or ambition, and reckless of his own rights. It begins nowhere and ends nowhere, however; and there is nothing in it to attract particular attention, unless a vein of irreligion and religion which runs through it.

CHROMOS.—The delay in issuing this number enables us to notice, in this place, two beautiful little chromos which have been sent to us from the office of *The Star-spangled Banner*, at Hinsdale, N. H.

One of these pictures represents a bunch of moss-roses, in all their varied beauties of leaves, buds, and full-blown flowers: the other represents a handfull of autumnal leaves, gorgeous in their display of those exquisite tints which make the American forests, in Autumn, so peculiarly noteworthy. Both are little gems of the chromo-lithographic art, of the beauty of which the accompanying trade-marks of "L. PRANG, Boston" add no additional guarantee; and, properly mounted and framed, they are worthy of a place on the walls of anybody's parlor.

These pictures have been prepared for premiums to subscribers for *The Star-spangled Banner*, a monthly newspaper, devoted to light literature, which is published by Messrs. Hunter & Co. at Hinsdale, N. H. at a dollar per year—each subscription carrying with it one of these chromos.

V.—ADVERTISEMENT.

During several months past, we have diligently attempted to recover the time, in the monthly issues of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, which we had previously lost in successive sick-rooms and through the accident which we had encountered, in January, 1870; and we have so far succeeded that the completion of the missing numbers of the Second Series, at an early day, seems to have been assured. We find, however, that the strain on our impaired health will be so great and so hazardous, if we shall continue it by continuing the contest—Time having had too much start to be overtaken without a more patient, a longer-continued, and a more earnestly-contested struggle than we can sustain—that prudence requires us to pursue the fugitive no longer than shall be required to complete the series of monthly issues as far as the number for March, 1872, and then to retire from the race, a discomfited, but not a disheartened, competitor.

This determination, which has been made only on the demand of our physician and those of our family and best friends, obliges us to drop twelve numbers from our unpublished monthly issues—the number for April, 1872, which will soon become due, thereby becoming the number for April, 1873—and to extend our subscriptions for 1872 to the close of 1873, at which latter time what was originally intended to have been the issues of 1872 will be duly completed, in exactly the same form and, generally, with identically the same historical papers which those issues would have contained, had they borne the date of 1872 instead of that of 1873.

As our subscribers will receive exactly the same papers, from other pens than our own, in the one case which they would have received in the other, and as we shall be enabled, by this arrangement, to devote more time and care on our own articles, without hazarding our health, if not our life, we trust no one will feel dissatisfied: at the same time, as the full amount of twelve numbers of sixty-four pages each, which every subscriber is entitled to receive for his Five dollars, and would have received had this arrangement not have been made, will be forwarded to his address, under the present arrangement, without discount or abatement of any kind—the dates of nine of them, "1873" instead of "1872," being the only difference—no one, except ourselves, will suffer the least pecuniary loss from the change.

THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. I. THIRD SERIES.]

APRIL, 1873.

[No. 4.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The attention of the Binder of this volume of the Magazine is particularly directed to the Advertisement which was printed at the foot of Page 192, in the March number.

I.—AN ESSAY ON THE UNIVERSAL
PLENITUDE OF BEING AND ON THE
NATURE AND IMMORTALITY OF THE
HUMAN SOUL AND ITS AGENCY.

BY ETHAN ALLEN, ESQR.

[Among those who have become distinguished in the annals of the United States, few have been more seriously misrepresented than ETHAN ALLEN, one of the leaders of the party, in Vermont, who, a hundred years ago, were known, locally, as "The Green-mountain boys;" and that misrepresentation has extended over his character and conduct, as a man and a citizen, his professional abilities and conduct, as a soldier, and the opinions, on religious subjects, which he is known to have entertained and published to the world.

Without noticing, in this place, either of the other subjects concerning which Ethan Allen has been thus misrepresented, both by unduly zealous friends and equally zealous enemies, we may be allowed to refer to the opinions, on religious subjects, which he is known to have entertained and published to the world—opinions which have been, very frequently, represented as of the most obnoxious type of infidelity, and, at others, tending "to prove that they "who rather confide in their own wisdom than seek instruction from heaven may embrace absurdities which "would disgrace the understanding of a child." It is said, as illustrative of his alleged absurdity, that "he believed, with Pythagoras, that men, after death, would "transmigrate into beasts, birds, fishes, reptiles, etc.;" and that "he often informed his friends that he, himself, "expected to live again, in the form of a large white "horse."

In 1784, he published, at Bennington, Vermont, an octavo volume of four hundred and seventy-seven pages, entitled: REASON | THE ONLY | ORACLE OF MAN, | OR A | Compendious System | OF | NATURAL RELIGION. | Alternately ADORNED with Confutations | of a variety of DOCTRINES | incompatible to it; | Deduced from the most exalted Ideas which | we are able to form of the | DIVINE and Human | CHARACTERS, | AND FROM THE | Universe in
HIST. MAG. VOL. I. 13.

General. | By Ethan Allen, Esq; | BENNINGTON: | STATE OF VERMONT; | Printed by HASWELL & RUNSELL. | M.DCC.LXXXIV. |

That volume, as its title indicates, is a "system of natural religion," in which the author discussed and enforced "the certainty of the being and providence of God, "and of his goodness to man through the intervention of "the series of nature's operations, which are commonly "described by the name of natural causes," together with notices of, among others, the doctrines of "the eternity "of creation," "the infinitude and eternity of Providence," "the agency of man," "the moral government "of God," "eternal punishment," "the immortality of "the soul," "the depravity of human reason," "revelation," "miracles," "faith," "a trinity in the Divine "Essence," "the person of Jesus Christ," "Paradise," "the devil," "imputation of moral good or evil," "the "atonement for original sin," "the Scriptures," and "reason." It is evidently the result of deep thought, carefully and respectfully presented to the world; and, however much the reader may differ from the author, in some portions of it, there is much of it in which that author was evidently in harmony with those who have most seriously misrepresented and condemned him.

In presenting his "system of Natural Religion" to the world, the Author was evidently sensible of the adverse criticism and undue commendations to which both he and his book would, inevitably, be subjected; but he boldly, but appropriately, declared that "an apology appears to "me to be impertinent in writers who venture their works "to public inspection, for this obvious reason, that if they "need it, they should have been stifled in the birth, and "not permitted a public existence. I therefore offer my "composition to the candid judgment of the impartial "world without it," he continues, "taking it for granted "that I have as good a natural right to expose myself to "public censure, by endeavouring to subserve mankind "as any of the species, who have published their productions since the creation. and I ask no favour at the "hands of philosophers, divines, or Critics, but hope and "expect they will severely chastise me for my errors and "mistakes, least they may have a share in perverting the "truth, which is very far from my intention." He also boldly and honestly described the origin of the volume, in his early disposition to contemplation, and the difficulties he had encountered, in the preparation of it for the press, because of his deficiency in education and his lack of opportunity to acquire it, for this purpose; and he also declared, with equal sincerity, we doubt not, that he had, sometimes, been so mortified with his short-comings

while correcting his manuscripts for the press, that he was "in some measure diffident of his accomplishments" "in composing it." He declared, too, that the Bible and a Dictionary were the only books which he had made use of, in the correction of his "old manuscripts"—written, from time to time, as his system was evolved in his "contemplations" and his limited readings, in order that his memory might be assisted and his faculties be unembarrassed—and he also stated, with the utmost candor, "I have invariably endeavored to make reason my guide" "through the whole contents of the system, and expect" "that they who read it, will approve or disapprove it, as they may judge, whether it accords with that original principle or not. If the arguments are rightly stated, and the inferences justly drawn," he continued, "they will stand the test of truth, although they do not come recommended to the public with the prelude of 'Thus saith the Lord.'"

The peculiar doctrines which Colonel Allen published through the medium of that volume, as its author had reasonably supposed, soon brought upon him the reproaches of many of those who read, or professed to read, them; and, from that time to the present, we imagine, this work has served as the foundation on which have been constructed the greater number of the misrepresentations of his opinions, on religious subjects, to which we have referred.

Of himself, he said, with unusual frankness, "In the circle of my acquaintance (which has not been small) I have generally been denominated a Deist, the reality of which I never disputed, being conscious I am no Christian, except mere infant baptism makes me one; and as to being a Deist, I know not, strictly speaking, whether I am one or not, for I have never read their writings; mine will therefore determine the matter; for I have not in the least disguised my sentiments, but have written freely without any conscious knowledge of prejudice for, or against any man, sectary or party whatever; but wish that good sense, truth and virtue may be promoted and flourish in the world, to the detection of delusion, superstition and false religion." At the same time, while thus candidly presenting his own Confession of Faith, as it then was, with equal candor and unusual integrity, in such matters, he openly promised that "ANY ERRORS IN THE FOLLOWING TREATISE, WHICH MAY BE RATIONALLY POINTED OUT, WILL READILY BE RESCINDED, by the public's most obedient humble servant, ETHAN ALLEN."

Notwithstanding the opinions which he may have entertained, at that time, or any other—and some portion of the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls may have been among them—soon after the publication of the *Oracles*, to which we have referred, Colonel Allen discovered, or supposed he discovered, one, at least, of those "errors," in his recently published "system," which he was evidently prepared to find therein; and, agreeably to the promise which he had publicly made, in the Preface to that volume, he promptly proceeded, as best he could, to "rescind" that error and present, in its stead, what he conceived to be a purer and better doctrine.

The "error" to which we allude is found in Chapter II., Section VIII., Page 94 of the *Oracles*, and concerns "the essence of the Soul" and, consequently, "its man-

ner of acting;" and, for the purpose of correcting the error into which he had fallen, as far as he had seen that he had been in error, Colonel Allen prepared, with evidently great care, an *Appendix to the Oracles*, explanatory of his latest opinions on that subject.

That *Appendix* was intended "to be Published at a future day when it" [would] "not infringe on" [its author's] "fortune or present living;" but, as far as we can learn, no portion of it has yet been presented to the world. It is a manuscript, evidently in the handwriting of its author, divided into an *Introduction* and four distinct *Sections*, extending over eighty pages of foolscap; but a promised "letter to Doctor Benj'n Gale in answer to one of his, on the subject of eternal Creation," which was to have been "subjoined" to his argument on the special subject of the paper, if it was ever thus attached to it—which is doubtful—has disappeared.

The subject of that *Appendix*, in itself, is scarcely such an one as would entitle it to admission into THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE; but its Author's position before the world, as one of the founders of the State of Vermont, and the purpose for which it was evidently written induced our lamented friend, Hon. GEORGE F. HOCHSTON, of St. Albans, Vermont, to offer it to us, on condition that we would publish it, in that work, and appropriate, from the anticipated profits arising from the publication, a designated sum toward the erection of a monument to the memory of the author of the Essay—promising, at the same time, on his part, as an inducement for us to undertake what was not an agreeable duty, to prepare for it an appropriate prefatory Note, in order that the publication of such a paper might be made as agreeable as possible to the readers of the Magazine and as remunerative as possible to himself.

The death of our friend, soon after, deprived those who have survived him of the pleasure and instruction which the promised Note, from his pen, would undoubtedly have secured to them; and the duty has devolved upon us to perform, for ourselves, as best we may, the service which he undertook to do for us, and, in this brief and simple Note, to introduce what will be welcomed, in many quarters, as a paper of unusual interest, while, in others, it will be regarded only as a literary or theological curiosity.

We present to our readers, in this number of the Magazine, the *Introduction* to the Essay, in the form in which that *Introduction* was prepared by its Author, without the slightest known variation, either in its spelling, capitals, and punctuation, or in the structure of its paragraphs. In our next number, nothing unforeseen preventing, we shall present the first Section of the Essay, which is devoted to "the essence of the soul, and cogitative and incogitative entity in general."—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

An essay on the universal plenitude of BEING, and on the nature and immortality of the human soul, and its agency.

by Ethan Allen Esq

Proposed as an appendix, to a system of moral philosophy, lately published at Bennington, entitled ORACLES of REASON.

To which is subjoined, a letter to Doctor Benj'n Gale in answer to one of his, on the subject of eternal Creation.

INTRODUCTION.

The Volume to which this is an appendix, was written and printed, previous to the composing this addition, in which I have altered my opinion, of the essence of the soul. In page 94 of the said volume I considered the soul, as not capable of possessing or occupying space, in which opinion, (with many others) for the reasons hereafter exhibited, I conclude that I was mistaken. The soul, with entity in general, must needs occupy space in some sense or other. Though the soul is intrinsically different from senseless matter, (which, in the course of the arguments, will be evinced) yet (with other intelligent entity) it must have a place, in order to have an existence; and if a place, it must have substance, (however mysterious to us) which is by nature capable of possessing place; since admitting the existence of the soul (of which we have an intuitive consciousness) it must exist some where, which is the same as to exist in some place, for an existence no where, is a contradiction to existence it self.

We must therefore ascribe substance to the nature of the soul, a property by which only it is capable of place, or whereness, and consequently of existence; for otherwise, we only amuse our selves with the empty notions of nonentity for the soul, which is the same as for an intelligent conscious being, in actual possession of place and existence, to imagine that he is nothing; which, if true, we query how he ever came to imagine any thing about entity or nonentity, or to have exercised any reflection or consciousness at all; since nothing, or the mere absence of being, could not have done it. I suppose that writers and speakers have confounded themselves more or less, in their arguments on this subject, by denominating the soul to be either material or immaterial, and by examining the properties of incogitative and stupid matter, which is capable of division, figure and motion, with the effects and combinations, which, to our senses and conceptions, appear to be in those kinds of beings; and finding that there is none of the properties or affections that are natural to an intelligent soul, except the property of possessing place, which is common to senseless as well as to moral beings, we are apt to run into the absurd conclusion that the soul is no substance, having in the first place began our query whether the soul be material or immaterial, and finding that it is not material, in the sense we have before observed, we incautiously conclude it to be immaterial; and in our definition of immaterial, we preclude the Idea of substance from the soul, and conse-

quently are divided into the material and immaterial systems; not considering that there may be, and undoubtedly are, intelligent substances, specifically and intrinsically distinct from matter, and though they are by nature immaterial, are nevertheless substantial beings, and have a capacity of whereness or of possessing place. But this notion of spiritual substances of which the essence of intelligent beings exist, having altogether or too much been neglected, and [the] contrary doctrine that mere matter composes all substances, having been advanced by the Materialists, who argued Justly from their system, [that] Immaterial substances or souls could have no existence, as the [Imma]terial system excluded them from being. And the Imma[terial]ists (of whom I was till lately one.) by denying the Material system, in order to make way for the Intelligent existence [of the] soul, advanced the doctrine of its Immateriality, and ran [a] into the egregious blunder of denying the soul the property of [possessing] substance at all; and consequently the property of possess[ing] place, which militates conclusively against its existence in theory; though not in practice and fact, (and it is a maxim in law that facts are stubborn things.) and since in fact [we] have an Intelligent existence, we are obliged as philosophers to ascribe such properties to that part of our nature, as [are] manifestly consistent therewith. and Essential to it, and deny to it, such [as are] incompatible to its being: and since in fact, if the soul exists, any where, it exists in some place, and if so, it must have [the] property of substance wherewith to occupy the same, [as it] is manifestly chimerical to ascribe the notion of place, * * * to it.

Those who adhere to the immaterial system, except they premise a real substance, specifically and intrinsically different from mere matter, of which the soul exists, do by consequence (though not designedly) preclude the existence of the soul; since place is necessary to existence, and substance is essential to possess or occupy place. And on the other hand, those who maintain the material system, by necessary consequence preclude intelligence from the soul, for that matter is incogitative and passive. And thus both systems seem to militate against the existence of the soul, the former, by not including in their Idea of the soul any kind of substance, whereby it could exist, and the latter, by ascribing to it no other substance but matter only, which by nature

* The edges of this portion of the manuscript have disappeared; and we have placed in brackets what we suppose, from the fragments and the context, the author originally wrote thereon.—EDITOR.

is incapable of reflection and consciousness, and thereby negative the intelligence of the soul. These with other considerations exhibited in the following discourse, induced me to premise that the soul existed of a specific kind of spiritual substance, which, however imperceptible through the medium of sense, is nevertheless a real substance, since the soul, in this life, has an actual existence in and possession of the body: we will therefore endeavour to investigate its essence as far as it may be in our power.

What has been hinted at in the introduction may serve to prepare the mind of the reader for the reception of the following arguments on this subject.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

II.—CHURCH AFFAIRS IN BOSTON, 1720-30.

A LETTER FROM THE REV. HENRY HARRIS, A.M., [1] TO THE RT. REV. EDMUND GIBSON, D.D., THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

FROM THE ARCHIVES IN THE EPISCOPAL PALACE, AT FULHAM, ENGLAND, NOW FIRST PRINTED. COMMUNICATED, WITH ANNOTATIONS, BIOGRAPHICAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL, BY THE REV. WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, D.D., PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN HOBART COLLEGE, GENEVA, NEW YORK; AND HISTORIOGRAPHER OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BOSTON, NEW-ENGLAND, June 22d, 1724

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP:

To receive my humble & most hearty thanks for your fatherly care & goodness, expressed towards your clergy of this province in your Lordship's Letter to the Hon'ble the Lieu^t Governor, Will^m Dummer, Esq^r, who has on all occasions employed his authority & influence in protecting our excellent Church & its Ministers from open enemies & pretended friends, from non-jurors & Jacobites, who, under color of advancing religion, have given it a wound which can't easily be healed, & taken the most effectual method to prevent the growth of the Church in these parts of the world. That this may not be thought to be *gratis dictum*, I beg leave to lay before your Lordship a narrative of some occurrences, which I shall attest with sufficient vouchers. 'T would be too long to recount by what steps a defection from the present happy constitution & protestant interest has of late so much prevailed here. In general; 'tis to be ascribed to Scotch Highlanders and other strangers, who, flocking over into this country in great numbers, have fomented divisions &

propagated their seditious principles among the inhabitants; but none did they so egregiously pervert as one John Checkley, [2] who keeps a Toy shop in this place. Him they found to be an instrument as fit for their purpose as ever Jetzer was for the Monks of Bern in Switzerland, & desperate like James Shephard in modern times. Mr Lesley's rehearsals & other works falling into this man's hands, they work'd so powerfully upon his distempered brain that he was very impatient till he had communicated his discoveries to the rest of mankind. The first essay he made in order to the conversion of the dissenters, was his reprinting the short & easy method with the Deists, [3] tho' I don't suppose there is one Deist in New-England, excepting those of his own party. His next effort (as I remember the order of his proceedings) whereby he thought to extirpate independency, [was] his publishing Lesley's Dialogues concerning predestination, [4] which being very crude & mean, (notwithstanding the great name of the author,) soon met with a proper answer, so that the doctrine of predestination grew more into reputation than it had done before, & the dissenters' cause suffered nothing from such feeble attacks. Being thus unsuccessful in print, he resolved to try what he could do another way, & having some acquaintance with Mr Timothy Cutler, [5] then a Dissenting Minister in the neighboring province of Connecticut, he plyed him with such irresistible arguments as compelled him to declare for the Church of England upon Jacobite principles, namely, the invalidity or nullity of the Baptism & other ordinances administered by the Dissenters. I had a great deal of reason to believe that the chief motive of this person's conversion was the prospect of a new Church in this Town, & sent to your Lordship's predecessor an account of that whole affair; but my letter not coming to his Lordship's hands till a few weeks before his death, his Lordship was not capable of considering the subject-matter thereof. The original is with Dr. Bearyman, the late Bp's Chaplain, & if your Lordship desires a sight of it, I presume he'll produce it.

Checkley valued himself so much upon the above mentioned Proselyte, that he followed him & the other Connecticut Gent^e to England, where he appeared as a Candidate for Holy Orders, applying himself to the Hon'ble Society *de propagando Evangelio* for a mission in their service & insinuating himself by his lies into the favor of several members of that Ven'ble body, that in all probability he would have obtained his ends had not His Excellency Col^l Shute, our worthy Gov^r laid open his villany by informing the Hon'ble Society that he had refused to take the oath of abjuration when tendered to him in New England, and that he had also embarrass'd

His Excellency's Administration by his factious & turbulent behavior. [6] Hereupon the society thought fit to reject him. After this repulse he pursued his old schemes & adhered to his old principles, re-printing while he was in London, Lesley's Discourse concerning Episcopacy, intermixing some scurrilous stuff of his own with many positions of dangerous consequence to the Governm^t [7]. After his return to New-England he, in an audacious manner, exposed to sale the said treatise, for which offence the Hon^{ble} the Lieu^t Gov^r & His Majesty's Council ordered the Attorney General & another Counsel learned in the law, to draw up an Indictment, & the Grand Jury found the Bill against him. Conscious of his misdemeanours, he absconded & fled out of the province; which being a demonstrⁿ of his guilt, & the passages in the book being very flagrant, I thought it my duty to animadvert in a Sermon upon tenets of such pernicious tendency, the indefeasible hereditary right of princes being expressly asserted in Checkley's libels, & all Magistrates who derive their power in any measure from the consent of the people, stigmatized with the title & character of usurpers. As a good subject, I could not suffer such things to pass without reproof from the pulpit, & as the divine of the Established Church, I deemed it incumbent on me to condemn another doctrinal error maintained in that book, namely, the invalidity of the Baptism, administered by Protestant Dissenters, [8] which opinion, when it was broach'd in the late reign by Dr Hicke, Mr Lawrence & other writers of that side were strenuously opposed by the upper House of Convocation, and my Lords, the Bishops made a Declaration against it; besides I am convinced in my own private judgment, that the s^d doctrine is not defensible, for which conviction I own myself indebted to the learned writings of the Rev^d Mr Bingham; & this I am well assured of, that the introducing these notions into this Country has so incensed & exasperated the minds of the people, that it is morally impossible they should ever be brought over to the Church upon the terms of being re-baptized, now so violently urged upon them. On the other hand, the Jacobite party were to that degree enraged against me for preaching in derogation of their favorite book, that they held a consultation, wherein they devoted me as a sacrifice to their revenge, & for the effecting of it they contrived that the people who compose our vestry should call me to an account for abusing them, & representing them as disaffected to the Governm^t. They met at a tavern, & I had not then the least notion of their designs against me; but being indisposed, was absent from that meeting, so they sent one of the Church wardens with a message or summons for me to attend at the next vestry, which I

declined; as being inform'd by several honest Gent^{le}, whose words I could depend upon, that my enemies had already prejudged my sermon, & charged me with saying things that I did not, & had been likewise guilty of much insolence & ill-manners, which sort of treatment I had not deserved at their hands, & might, for aught I know, proceed from their being intoxicated with the fumes of tobacco & wine, (two things always offensive to me) I judged it necessary to present a memorial to the Hon^{ble} the Lieu^t Gov^r & his Majesty's Council, wherein I desired that the matter might be heard before them, which was granted, & what the event of that hearing was, your L^dship will see by the enclosed memorial, & the vote of the Council upon it. [9] While these things were transacting, the Tories became a little apprehensive of their danger, & procured a vote in the vestry that an address should be presented to His Majesty, the tenor & design whereof is to clear every individual person belonging to our communion, from the imputation of disloyalty, which address I refused to sign for the reasons specified in a remonstrance subscribed by myself & some other Gent^{le} of honor & veracity, who enjoy considerable posts & bear commissions under the King. This remonstrance is sent to his Excellency our Gov^r, now in London, who is desired to communicate it to your Lordship for the vindication of the subscribers. Here I must not omit to mention one circumstance in which Checkley's friends mightily triumph, and that is, his taking the oaths about 3 weeks ago, which all discerning people ascribe to the impending penalties of the law, his trial being not yet come on, he having escaped the last sessions by his flight, but now residing in Boston: his case is exactly described by the Right Rev^d Father in God, the Lord Bishop of Bangor, on the last 30th of Jan^y sermon preached before the Lords, wherein his Lordship, in a very true & lively manner, displays the notions which some people have of the oaths, upon what principles & with what views they take them. I submit it to your Lordship, whether I ought not to have warned & cautioned my hearers against such principles & practices; whether by these warnings I have represented them as Jacobites, or have they not rather (I speak only of some of them) by their malignant & froward carriage, represented themselves more effectually than I could possibly do, if their spurning at my admonitions & their abetting & encouraging a professed Non-juror & subscribing to a seditious book, be any proof of Jacobitism, then they have an undoubted claim to that character; but that I have reflected upon the whole body of the people belonging to the Church, or treated them ill, I utterly deny: on the contrary, I can with the strictest truth assure your Lord-

ship that I have shown a forgiving spirit, even to my most inveterate enemies, being contented with a liberty of differing from 'em in judgment, & not attempting anything to their prejudice. I have used all the gentle methods of persuasion to reclaim 'em from their errors, & have never been wanting in a meek condescension to their infirmities, nor in a becoming tenderness to their persons & reputations; having during the whole course of my ministry for more than 15 years behaved myself inoffensively, as they have themselves acknowledged upon a thousand occasions, as will in some measure appear by their former recommendations of me to your Lordship's predecessors Dr Compton & Dr Robinson.

I am not ignorant that at this juncture I am blamed by some for my conduct towards T Cutler, the Minister of the new Church in this place; tho' upon the most impartial examination, I can't charge myself with the least offence in that respect, & I have challenged his friends to produce any one instance of it; for from the time of his admission into the Hon'ble Society's service, it has been my particular care not to say or do anything which might tend to his disparagement; but what my opinion of him was when he declared for the Church, your Lordship will perceive by my letter to your Lordship's predecessor; & my present opinion of him is that his behaviour is so imprudent, his notions so wild & extravagant, & his principles so uncharitable, that I may venture to affirm that the Church will never flourish under his care, the affections of the dissenters being entirely alienated from him, & there is not so much as one person of tolerable note & distinction whom he has brought off from the congregational persuasion. This is what I foresaw would be the issue of his management, & to show my dislike of it, I declined having any intimate conversation with him, lest his principles should be thought to be espoused by all of our communion, & so the whole Church should suffer thro' the indiscretion of one man. I am satisfied that by this means I have promoted the interest & credit of the Established Church, & am favor'd with the approbation of all the King's Officers, (one only excepted) & the most intelligent part of the congregation; & the King's Chapel, wherein I officiate, is throng'd and crowded with a very numerous audience. This it seems is no small grievance to Dr Cutler's friends, who impute the ill success of his ministry to my coldness towards him, & as I am informed, have sent to your Lordship a complaint against me, which was kept a secret by the persons who were active in it; but a Gentⁿ (Mr. Rob^t Temple) to whom these people offered their Petition for his signing, gave me this account, that whereas I had

treated Dr Cutler very unkindly, & represented his hearers as Jacobites, to the great discredit of the Church & the comfort of the dissenters; they therefore petitioned your Lordship for my removal from my present station. The Gentⁿ observed to them, that as by their own confession they did not pretend to charge me with any miscarriages in my life & conversation, he thought it a proceeding of a very extraordinary nature & unparall'd barbarity to endeavour to take away my bread, supposing the charge of the facts set forth in their petition was made good; but that he was not satisfied in the truth of them, & therefore could sign no such papers. I doubt not but your Lordship being apprized of the origin & grounds of the s^d petition will think it resembles the embassy which Philip, King of Macedon, sent to the Athenians, requiring them to banish Demosthenes out of their State. The arguments which the Grecian Orator urged in his defence are well known to your Lordship, & therefore, I think it needless to repeat them. I am told that some people who belong to the King's Chapel have concurred with those of the New Church; but how far my colleague, the Rev^d Mr Myles, is concerned in this dirty work, I can't say, only this I am sure of, that he has declared more than once, he had no quarrel with me & should not interest himself in the differences betwixt me & my adversaries; since which time he has rec'd large presents from them, which 'tis possible may be attended with the same effects they had in Solomon's days, viz., of blinding the eyes. However, I am not averse to the substance of the petition, that your Lordship would please to remove me from this place; I hope not in anger, or by way of punish^{mt}, but as a reward of my faithful & laborious services in these parts of the world—for tho' 'tis difficult to speak of one's self, yet no man shall stop me of this boasting in the regions of New-England, that I have both planted & water'd several flourishing churches here, [10] and have seen the happy & fruitful increase of my labors, which, by the blessing of God, succeeded according to my wishes—not that I gained the dissenters by any sinister arts, or made 'em any concessions, either in doctrine or discipline, but used the strongest reasons I could think of to convince their understandings, & the softest words with the most affable courteous behaviour to attract their esteem & engage their affections, commending the purity of their morals, & desiring their perfection in an union with our truly primitive and apostolic Church, to which end I dispersed 1500 copies of Bp King's Inventions of Men in the Worship of God, and Bp Williams's Lawfulness of Worshipping God by the Common prayer, these treatises being in my humble opinion best adapted to the

necessities & capacities of the people in this Country, & fully answering my expectations. I confess the scene at present is much altered, & the Church's interest visibly declines since Dr Cutler has tried his new experiments. Thus, tho' he was made a Doctor in the Schools he proves himself to be a novice in the Church, and obliges the World with the taste of the first fruits of his Novitiate—in supplanting me, into whose labors he is entered without expressing the least grateful sense of the benefit he reaps from my unwearied patience, toil, & industry. So that, with some variation & prejudice to the poetry, Virgil's words are not foreign to my present circumstances: *Hanc ego Ecclesiam struxi, tulit alter Honores sic Nos non Vobis.*

If your Lordship requires it, I will, get these things attested by persons more considerable both for number, fortune & reputation, than my adversaries, who have complained of me to your Lordship. But, in the mean time, as I thought it my duty to refer these disputes to the Government, which I conceive to be agreeable to your Lordship's letter to the Clergy of this province, a Letter to your Lordship from the Hon^{ble} the Lieut Gov^r concerning my conduct seemed more satisfactory than from obscure persons.

I am now afraid that I have tried your Lordship's patience; & nothing but absolute necessity sho'd have induced me to trespass so long upon your Lordship's precious moments, being sensible that 't would be an injury to the public to give your Lordship any unnecessary trouble or interruption in the discharge of your weighty & important cares; & this consideration hindered me from congratulating your promotion to the See of London; being sensible that your Lordship's celebrated virtues can receive no addition from such poor compliments as mine. I beg leave to add one word more, & I have done; & that is, that the fatigue & vexation I have lately met with here have thrown me into such an ill state of health, that for the recovery thereof I shall be necessitated to undertake a voyage to England this year, & intend, God willing, to do myself the honor of waiting upon your Lordship; depending upon your Lordship's goodness in the continuance of my subsistence till I am provided for at home; for I am under no apprehension that your L^dship will let me starve, having suffered very much already in my worldly interest for a steady attachment to the present happy constitution both in Church and state.

I humbly recommend myself to your Lordship's blessing, and am, with the most profound veneration, may it please your Lordship, your Lordship's

Most dutiful & most obed^t humb^e serv^t

H. HARRIS.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES, BY REV. WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, D.D.

NOTE 1.—Page 196.

The Rev. HENRY HARRIS, A.M., the writer of this letter to Bishop Gibson, was, for twenty years, the Assistant Minister of the King's Chapel, Boston. The MSS., copied, under the direction of the late Rev. Francis Lister Hawks, D.D., LL.D., from the Archives at Fulham and Lambeth, whence this letter is taken, contain frequent references to him; and betray the fact that, in his anxiety to commend himself to the Massachusetts Congregationalists, he forfeited the respect and confidence of his brethren of the Church of England, both Clergy and Laity. Notices of his life and ministry will be found in Greenwood's *History of King's Chapel*, 69-71, 82-84, 87, 90-93, 153, 155, 167-170, 209; in Sprague's *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, 70, 71; in the *Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society*, i., 127; in Anderson's *History of the Colonial Church*, iii., 407; in Bolton's *History of the Westchester Church*, 189; in Quincy's *History of Harvard University*, i., 367, 561; in Drake's *History of Boston*, 471; in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, i., 135; and xv., 193; in Coffin's *History of Newbury*, 381; in the *New York Colonial Documents*, v., 406; in the *Documentary History of New York*, iii., 213; etc.; etc.

NOTE 2.—Page 196.

To the Rev. JOHN CHECKLEY, M.A., Oxon., to whom reference is made, in this sneering manner, the Episcopal Church in Massachusetts was largely indebted for its rapid growth, during the early part of the Eighteenth Century. Doctor Sprague, in his *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, (pp. 109, 110) has given a brief sketch of his career; and the Rev. Dr. E. H. Gillett, the learned historian of the Presbyterian Church, has, in the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, [II., iii., 209-214] in prefacing Checkley's famous *Speech upon his Tryal*, added largely to the scanty information extant, respecting this noted controversialist.

In some few points, Doctor Gillett has labored under a misapprehension, as to some minute particulars respecting Checkley's early life; but his painstaking sketch of the history and his bibliography of the controversy, respecting Church polity, which grew out of Checkley's publications, is a most exhaustive and interesting addition to our ecclesiastical annals. Further light will be thrown upon the whole subject by the publication of the *Papers relating to the History of the Church in Massachusetts*, forming Volume III. of the *Historical Collections*

of the American Colonial Church, now in process of publication under the editorship of the present Historiographer of the American Episcopal Church.

Abundant references to Checkley's life and controversies will be found in Eliot's *Biographical Dictionary*, Article CHECKLEY; in Volume VIII. of the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*; in Updike's *History of the Narragansett Church*, 183, 205-211, 264, 281, 410-411, 457-466; in Staples's *Annals of Providence, R. I.*, 446, 447; in Greenwood's *History of King's Chapel*, 158; in Thomas's *History of Printing*, ii., 426-428; in Hawks and Perry's *Connecticut Church Documents*, i., 74; in Anderson's *Colonial Church*, iii., 451-453; in Hawkins's *Missions of the Church of England*, 225, 228; in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, ii., 353, 354; etc.; etc.

NOTE 3.—Page 196.

We give a bibliographical list of the editions of Checkley's issues of *The Short and Easy Method with the Deists*, together with the other controversial pamphlets, to which reference is made in this letter:

I.—*THE RELIGION OF JESUS CHRIST | the only True RELIGION, | OR, | A Short and Easie | METHOD | WITH THE | DEISTS, | Wherein the | CERTAINTY | OF THE | Christian Religion | Is demonstrated by Infallible Proof from | FOUR RULES, | WHICH ARE | Incompatible to any Imposture that ever yet | has been, or that can possibly be | In a LETTER to a Friend. | The Seventh Edition. | Boston: Printed by T. Fleet, and are to be. | Sold by John Checkley, at the Sign of the Crown | and Blue Gate over against the West End of the | Town-house. 1719.*

Title; reverse, blank; the Preface, pp. i-xii.; *The Short and Easie Method*, pp. 1-51; *THE | EPISTLE | OF | St. IGNATIUS | TO THE | TRALLIANS*, | pp. 1-7.

This was the first issue of *The Short and Easy Method*, in this country; and the only foreign matter it contains is the *Epistle to the Trallians*. Stevens, in his *American Nuggets*, (i., 136, 137) attributes the Preface (pp. i-xii.) to Checkley; but this is a mistake. It is found in Leslie's works.

The tract, a copy of which is in the collection of the writer, is of great rarity; and is priced by Stevens at £3. 3s.

II.—*A Short and Easie | METHOD | WITH THE | DEISTS. | Wherein the | CERTAINTY | OF THE | CHRISTIAN RELIGION | Is demonstrated, by infallible Proof from | FOUR RULES, | WHICH ARE | Incompatible to any Imposture that ever yet | has been, or that can possibly be. | In a LETTER to a Friend. | The Eighth Edition. | LONDON: | Printed by J. APPLEBER,*

and Sold by JOHN CHECKLEY, | at the Sign of the Crown and Blue-Gate, over | against the West-End of the Town-House in | Boston: 1723.

Octavo, pp. 132. Pp. 41-127 contain A | Discourse concerning EPISCOPACY. |; pp. 128-132, THE | EPISTLE | OF | St. IGNA-TIUS | TO THE | TRALLIANS. |

Like the last, a copy of this tract is in the writer's collection. It is very rare; and is priced by Stevens at £3. 3s.

The *Discourse concerning Episcopacy* is largely taken from Leslie's works. In fact, all that is original in it is the occasional interpolation of some "home thrust" against the more common objections urged in New England, against the Church of England. These paragraphs and such other modifications as were necessary to adapt the work to the Boston public made up this tractate, which, though printed in London and mainly the production of an English clergyman, was deemed worthy of the action of the Massachusetts Council and the Courts; while its reputed author, or, rather the publisher, was fined fifty pounds for his temerity in assailing the validity of the ordination of New England Dissenters.

During his trial, as appears from a letter from Checkley to the Rev. Dr. Zachary Grey, the annotator of Hudibras, preserved in Nichols's *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, iv., 271, the following trenchant productions were "printed by stealth:"

1.—*A | MODEST PROOF | OF THE | Order & Government | Settled by Christ and his Apostles | IN THE | CHURCH. | BY SHEWING | I. What Sacred Offices were Instituted | by them. | II. How those Offices were Distinguished. | III. That they were to be Perpetual and | Standing in the Church. And, | IV. Who Succeed in them, and rightly | Execute them to this Day. | Recommended as proper to be put into the Hands of the Laity. | BOSTON: | Reprinted by Tho. Fleet, and are to be Sold | by Benjamin Eliot in Boston, Daniel Aurault in Newport, Gabriel Bernon in Providence, Mr Gallop in Bristol, Mr Jean in Stratford, and | in most other towns within the Colonies of | Connecticut and Rhode Island. 1723.*

Small octavo; Title; reverse, blank; pp. i-v., *The Publisher | TO THE | READER |*; pp. 1-63, the *Modest Proof*.—(Vide Stevens's *American Nuggets*, ii., 530.)

2.—*A | DISCOURSE | Shewing Who is a true Pastor of the | CHURCH OF CHRIST. |* Octavo, pp. 16. Errata, one page. *The Epistle to the Trallians* occupies pp. 12-16.

On page 11, we find the following Note: "Those who have a Mind to see the Propositions in this small Tract prov'd beyond the Possibility of a Reply, are desir'd to read a

"Discourse concerning Episcopacy, which they may have at the *Crown and Gate* opposite to the West End of the Town-House in Boston. Where likewise may be had *Barclay's* persuasive, printed in London, by *Jonah Bouyer*, with other Books of the like Nature."

Vide Stevens's American Nuggets, i., 138.

Referring to these pamphlets, Checkley writes to Doctor Grey, in these words: "You must excuse the lowness of the diction; though, by the good it has already done, I would flatter myself that it is not ill-suited to the end proposed, viz.: demonstrating to either party the inconsistency of their respective schemes in their own dialect; to keep close to which, and to write with perspicuity, I assure you is not very Easy."

The appearance of the *Discourse concerning Episcopacy*, the *Modest Proof*, and the *Discourse shewing who is a True Pastor*, etc., following so close one upon another, excited no little alarm among the Independents, in New England. The controversy they provoked was carried on in the following order, viz.:

Sober Remarks on A Book lately Re-printed at Boston, Entitled, A Modest Proof of the Order & Government settled by CHRIST and his Apostles in the Church. In a Letter to a Friend. Boston: 1724.

Octavo, pp. 78. In Harvard-college Library.

Passing rapidly to a second edition, the same year, the size of this little tract was increased to one hundred and twenty-six pages. The author was Edward Wigglesworth, Hollis Professor of Sacred Theology in Harvard-college, where he was graduated, in 1710, and subsequently "S. T. D.," from Edinburgh. The preface, after noting the disposal of the "first impression," "in about a Week's time," goes on to say: "As to the *Modest Proof*, I think it is a Collection of the main Scripture Arguments on the Episcopal Side; some of which are there given us in the best Light, & the whole represented in a manner not unpalatable: insomuch that many of the Author's Party upon it's first appearing among us, voted it a perfect Piece, boasted of it as unanswerable, & at length publickly challeng'd us to make a Reply."

Other controversial efforts appeared, in rapid succession.

An Essay upon that Paradox, Infallibility may sometimes Mistake. Or a Reply to a Discourse Concerning Episcopacy, Said in a late Pamphlet to be beyond the Possibility of a Reply. To which is Prefixed, Some Remarks upon said Pamphlet, Entitled, *A Discourse Shewing, Who is a true Pastor of the Church of Christ.* As also Remarks upon St. Ignatius's

Epistle to the Trallians. By a Son of Martin-Mar-Prelate. Boston: 1724.

Duodecimo, pp. 120. In Harvard college Library.

A DEFENCE OF Presbyterian Ordination. In ANSWER to a Pamphlet, entitled, *A MODEST PROOF, OF THE Order and Government settled by Christ, in the CHURCH.* Boston: 1724.

Octavo, pp. iii., 44. In Harvard-college Library.

The Ruling & Ordaining Power of Congregational Bishops, or Presbyters, Defended. Being Remarks on some Part of Mr. P. Barclay's *Persuasive*, lately distributed in New-England. By an Impartial Hand. In a Letter to a Friend. Boston: 1724.

Duodecimo, pp. 45.

The copy of this tract, in Harvard-college Library (*Tr.* 219. 44: 26) was given by the Rev. Thomas Foxcroft (*H. C.* 1714) to whom this tract is attributed; and contains MS. notes, in his handwriting.

A rarer tract in this controversy is the following:

REMARKS upon a Pamphlet Entitled, A Discourse shewing, who is a true Pastor of the Church of CHRIST. [together with] *A Reply to the Discourse of Episcopacy.*

Octavo, pp. 120. In the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library (98. 11).

The author of the following *Defence* was doubtless Checkley himself, with the aid, possibly, of the celebrated Doctor Cutler.

A Defence Of a Book lately re-printed at Boston entitled, A Modest Proof of the Order &c. In Reply to a Book entitled, Sober Remarks on the Modest Proof, &c. With some Strictures of J. Dickinson's *Defence of Presbyterian Ordination*, by way of Postscript. Also Animadversions upon Two Pamphlets, The one entitled, *An Essay upon that Paradox, Infallibility* may sometimes mistake. The other, *The ruling and ordaining Power of Congregational Bishops or Presbyters defended*, &c. Boston: 1724.

Octavo, pp. 73, 14. In Harvard-college Library (*Alc.* 41, *Pamph. Room*, "Church.")

With the opening of the following year, Doctor Wigglesworth again appeared upon the scene, this time with *A Vindication of the Appendix to the Sober Remarks.* Being a Reply to some Animadversions upon it, in the Appendix to the *Defence of the Modest Proof.* Wherein the Ruling and Ordaining Power of Congregational Bishops, or Presbyters, is further Defended. In a Second Letter to a Friend. Boston: 1725.

Duodecimo, pp. 59. In Harvard-college Library (Tr. 472. 40; 64.)

At this juncture a reprint of an English Dissenting tract appeared:

Plain Reasons, I. For Dissenting from the Communion of the Church of England. II. Why Dissenters are not, nor can be guilty of Schism, in peaceable Separating from the Places of Publick Worship in the Church of England. And III. Several Common Objections, brought by Churchmen against Dissenters, Answer'd. By a True Protestant. The Eighteenth Edition. Boston: 1725.

Duodecimo, pp. 40. In the Library of the American Antiquarian Society.

This venture was followed by another, in the same vein:

A brief Account of the Revenues, Pomp, and State of the BISHOPS and OTHER Clergy in the CHURCH of ENGLAND. In a Letter, &c. Boston, N. E. Printed for Samuel Gerrish, and Sold at his Shop. 1725.

Small Octavo, pp. 13. In the Boston Athenæum Library (Tr. D. 12).

Frequent and amusing references are made to the controversy then raging, in consequence of the publication of the *Discourse concerning Episcopacy* and the *Modest Proof*. Thus, on page 3, the author says: "I hear the Government has done signal Justice to Mr. J. C. for "*the Discourse concerning Episcopacy*, lately published by him."

His great argument against Episcopacy is the great expense of supporting its prelates and clergy as compared with the cheapness of salaries of the Independent teachers.

A few years later, we have further evidences of the indomitable energy of Checkley, in the publication of two editions of his *Speech upon his Tryal*. This *Speech* has been re-printed in the third volume of the New Series of this Magazine, with an interesting Introduction by Rev. Dr. E. H. Gillett, which we have consulted with no little satisfaction. The title of this pamphlet is as follows:

THE | SPEECH | OF | Mr. John Checkley |
UPON HIS | TRYAL, | At Boston in NEW-ENG-
LAND, | FOR PUBLISHING | The Short and Easy
METHOD with the | Deists: To which was
added, A Discourse | concerning EPISCOPACY;
In Defence of | Christianity, and the CHURCH of
England, against the DEISTS and the DISSENT-
ERS. | To which is added: | The Jury's Verdict;
His Plea in Arrest of | Judgment; and the
Sentence of Court. | LONDON: | Printed for J.
WILFORD, behind the Chapter- | House in St.
Paul's Churchyard. 1730.

Octavo, pp. 40.

To this is appended, on a single page, A |

SPECIMEN | Of a TRUE | *Dissenting* CATHE-
CHISM, | Upon Right TRUE-BLUE | Dissenting
PRINCIPLES | etc.

The Second Edition of this important pamphlet bears the following imprint:

LONDON: | Printed by J. APPLEBEE, in Bolt-
Court, Fleet Street. | M.DCC.XXXVIII.

It is this edition which was re-printed by Doctor Gillett, in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE; and a few copies were issued separately.

An edition of the whole of Checkley's publications, save the *Modest Proof* and the *Discourse shewing who is a True Pastor*, has already been printed, the present century, with the following title, viz.: A SHORT AND EASY METHOD WITH THE DEISTS: WHEREIN THE CERTAINTY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION IS DEMONSTRATED, BY INFALLIBLE PROOF, from four rules, which are incompatible to any imposture that ever yet has been, or that can possibly be. IN A LETTER TO A FRIEND. First American, from the Eighth London Edition. PRINTED BY J. M. POMROY, Windsor (Vt.) 1812.

Duodecimo, pp. 168.

To which is added A DISCOURSE CONCERNING EPISCOPACY (Pp. 43-134 incl). THE EPISTLE OF ST. IGNATIUS TO THE TRALLIANS. (Pp. 135-139 incl) and THE SPEECH OF MR. JOHN CHECKLEY, Upon his TRIAL at Boston in New England, for publishing *The Short and Easy Method with the DEISTS*; to which was added, *A Discourse concerning Episcopacy*; in defence of Christianity and the Church of England, against the Deists and Dissenters. — To which is added, The Jury's Verdict; his Plea in arrest of Judgment; and the Sentence of Court (Pp. 141-168).

A list of publications on the Episcopal controversy, prior to the Revolution, is appended to the Rev. Dr. A. B. Chapin's *Puritanism not Genuine Protestantism*. (16 mo, New York: 1847.) Though not complete, it is of interest and value.

NOTE 4.—Page 196.

The titles of these tracts were as follows, viz.:

I.

Choice Dialogues Between a Godly Minister, And an Honest Country-Man, Concerning Election & Predestination. Detecting the false Principles of a certain Man, who calls himself a *Presbyter* of the Church of England. By a Reverend and Laborious Pastor in Christ's Flock, by One who has been, for almost twice thirty years, a faithful & Painful Labourer in Christ's Vineyard. Rom 8. 29, 30.

It was an octavo, of forty-six pages; and is in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library, (56, 11). Pp. 39-46, inclusive, contain

THE EPISTLE OF St. IGNATIUS TO THE MAGNESIANS.

The reply was by the Rev. Thomas Walter, A. M. (Harvard-college, 1713).—*Vide HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Second Series, iii., 210.

II.

A Choice Dialogue Between John Faustus A Conjurer, and Jack Tory His Friend. Occasioned by some *Choice Dialogues* lately Published, concerning *Predestination* and *Election*. Together with Animadversions upon the *Preface* to the *Choice Dialogues*. And an *Appendix* concerning the true Doctrine of *Predestination*, as held by the *Church of England*, and the *Absurdities* and *Inconsistency* of the *Choice Dialogues*. By a Young Stripling. Boston: 1730.

It is a small octavo, of pages xxi., 79; and is in the Harvard-college Library. (Tr. 526. 40. 65.)

NOTE 5.—Page 196.

The Rev. TIMOTHY CUTLER, M.A., Rector of Yale-college and, subsequently, of Christ-church, Boston, was graduated at Harvard-college, in 1701; took his Master's degree, in 1704; received the degree of S. T. D., from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, England, in 1723; and died, in 1765.

Notices of his life appear in Chandler's *Life of Johnson* (12°, New York: 1805) 17, 18, 27-39, 150-155, 169; *Ibid* (8°, London: 1824) 16, 17, 27, 30-38, 149, 152, 153, 170; in Beardsley's *Connecticut Church*, i., 22, 23, 32; 37-39, 41, 43, 47, 49, 51, 52, 86, 87, 89, 146, 188, 445, 446; in Hawks and Perry's *Connecticut Church Documents*, i., 50, 53, 54, 55, 57, 60-1, 65, 66, 69, 70, 72, 79, 80, 83, 90, 91, 97, 127, 213; in Sprague's *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, 50-54, 63, 109, 149, 227; in Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*, i., 494, and ii., 32, 33, 34, 36, 530-534; in Eaton's *History of Christ Church, Boston*, 7-11, 16, 26; in Drake's *History of Boston*, 614, 657, 691; in *Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society*, ii., 49, 50, 83, 251, 254; in Greenwood's *History of King's Chapel*, 84-86, 156, 172, 173; in Updike's *History of the Narragansett Church*, 88-90, 96-99, 102-104, 206, 207, 208, 251; in Quincy's *History of Harvard University*, i., 364-376, 560, 563, 566, 572, 587; ii., 72, 74, 462; in Anderson's *History of the Colonial Church*, iii., 384-395, 405-419; in Hawkins's *Missions of the Church of England*, 42, 174-179, 186, 234, 387; in Humphrey's *Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, 339-342; in Berrian's *History of Trinity-church, New York*, 110, 111; in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, i., 135; iv., 175; xiv., 204; xv., 198, 200, 309;

in the *Abstracts of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, 172½, and following years; etc.

NOTE 6.—Page 197.

The refusal of Holy Orders to the indefatigable Checkley was but temporary. He was, subsequently, ordained and sent as a Missionary of the Venerable Society, to Providence, Rhode Island, where he labored till his death.

The "factious and turbulent behaviour," so distasteful to the Governor and the Rev. Mr. Harris, appears, by the various letters and documents printed in the third volume of the *Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church*, to have been merely the restless activity of a man bent, above everything else, upon advancing the interests of his faith; and this "factious behaviour" was displayed, again and again, in circumventing the opposition, active or concealed, of the leading Independents of the Province, both clerical and lay.

NOTE 7. - Page 197,

Vide before. The "libel" was finally determined by the Court as not against the Government, but against the Dissenting Ministers of the Province.

NOTE 8.—Page 197.

The following title and extract will explain, somewhat, the allusion in the text:

A CAVEAT Against the New Sect of ANA-BAPTISTS, Lately sprung up at EXON. Shewing the Novelty and Schism, the Absurdity and dangerous Tendency of their Principles and Practices, who were concerned in the Rebaptization of Mr. Benjamin Read. In a LETTER to a Friend. Optat. de Schismate Donatist. Lib. 5, Sect. 5. From the SECOND EDITION, at LONDON, 1714. BOSTON: Re-printed by T. Fleet, 1724.

It is an octavo, of forty pages; and is in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library (98. 24).

"This Account (in all Probability) had never been Reprinted in this Country, had not the like Theatrical Performance begun to be acted here, with great Industry and Endeavours to gain Proselytes to act upon."—*American Preface*.

The scope of the original tract is as follows: "A Mr. Benj. Read of Exeter, born and bred a dissenter and designed for their ministry, became suddenly a zealous Churchman and shortly after conforming he was rebaptized at the Parish Church of Heavytree near Exeter by a Rev. Mr. Jenkinson. The Author of the Caveat examines into the authority for this act and pronounces it contrary to the doctrine and teachings of the Church as well as the practice

"of the English Clergy both collectively and severally, instancing clergymen and even a Bishop without Episcopal baptism."

NOTE 9.—Page 197.

The papers referred to by the Rev. Mr. Harris and further accounts of this difficulty will be found in the *Papers relating to the History of the Church in Massachusetts*, now in process of publication, as the third volume of the *Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church*.

NOTE 10.—Page 198.

The Rev. Mr. Harris deserves honorable remembrance for his zealous labors in introducing the services of the Church, in the neighborhood of Boston; and, although personally distasteful to his clerical brethren, and failing, finally, to secure the confidence and support of the people of his immediate charge, he gained the confidence and respect of the non-Episcopalian portion of the community, and met the charges of Cutler, Checkley, and others, with testimonials from the celebrated Benjamin Coleman, D.D., the Minister of Brattle-street Church, and others of the Independents. Doubtless, jealousy of the eminently-learned Cutler and a fear of being supplanted by one whom he knew to be held in such high esteem, at home, may have soured his temper and embittered the last years of an otherwise useful ministry.

III.—DESCRIPTION OF A RARE TRACT ON THE SWEDISH COLONY AND CHURCH, ON THE DELAWARE.

By HON. JOHN R. BARTLETT.

A small quarto volume, relating to the old Swedish Colony planted near the Delaware, but particularly to the Swedish Church, there, having lately come into my hands, I send an account of it, in the belief that it will interest the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. The following is its title:

Dissertatio Gradualis, de Plantatione Ecclesie Suecane in America, quam Suffragante Ampl. Senatu Philosoph. in Regio Upsal-Athenæo, Præside, viro Amplissimo atque Celeberrimo Mag. Andrea Grönwall, Eth. & Polit. Prof. Reg. & Ord. In Audit. Gust. Maj. d. 14 Jun. An MDCXXXI. Examinandam modeste sistit Tobias E. Biörck. Americano-Dalekarlus. UPALÆ Literis Wernerianis. Quarto: Title, three preliminary leaves; text, thirty-four pages.

A peculiarity of the Latin dissertation is its preliminary articles, in English, which is singular, when it appears to have been published for Swedish readers, few of which could understand the English language.

The author was the son of Ericus Biörck—who was sent as a Minister to New Sweden, in the year 1697—and was born in America. The work is full of interest for its historical details as well as for its notices of the Indians. Among the preliminary portion, will be found a poetical dedication, in English, to Count Gyllenborg, of Lund, from which it is evident that the good Minister was not well-versed in the language. Having mingled with the English Colonists, in America, perhaps he wished to make a display of his learning. Following this, is a Latin dedication; and, next, a letter from Andrew Hesselius, in English:

"The tract has," says Mr. Muller of Amsterdam, "by some been attributed to A. Grönwall, but erroneously; the disputation having been held under his Presidentship and he is, therefore, named on the title, together with Mr. Biörck, as, in Sweden, it was the custom, as in Germany, for the Professors to write a dissertation, to be defended by their disciples; but there were honorable exceptions, as, for instance, here, Biörck is the sole author."

The following is the poetical dedication, *verbatim*:

"To the Most Honourable Lord, Count Charles Gyllenborg, Senator in the Kingdom of Sweden and Chancellour of the University at Lund.

"What think, *Your Lordship*, maketh me bold,
"To enter Your Palace?

"Yeas, reason is, that I am told,

"Of Father dear, allways:

"How great to him Your Favour been,

"When you in London stood,

"And he by Sweds, about Christeen,

"In *Pennsilvani*—Wood.

"How Swedish Church is planted there,

"Of Swedish Priests and Sheeps,*

"Of both Sides of *de la Ware*.†

"Among great many Heaps,

"Of divers Sects and Indians,

"Is now My Lord, the Same,

"I am perswaded of my Brains,

"To offer Your great Name.

"I hope, Your *Lordship* tak's it well,

"Although the Gift is Smal,

"For this do me assure and tell,

"Your Grace renoun'd to all.

"And, pray, who can here take away

"The Favour of such *Lord*?

"No more, than from the Sun, one Ray,

"A task, besure, too hard.

"And now it please Your Excellence,

* Probably *flock*.

† Delaware.

"To cast a Beam on me,
 "And take this work in Your Defence,
 "How happy wil I be!
 "Indeed, I think, I then dare Say,
 "At all Envy I boast,
 "For what a Cloud can ever stay,
 "Where Sun doth shine at most.

"LORD, pardon me, who made now bold,
 "To talke Your Praise in vain,
 "For when all told, is nothing told,
 "Still greater doth remain.
 "O, God therefore, gif Ear, I pray
 "That this *My Lord* may See,
 "For many's Sake, his latest Day.
 "As late as it can be!

"Your Lordships
 Most humble and most obedient servant.

"TOMAS ER. BJÖRCK.
 "Americ"

The following is the Letter of Professor Hesselius:

"To the Learned American
 "MR. TOBIAS BJÖRCK,

"Upon Publishing his Gradual Disputation in
 "the Famous University at Lund.

"SIR,

"I hope You will not take it amiss, if
 "I cannot forbear declaring the great value I
 "have for Your Endeavours to lay before the
 "learned world the *Plantation of the Swedish
 "Church in America*. As it is Naturall to
 "have a Fondness for what has cost us much
 "time and attention in the different different
 "scenes of our life, so it is no Wonder, if
 "I (who have at least a competent Idea of some
 "of the most remarkable occurrences in the af-
 "fairs of Religion in America) do now heartily
 "congratulate your honourable and candid
 "Undertaking in settling those Matters in that
 "graceful light, which they deserve. Your
 "Abridgment of the Churches cannot fail of
 "being read with pleasure, since You have so
 "nicely informed your self of their several Cir-
 "cumstances and Changes. If You had been
 "conversant with all the Church-Ramblers * in
 "London, there might sooner, I believe, escape
 "Your Observations all the multifarious Sects
 "and Religion-Pretenders, than they now do.
 "But I shall look upon Your Disputation as a
 "Book, that administers more to curiosity, than
 "to the real Service to the publick; For I dare
 "presage, that, after having seriously consider-
 "ed the Face of Religion in that wide and
 "before uncultivated Country, it must be a
 "grateful Reflection to some honest Gentlemen
 "(who will rather choose to make any Part of

"the World their Home, than to sit, as it were,
 "in their Chimney-Corner, as inglorious Neuters
 "to the Christian Religion among Heathens) to
 "think that the sublimest Truths are now
 "grown familiar to the meanest Inhabitants of
 "those Nations. What can be more surprizing
 "than to see that people formerly ignorant and
 "savages, shall now outshine several Christians
 "of old standing, those, I mean, who are endow-
 "ed with such little souls, as the Poet says:

"So shy of one another they are grown,
 "As if they strove to get to Heaven alone,
 "Rigid and Zealous, Positive and Grave,
 "And every gift, but Charity, they have.

"As for our own National Church in America, I
 "heartily wish the Advantages arising from her
 "Purity may not be confined to narrow Tracts
 "of the Earth, but, that they may as certainly
 "promote the Interest of Your native Country.
 "as they never will or can lessen or obstruct
 "that of ours. I am fully perswaded, that the
 "Swedish Church in America will continue to
 "be the most safe and flourishing under the
 "influence of his Majesty Our Most Gracious
 "King Frederick, since it is to be hoped for,
 "that we shall never see such a deplorable Con-
 "dition, as that Church was in, before it
 "pleased God to put into the heart of His
 "Majesty King CHARLES the XIth of Glorious
 "Memory, to send your Venerable Father with
 "two other Missionaries thither. Now, to set
 "forward and perfect these glorious Designs,
 "and truly Christian purposes, for the future, it
 "is to be wished, that some of our Great and
 "Rich Gentlemen and Ladies, who are so emi-
 "nent for their Charities on other occasions.
 "would readily afford their assisting hands, to
 "the unspeakable Felicity of many thousand
 "pour souls in the West Indies taken out of
 "other Nations. Thus to bring men out of
 "darkness to light, is a God-like undertaking,
 "that will certainly baffle all the attempts of
 "the Churches Enemies. And, as for You
 "Dear Cousin, if it should please God, to put
 "You into the same method of life, as Your
 "Reverend Father hath been engaged in,
 "(Whose particular Distinction is, to signalize
 "himself for the Welfare of the Church, both
 "abroad, and at home) I promise myself, You
 "will find more Reason for returning to Your
 "Native Country, and entring our Society,
 "than You could at first have expected. How-
 "ever, I shall not trespass against Providence
 "and Your own inclination, as a Fortune-Teller,
 "by a presage of future Changes and Adven-
 "tures; but, after wishing You all the felicities,
 "that an Agreeable station can furnish You
 "with, I shall interrupt You no further, than
 "by telling You, that I am with all Sincerity

* Church-goers.

"Sir
 "Your most affectionate Brother
 "and Humble Servant
 "ANDREW HESSELIUS
 "P. & P. in Gagnef."

This is followed by a copperplate Map entitled
Delineatio Pennsylvaniae et Caesaræ Nov. Occi-
dent seu West Njersey in America.
 PROVIDENCE, January, 1873.

J. R. B.

IV.—"THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS" OF VERMONT.

MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THEIR
 CONVENTIONS.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 139.

NOW FIRST PRINTED, WITHOUT MUTILATION, AL-
 TERATION, OR INTERPOLATION, FROM THE ORIG-
 INAL MANUSCRIPTS.

New Hampshire Grants } October 30th 1776 Con-
 Westminster Court House } vention Opened accord-
 ing to Adjournment.

PRESENT the following Members.

Bennington	{ Nathan Clark Esq ^r
Manchester	{ Col ^o W ^m Marsh
Pollet	{ Capt. W ^m Fitch
Rutland	{ Capt Joseph Bowker
Colechester	{ Capt Ira Allen
Marlborough	{ Capt Francis Whitmore
Windsor	{ Mr Ebenezar Hosington
Kent	{ Mr Edwar Akins
Rockingham	{ Doct ^r Reuben Jones
Dummerston	{ Lieut Leonard Spalding
	{ Mr Joseph Hildrith
Westminster	{ Mr Joshua Webb
	{ Nath ^l Robinson Esq ^r
Brumley	{ Capt W ^m Utley
Townshend	{ Capt Sam ^l Fletcher
Putney	{ Dennis Lockland
Chester	{ Col ^o Thomas Chandler

- 1st Voted Capt. Ira Allen Clerk.
 2^d Voted that Nathaniel Robinson Esq^r Mr Sol-
 omon Phelps & Col^o William Marsh be a
 Committee to go to the Clerk of the County
 Committee of Safety for this County and
 get the Records of s^d Committee concern-
 ing sending Delagates to the Convention of
 the State of New York.
 3^d Voted that Mr Ebenezar Hosington, Mr
 Joshua Webb, Capt Ira Allen, Capt William
 Fitch, & Doct^r Reuben Jones be a Commit-
 tee to draw a plan for further Proceedings

of this Convention; and make report as
 soon as may be

- 4th Voted to adjourn this Convention till 8
 oClock to Morrow morning to be held at
 this place.

Thursday Morning 8 o'clock Meeting Open'd
 according to adjournment

- 5th Voted to adjourn this Meeting one hour at
 this place

Meeting opened according to adjournment.

- 6th Voted that Doct^r Reuben Jones & Col^o Will-
 iam Marsh be a Committee to invite Capt.
 Clay & Doct^r Day to sit with this Conven-
 tion as spectators.

- 7th Voted to adjourn this Convention till 8
 oClock to morrow Morning at this place.

Friday Morning 8 o'clock Meeting open'd
 according to adjournment.

Report of the Committee of Proceedings.

It is the Opinion of this Committee that by
 the Reasons of the Incursions of the Enemy,
 and that the Militia of this State have lately
 been called and are now going to the Relief
 of their distressed brethren at Tyconderoga
 and the Northern Frontiers of this State,
 and that several of the Members of this Con-
 vention are more immediately called on to
 the relief of their Families &c which has so
 far taken up our attention and the attention
 of the people at Large that we have not
 Collected the full Sentiments of the People

It is not proper therefore to proceed to
 Complate the Petition to the Hon^{ble} the
 Grand Council of the United States of
 America or to fill up the Committee for the
 purpose of delivering s^d Petition.

That an Answer be made to a Phamlet
 dated the 2^d October 1776 and sent from
 the Hon^{ble} the Provincial Congress of the
 State of New York, to the County of Cum-
 berland And with s^d Answer a Pamphlet
 sitting fourth the Advantages that would
 arise to the People at large on the district
 of the New Hampshire Grants by forming
 into a separte State. be wrote printed and
 Communicated to the inhabitants as soon as
 may be.

That a Manifesto be put in the Publick
 News papers setting fourth the Reasons in
 easy terms why we Choose not to Connect
 with New York.

The aforesaid Report is humbly Presented
 to the House by

Order of the Committee

W^m Fitch } Chairman

- 8th Voted to accept of the above Report.

- 9th Voted that a Petition be Drawn to send to

the hon^{ble} Provential Congress of the State of New York Requesting their approbation for the District of the N Hampshire Grants to form themselves into a State separte from N. York.

10th Voted that Col^o William Marsh, Capt Ira Allen & Mr Solomon Phelps be a Committee to make the above Writings.

11th Voted that Major Abijah Lovejoy, Col^o W^m Marsh, Capt Ira Allen, Col^o Jacob Bailey, Mr Solomon Phelps, Major Joseph Tyler, Col^o Benjamin Carpenter, Mr Benjamin Emmond, Mr Elijah Olcut, Doct^r Reuben Jones, & Mr Daniel Jewitt be a Committee to go through Cumberland & Gloucester Counties to carry the Proceedings of this Convention and to compleat getting the Associations formed by this Convention sign'd and Collected to the Clerk of this Convention at thier next Sitting.

12th Voted that it be and is hereby Recommended to each Member of this Convention to Assist the Above Committee as much as in them lies.

13th Voted that Doct^r Jonas Fay be added to the Committee to make the Above Petition.

14th Voted that Solomon Phelps Write a Letter to Col^o Jacob Bailey Desiring him to Assist the Above Committee.

15th Voted to Adjourn this Convention to the third Wednesday of January next at 10 oClock in the Morning to be held at this place

Joseph Bowker } Chairman

Attest Jra Allen Clk.

A true Copy from the Original

Compared by

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

V.—EXPEDITION OF THE PENNSYLVANIA FRONTIERSMEN AGAINST THE OHIO INDIANS, IN 1782.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, NOW FIRST PUBLISHED.

[The following Important letters, from the papers of General William Irvine, in possession of his grandson, Doctor W. A. Irvine, of Irvine, Pennsylvania, will be found interesting to all who care to know anything concerning the history of the early settlers in Western Pennsylvania or that of the aboriginal tribes formerly living in Ohio.—EDITOR.]

General Irvine to General Washington.

FORT PRIT June 16th 1782

SIR

In my letter of the 21st of May J mentioned to your Excellency, that a body of Volunteer Militia were assembling at the Mingo Bottom to go against Sandusky— The inclosed letters, one

from Colonel Williamson second in Command, and the other from Lieutenant Rose my Aide de Camp, contain all the particulars of this transaction which have yet come to my knowledge. J am of opinion the cause of their failure was owing to the slowness of the march, and not pushing the advantage they had evidently gained at their first commencing the Action. They were ten days on the March when it might have been performed in seven, particularly as they were chiefly mounted; my advice was to attack the Town in the night, but insted thereof, they halted within ten miles in the evening and did not take up their line of March till seven in the morning— These people now seem convinced that they can not perform as much by themselves as they some time since thought they could; perhaps it is right that they should put more dependence on regular Troops. J am sorry J have not more to afford them Assistance

J have the honor to be

Your Excellency's

Most Obed^t Serv^t

WILLIAM IRVINE

[ENCLOSURE.]

I.

Colonel David Williamson to General Irvine.

June 13th 1782

DEAR SIR

I take this opportunity to make you acquainted with our retreat from Sandusky plains June 6th, we were reduced to the necessity of making a forced March through the Enemies line, in the night much in disorder but the main body March'd round the Shawanese Camp, who were lucky enough to escape their fire and March the whole night and the next morning, were reinforced by some Companies of which J can not give a particular Account as they were so Irregular and so confused, but the number lost cannot be ascertained at this time, J must Acknowledge myself ever obliged to Major Rose for his Assistance, both in the field of Action and in the Camp, his Character in our Camp is estimable and his bravery can not be out done. our Country must be ever obliged to General Irvine for his favours done on the late Expedition, Major Rose will give you a particular Account of our Retreat J hope your honour will do us the favour to call the Officers together and consider the distress of our brave Men on this Expedition and the distresses of our Country in General— our dependence is entirely on you and we are ready and willing to obey your Commands when called upon— J have nothing more to add particular— but am with Singular Respect your most Obed^t

Humble Serv^t

DAVID WILLIAMSON

N. B. Col. Crawford our Commandant we can give no Account of since the night of the Retreat.*

Genl IRVINE Commr: Fort Pitt.

II.

Lieutenant Rose to General Irvine.

MINGOE BOTTOM. Friday, May 24th 1782.

SIR,—

the Mingoe Bottom is not a very long days' journey from F. Pitt: notwithstanding I did not arrive here untill the next Day late in the afternoon. I found every body crossing with the utmost expedition the Ohio, and I myself push'd over immediately after my arrival. My fears that the present expedition would miscarry, have been dispelled this very moment only. Col^s Williamson & Crawford did seem to have numerous & obstinate adherents. the latter carried the election this day but by five Votes, and I can not but give Col. Williamson the utmost credit for his exhorting the whole to be unanimous after the election had been made known. & cheerfully submitting to be the second in command. I think, if it had been otherwise, Crawford would have push'd home & very likely we should have dispersed: which would have been likewise the case, if Williamson had not behaved with so much prudence. One Col. Gaddis is third in Command—Col. McClellan fourth & Major Brinton fifth in Command. My presence caused seemingly uneasiness. It was surmised, I had been sent to take the Command. An open declaration of mine at a meeting of the officers that I did not intend to take upon me any Command of any kind whatsoever, but to act as an Aid de Camp to the Command^r Officer, seem'd to pacify every thing, and all goes on charmingly. We expect to set out early to morrow Morning, and are only detained by the want of some ammunition which has been sent for Yesterday to McIntosh. We march, as You Know, in four Columns. &c. Our number is actually 480 Men—Young, active & seemingly spirited. I have the most sanguine hopes of our undertaking and am very sorry Col. Marshall does not march with us, who was within 3 or 4 Votes of being the third Commander. I think him very popular; as much as Col. Williamson. the report of an attack from the enemy upon the Rapids seems a mere invention. the men, said to be come from there, have not been seen by any Body. Major Pollock has furnished me and Doctor Knight 45 pounds of Bacon. I can not persuade him to take pay for it, but a mere receipt. I do not understand upon what principles they furnish these articles.

* Colonel Crawford was captured and put to death, by torture, by the Indians.—EDITOR.

I must beg the favour of You, to receive my half Boots from Patt: Leonard, and one pr: of Shoes, as I am already almost Barefooted.

I have the honor to be

Your

most obedient humble Servant

JOHN ROSE.*

WM IRVINE, Brig^{dr} General.

[Addressed]

The Honorable^{le}

WM IRVINE Brigad^r General
Command^r

honored by

Col. Jam^s Marshall

at
FORT PITT.

[The following Letter, from Colonel James Marshall, Lieutenant of Washington-county, Pennsylvania, to General Irvine, will further illustrate this subject.]

WASHINGTON COUNTY 29th May 1782

DEAR SIR/

I have the Honour to Inform you that on Saturday Last about five hundred men (Including Officers) set out for Sandusky Under the Command of Col. Crawford, a perfect Harmony Subsisted Amongst Officers and men, and all in high Spirits, no Accident of any Consequence hapning Either in Crossing the River or During their Stay at Mingo Bottom. I have not yet Ascertained with Exactness the number of men from the Different Counties, but I believe they are nearly as Follows Viz: Westmoreland About one hund^d and thirty, Ohio about twenty and Washington three hundred and fifty. Mr Ross your Aid de Camp was very hearty when I left him. his Services on this Occasion has Endear^d you much to the people of this County and given General Satisfaction to the men on the Expedition—a Report prevails in the County that Brittain have acknowledged Our Independance; I Could wish to be Informed of the truth of this Report. I have been Asked by a Presbyterian Minister and some of his people to Request you to Spare one gallon Wine for the use of a Sacrament, if it is in your power to Supply

* The writer of this letter, under the assumed name of "John Rose," was really a young Russian nobleman—the Baron Gustavus H. Rosenthal, of Livonia—who, because of having killed another in a duel, had been obliged to fly from his own country and seek safety, first in England and then in America. He had entered the Army as a Hospital Steward; but General Irvine having noticed him and become interested in his welfare, he was transferred and advanced until, as a Lieutenant, he became the Aide of that officer. He served, with fidelity, until the close of the War, without having revealed his true name or rank; and then, by permission, he returned to Europe; was regarded with favor by the Emperor Alexander; and became Grand Marshall of the Province of Livonia.—EDITOR.

them with this Article I make no doubt you will do it as it Can not be Obtained in any other place in this Country. Mr Douglas or the Bearer will apply for it

I Am with Singular Respect and
Esteem Your Most Obed^t and very
Humble Servant

JAM^s MARSHAL

L. W. C

Gen^l IRVINE.

VI.—MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE GORDON MEADE, U. S. A.

ORATION, COMMEMORATIVE OF HIS MILITARY SERVICES, IN THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC, PHILADELPHIA, ON MONDAY AFTERNOON, NOVEMBER 18, 1872.

BY GENERAL AND. A. HUMPHREYS, CHIEF OF ENGINEERS OF THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES.

(Since the date of our last number, the Republic has lost an accomplished and faithful servant, by death—GEORGE GORDON MEADE, the senior Major-general in its Army; distinguished, in all time to come, as the last General in command of the Army of the Potomac; and the hero, as far as the commander of the Army could be considered as the hero, of the decisive Battle of Gettysburg.

The death of so distinguished a citizen, almost before it was known, outside of his own immediate neighborhood, that he was sick, necessarily produced an unusual shock, wherever the intelligence fell; but, in the city of Philadelphia, where his home was, the feeling was intense, in all classes of the community. His funeral was a day to be remembered, in the annals of Philadelphia; and, among other demonstrations of respect to the memory of the departed hero, and most noticable among them, was the great meeting of Philadelphia's best-known citizens, in her Academy of Music, on Monday afternoon, the eighteenth of November, 1872, to commemorate the military services of the distinguished dead.

It is not the purpose of this paper to report, *in extenso*, all the proceedings of that notable meeting; and we content ourself, therefore, with presenting, generally, only a passing notice of them.

On motion of Major Craig Biddle, the Hon. Morton Mc Michael was called to the Chair; and the Right Reverend William Bacon Stevens, D.D., Bishop of Pennsylvania, opened the proceedings with an impressive prayer. After appropriate music by the orchestra, the Chairman delivered the following admirable Address, on the personal character of General Meade:

[MR. MC MICHAEL'S ADDRESS.]

"One week ago, this great city was clothed in habiliments of mourning. Its public halls were hung with sombre draperies; from its conspicuous edifices, crape-bound flags floated at half-mast; on its principal highways, private residences were marked by mortuary emblems. For the time, all business was suspended; and, at an early hour, men, women, and children, from all

quarters, thronged toward the thoroughfares that lead from St. Mark's Church to Fairmount. And well they might, for along those thoroughfares was soon to pass a procession as august and impressive, in the materials of which it was composed and the occasion that induced it, as any this metropolis had ever witnessed. The President of the United States and members of the National Cabinet; the General, Lieutenant general, and distinguished chieftains of the Army; Rear-admirals and other officers of high rank in the Navy; Senators and Representatives in Congress; the Governor of the Commonwealth and the principal State functionaries; the Chief Magistrate and the municipal authorities of Philadelphia; the Judges of the Courts; the heads of learned and benevolent institutions; preceded by long lines of soldiers of all arms, and followed by numerous organizations, including veterans who fought in the War for the Union and civilians who combined to sustain them in the field by moral influences and to provide homes for the destitute children of such of their comrades as fell in battle or died in hospital—these were among the elements of that grand spectacle. Why were they then and there assembled? From the sacred portals of St. Mark, after due solemnization of the funeral rites of the Church, whose doctrines he had faithfully cherished during his earthly career, and whose comforting assurances, when that career was closing, opened to his view the gates of Heaven, there was brought accompanied by white-robed Ministers, amid the mingling harmonies of swelling organ peals and choral anthems, the mortal remains of one in whose honor they had gathered, and to whom these tributes were affectionately rendered. As his inanimate body, unconsciously reposing beneath the standard which, with leaping pulse and flashing eye and stirring voice and stalwart arm, he had so often heralded to victory, was borne through clustered crowds, their reverent decorum, their hushed emotion, their subdued but visible sympathy, showed how deep, how strong, how sincere were the respect and admiration felt for General Meade. And when, passing under the canopying swords of the Cavalry-escort, while the air resounded with vocal dirge and echoing drum-beat and wail of trumpet, the coffin containing the dead hero was piously carried to the barge which was to convey it to its final resting-place, the Park, which he had so loved and which he had so largely helped to create and adorn, with its spacious plain, occupied at intervals by unmoving masses of glittering troops, and its sloping hill-sides densely covered with orderly citizens, all flowing with saddened, and, in many cases, tearful gaze the disappearing cortege—the Park presented a scene that neither pen of poet nor pencil of painter can adequately portray. I shall not attempt to describe the indescribable, but touched as I was—at such a moment and with such surroundings, how could I be otherwise—by tenderest thoughts of my departed colleague and friend, that scene fixed itself in my memory as an example of beauty and solemnity and fitness that, for me, at least, will have no parallel.

"To-day, General Meade is in his grave. The 'pomp, pride and circumstance' of the pageant attendant on his burial, so far as they relate to him, except as a matter for history, have passed away forever. The participants

"have returned to their several avocations; traffic has resumed its accustomed channels; and wayfarers come and go upon the streets as if nothing extraordinary had happened. But the recollection of the virtues that prompted and justified that pageant remains, and will remain, so long as a sentiment of patriotism survives in the breasts of his countrymen. The fervent expression of gratitude for his services and sorrow for his loss that came from all sections, on the announcement of his unexpected death, sufficiently attests the universality of the regard in which he was held. And while his name and his fame are the property of the nation at large—while the great deeds he achieved inured to the common benefit, and the great glory he won is reflected on all alike, we, who were his townspeople and neighbors, with whom he met in his daily walks and ate and drank and counselled and labored, desire, beyond the profound acknowledgment of his eminent deservings which we here make as citizens of the United States, especially to recognize the high place he had filled among us; and to declare his claims to the amplest consideration from our own State and city. For though General Meade was too broad-minded to be affected by local prejudice, he was too kindly-hearted not to feel local attachments; and as in times of peace his lot was cast mainly in our midst, without abating one jot or tittle of what he owed the national Government, he was to this community, a most valuable auxiliary. There was no duty so arduous that he shrunk from its performance; none so humble, if it involved a chance of doing good, that he was unwilling to undertake. And in whatever work he was engaged he manifested rare capabilities; quick natural parts, cultivated by liberal education and strengthened by constant exercise; sagacity that was seldom at fault; forecast; clear-sightedness; well-balanced judgment; systematic habits; indomitable purpose; unremitting perseverance; and tireless industry. He was, moreover, frank and outspoken; and though he never wilfully wounded the sensibilities of others, he never hesitated to assert his own convictions. Withal he was modest, unassuming and wholly free from self-conceit or affectation. To these and other manly qualities he added a bearing so dignified, manners so courteous, a temper so genial, that he was not less gracious as a companion than he was instructive as a coadjutor; and to sum up all he was, in the best sense of the word, a gentleman—a true and chivalrous gentleman.

"It is, however, in his military capacity that General Meade established his reputation in the present, and will be judged hereafter. We who know his civic worth and were benefited by his civic efforts, will preserve them in grateful remembrance, and in some form endeavor to requite them. To the world, he is, and must continue to be, the hero of Gettysburg—that momentous conflict which delivered Pennsylvania from pillage and devastation, and saved the Republic from imminent peril. It is as a soldier, therefore, that his character can be best illustrated; and this can be best done by a soldier. Fortunately, alike for the dead and the living, there is with us now one supremely qualified by skill and opportunity to do it; one who in the tumult of the fight and the deliberations of the tent has proved himself equally gallant and wise; and whose thorough knowledge of General Meade, acquired in the studies they pursued and the campaigns they

"shared together, will give to what he may say of that illustrious Commander, all the weight of authority and all the force of truth. I allude to General Humphreys, whom I have now the satisfaction of introducing."

At the conclusion of Mr. McMichael's remarks, General A. A. HUMPHREYS, Chief of Engineers of the Army of the United States, was introduced, as the appointed Orator of the day, and paid the following touching and beautiful tribute to the memory of his deceased friend and fellow-soldier:

GENERAL HUMPHREYS' ORATION.*]

As the friend and associate of the soldier, whose loss the Army and the Nation deplore, I have been asked to address you concerning his military services.

It is fitting that this duty should be devolved on me, for, undoubtedly, I was more intimately associated with him during the time he commanded the Fifth Corps and the Army of the Potomac, than any other officer. Besides, I have known him ever since his entrance into the service—then, an intelligent, a polished, and witty young officer, on duty with the troops in Florida.

My second recollection of him is as an Engineer, engaged under Captain Talcott, of the Corps of Engineers, upon an elaborate survey and investigation at the mouths of the Mississippi-river, in which the facts elicited by some original experiments of his, led me, many years after, to a series of investigations which developed the law governing the formation of the bars and shoals at the mouth of that river, from which most important consequences have followed for the improvement of navigation and the increase of commerce.

We next find Meade engaged in the survey of the Northeast boundary line between the United States and Great Britain; then, in river and harbor-improvements; and, in the Mexican War, we see him as an officer of Engineers on the staff of General Taylor and in the Army of General Scott, distinguished for skill and intrepidity; subsequently, he was occupied with lighthouse construction; and, during the four years preceding the Civil War, had charge of the geodetic survey of the great lakes, in his conduct of which he added largely to his scientific and engineering reputation.

I have referred to these varied occupations, because they gave the training which fitted him for the great part he was soon to fill. In them,

* We print this Oration from a corrected copy of it, which our friend, its distinguished author, kindly sent to us, soon after he delivered it. He has, also, carefully corrected the proof-sheets of these pages; and we present it to our readers, therefore, exactly in that form in which its author desires it shall be read by those who resort to this work.—EDITOR.

he learned to plan carefully, in advance, and to execute promptly and thoroughly; here, he acquired the habit of quick and accurate observation, and became fertile in expedients to meet unlooked-for exigencies.

Early in the Civil War, we find him a Brigadier-general of Volunteers, commanding a Brigade in the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps, which constituted a Division in the Army of the Potomac, and taking an active part in the Battles of Gaines' Mill and Glendale, in the last days of June, 1862, being severely wounded in the latter. Returning to the field, as soon as the condition of his wound would permit, he was assigned to the command of a Division, and distinguished himself in the Battles of South Mountain and Antietam, being placed in command of Hooker's Corps when that officer was wounded and taken from the field. For these services he was promoted to the rank of Major-general of Volunteers, in November of 1862.

As a Division-commander he was impetuous in attack, and, at Fredericksburg, broke through the right of Lee's line, and penetrated far to its rear, but was overborne by numbers, and forced back, with heavy loss. Quickly following this conspicuous service, he was, in the latter part of December, 1862, promoted to the command of the Fifth Army Corps, and, at Chancellorville, his sagacious advice and soldierly bearing made so profound an impression upon the commander of the Army of the Potomac, that, in asking, some two months later, to be relieved from its charge, he designated General Meade as his successor.

On the morning of the twenty-eighth of June, 1863, when in the vicinity of Frederick, Maryland, with the Fifth Corps, General Meade was placed by the President in command of the Army of the Potomac, which, at that time, was not far from Frederick, following carefully the movements of Lee.

Lee was, on that day, at Chambersburg, about fifty miles North, a little West, of Frederick, with two of his three Corps, Longstreet's and Hill's. Ewell, with two of his Divisions, was at Carlisle, about thirty miles North of Chambersburg—his third Division, under Early, being at York.

Let us see what Lee says as to the object of his presence, at these points, more than two hundred miles away from Fredericksburg, Virginia. In his official Report of his operations, written a month after the Battle of Gettysburg, he states that the Army of the Potomac occupied such a position opposite Fredericksburg, that it could not be attacked with advantage; and that, by his moving Northward, through the great Valley of Virginia, the corresponding movements of the Army of the Potomac would probably offer a fair opportunity to strike a successful blow at that Army;

that such a movement would disarrange our plan of Campaign, for the Summer, and consume our time; and that, in addition to these advantages, it was hoped that other valuable results might be attained by military success. Actuated, he says, by these and other important considerations that may hereafter be presented, the movement began.

These other important considerations have never yet been presented. The Campaign having failed, it is not to be expected that its great object will ever be any more distinctly acknowledged. Let us see further what he says in this Report. The absence of his Cavalry, which was making a raid around the Army of the Potomac, doing no harm to it, rendered it impossible for him (he says) to obtain accurate information of the movements of our Army; and he did not know whether it had crossed the Potomac. Preparations, he states, were now made (on the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth of June,) to advance upon Harrisburg. This sentence, I think, reveals the great object of his Campaign. It was the capture of this city, Philadelphia.

There were, at least, two fatal errors in the premises on which this plan was formed: one of these was the conviction the Army of Northern Virginia, derived from Chancellorville—that it could beat the Army of the Potomac, wherever it found it; the second was, that the handling of the Army of the Potomac, at Chancellorville, would be repeated in Pennsylvania. In both these convictions, they found themselves fatally deceived. The Army of the Potomac did not fight at Chancellorville. The Eleventh Corps, badly posted, was permitted to be surprised, by overwhelming numbers, and routed. The Third Corps, aided by Artillery posted by Pleasanton, threw itself into the breach, arrested the forward movement of the enemy, and, the next morning, was allowed to sustain the attack of Lee's whole force, for several hours, losing, in killed and wounded, a large part of its numbers. It was, of course, obliged to fall back upon the other portion of the Army, the First, Second, Fifth, and Twelfth Corps, in position near by, just in rear of Chancellorville. Only parts of some of these Corps were partially engaged, in covering the withdrawal of the Third Corps.

Sedgwick, advancing from Fredericksburg with the Sixth Corps and one Division of the Second Corps, was then attacked by Lee and forced back over the Potomac. Lee, in this operation, had sixty thousand men, Longstreet's Corps being absent: Hooker not less than ninety thousand men. It is not surprising, then, that the Army of Northern Virginia should have made a false estimate of its prowess, or, at least, of that of the Army of the Potomac.

On the night of the twenty-ninth of June, Lee learned that the Army of the Potomac had crossed the Potomac, and had advanced as far as Frederick: he also learned that its command had changed hands. His order for movement on Harrisburg was at once changed; and Longstreet, Hill, and Ewell were ordered to concentrate at Gettysburg, a small town twenty-five miles from Chambersburg and some ten miles east of the Blue Ridge, from which roads radiated in all directions.

Meade states that he passed the twenty-eighth of June in ascertaining the strength and position of the different Corps of the Army, and in bringing up the Cavalry from the rear. He also carefully inquired into the strength of the enemy, so far as known at Head-quarters. He further states that his predecessor left camp in a few hours after he was relieved; and that he did not receive from him any intimation of a plan of operations, nor any views upon the situation; that he was not aware that General Hooker had any, but was waiting further exigencies of the occasion to govern him, just as he (Meade) did, subsequently. On the morning of the twenty-ninth, Meade put his Army in motion for Harrisburg, expecting to compel the enemy to turn and meet him in battle. We have seen that Lee, on the evening of that day, prepared to do so.

On the evening of the thirtieth, the several Corps of the Army of the Potomac were on the roads leading to Gettysburg, from the East round to the South, and at distances from the town varying from ten to fifteen miles, excepting the Sixth Corps, which was more than thirty miles off. Buford, with his Division^{of} Cavalry, was in Gettysburg. On that same night, Meade, learned from Buford that the heads of Lee's columns were moving on the roads leading to Gettysburg, and were probably nearer than his to Gettysburg.

Being entirely ignorant of the character of the ground about Gettysburg, he, at once, prepared a precautionary order of instructions to the Corps commanders—not to be executed unless specially ordered at a subsequent time in a certain contingency—explaining the routes which the several Corps should follow to concentrate in a good position on Pipe Clay-creek, some three miles in rear of his headquarters at Taneytown. Taneytown, it may be remarked, is about thirteen miles South of Gettysburg.

These instructions stated, "developements "may cause the commanding General to assume "the offensive from his present positions." Not many hours after the issuing of these instructions, new developements did cause him to change his plans; but these instructions evince that foresight which proves his capacity to command an Army. In similar circumstances, the

agreement between Wellington and Blucher to concentrate their two armies—nearly double the numbers of Napoleon—far to the rear, in the vicinity of Waterloo, has been esteemed a proof of their great ability. On the evening of the thirtieth, Reynolds, with the First and Eleventh Corps, was ordered to move, on the morning of the first of July, from Emmetsburg to Gettysburg, and to report whether that site afforded a good field of battle.

The Third Corps was to be in Emmetsburg on the morning of the first, and, in fact, reached there before all the Eleventh Corps had left it. About noon of the thirtieth, I was requested by General Meade to examine the ground in the vicinity of Emmetsburg, upon the arrival there of the Third Corps, the second Division of which I commanded, and ascertain whether it afforded a good position for battle. The importance of the general position of Emmetsburg is derived from the fact that a piked road leads to it, through the mountains, from the Chambersburg valley—along which part of Lee's force might move—and that good branch-roads lead to it, along the foot of the mountains, from the Cashtown-pass. I have mentioned these two facts, concerning Reynolds and myself, to show that Meade was active in learning all that could be ascertained of the several positions where he might fight to advantage, as well as in moving toward Lee, and bringing the different parts of the Army of the Potomac within supporting distance of each other. That Army consisted of about seventy thousand Infantry, ten thousand Cavalry, and three hundred guns. The Army of Northern Virginia consisted of about eighty-five thousand Infantry, eight thousand Cavalry, and a due proportion of Artillery.

We all know how, on the morning of the first of July, Reynolds encountered Hill, two or three miles West of Gettysburg, and was killed early in the day; how Ewell arrived on the ground, soon after; and how the First and Eleventh Corps were forced back to the position on which the fighting of the second and third of July took place. We know, too, that, as soon as Meade learned what had occurred, the Third, Twelfth, and other Corps were hurried up to the scene. Hancock, who was with Meade at Taneytown, at that time, was dispatched to take command of the advance; and he reported, at about half-past five, that the position was sufficiently good, when Meade set the remainder of the Army in motion for the field, and arrived upon the ground at midnight. All the Army was concentrated there by one o'clock next day.

One of Meade's first directions to his Chief-of-staff, Butterfield, upon reaching there, was to learn everything about the roads leading to and from Gettysburg, so as to be prepared for any

event that might occur—a very proper direction to give. All the Army of Northern Virginia was concentrated at Gettysburg, during the night, except Pickett's Division of Longstreet's Corps, which did not arrive until the morning of the third.

Lee explains, at some length, why he attacked, next day. Clearly, his true policy was to abstain from attack; to move in concentrated formation as rapidly as practicable toward the objective of his campaign; to trench every position he occupied. The country, every step of the way to Philadelphia, is full of strong positions. The exigencies of the case would have forced the Army of the Potomac to attack him. With nearly equal numbers, with rifled arms, and the trenches that may be thrown up, in half an hour, or even less, the chances are all against the attacking force. But here, at Gettysburg, we had no trenches, except for a short distance, on the right, on Culp's-hill and vicinity. In reality, the governing cause of Lee's attack was the success of the Army of Northern Virginia at Chancellorsville.

The disposition Meade made of his troops was the best the ground and circumstances permitted. The features of the battle-field are so well known that I shall not stop to describe them.

You all know how the battle, on the second day, went on; and that the hardest fighting of the three days of battle took place on it. Lee attacked our left, with Longstreet's Corps and part of Hill's, under the cover of woods, which concealed their approach; and a long-continued desperate struggle ensued, lasting from half-past four until seven o'clock, in which we lost the advanced part of the ground we had taken up; but the main position remained intact.

On the third day, Lee resumed the attack, with Pickett's Division of Longstreet's Corps (which had arrived that morning) and Heth's Division of Hill's Corps, supported by two Divisions which did not largely participate in the struggle. The advance of the leading Divisions was made over clear, open ground, and was preceded by a heavy fire from one hundred and fifteen guns.

The gallant manner in which this advance was made, under the powerful fire of Artillery and Infantry, extorted the admiration of those against whom it was directed. But, through the excellent disposition of Meade, ably seconded by his commanders and the skill and courage of our officers and men, all the attacking force that reached our lines became our prisoners, as well as a considerable portion of the supporting Divisions; and the third day terminated in a victory for us, and the demolition of all the Confederate plans.

Of all the sublime sights, within the view and

comprehension of man, the grandest, the most sublime, is a great battle. Its sights and sounds arouse a feeling of exaltation, compared to which tame indeed is the sense of the sublime excited by all other great works, either of God or man. No grander sight was seen throughout the War than this great battle between two brave, well-disciplined, and ably commanded Armies.

Immediately upon the repulse, Meade ordered an advance from the left, which went forward; but the day was too far spent for any important results to be gained. Longstreet and Hill ardently wished for a return attack upon their lines.

During each of the three days of battle, heavy attacks were made by Ewell on our right, in one of which, on the evening of the second day's fighting, he gained possession of a portion of the entrenched line, during the absence of part of our troops belonging there, which had moved over to aid our left. From these trenches the enemy was driven out, early the next morning.

Lee's losses were eighteen thousand killed and wounded, and thirteen thousand, six hundred missing, a large part of the latter being our prisoners, making a total loss of thirty-one thousand, six hundred. Our losses were sixteen thousand, five hundred killed and wounded, and six thousand, six hundred missing, chiefly prisoners captured the first day, making a total loss of not less than twenty-three thousand.

The Army of Northern Virginia never recovered from this blow; but its *morale* remained good. Sixty thousand strong, it began to retreat, in good order, on the night of the fourth. Our experience has shown that one Army can draw off from another, in the night, without its being discovered. Learning, on the morning of the fifth, that it had withdrawn, Meade sent the Sixth Corps and the Cavalry to follow it to the mountain passes, through which Sedgwick found it would not be practicable to pursue, with any chance of success, owing to the facility with which they could be defended with a small force. Meade, therefore, moved, in pursuit, by the Boonsborough-pass—the first practicable route, through the mountains, South of those taken by Lee—and, on the twelfth of July, came up with him, near Williamsport, on the Potomac-river. Here, Lee occupied a strong position, his right resting on the river, at Falling Waters, and his left resting on it, at Williamsport, thus enclosing his crossing-places. This position, naturally strong, was well entrenched, with artillery judiciously posted. Careful reconnoissances failed to ascertain a suitable point of attack; but, notwithstanding, Meade ordered a reconnoissance in force, supported by the whole Army, at daylight, on the morning of the fourteenth. On the night of the thirteenth, Lee re-crossed the Potomac.

There was a great deal of clamor because Meade had not pressed Lee more vigorously, in pursuit, and had not captured his Army, at Williamsport. Let us see what means Meade had to accomplish all this. The Return of the Army of the Potomac, on the fifth of July, showed present for duty fifty-four thousand Infantry and Artillery and seven thousand Cavalry—in all sixty-one thousand men—just about the same force that Lee had; and Lee's Army was not demoralized, nor was it more fatigued or suffering than the Army of the Potomac; the only material reinforcement Meade received, before coming up with Lee, at Williamsport, was a Division of six thousand men, under French. Had he assaulted, he would have been repulsed with heavy loss, and without inflicting any material injury on the enemy.

Let me compare, a little, the Battle of Gettysburg and the movements immediately following it, with a certain great battle, in Europe, to which, in some respects, it bears a resemblance. This comparison will, I think, afford means of appreciating, properly, the real merits of Meade and his Army better than anything else I can say. I refer to the Battle of Waterloo, a splendidly fought battle, on both sides. Extending over a line only two or three miles long, it was all within view, from many points; the greater part of the fighting was comprised within the limited space of six or seven hundred yards square; and, in that space, at the close of the battle, lay many thousands killed and wounded men.

Wellington had posted his Army in a good position, on the crest of a long slope of open ground. He had, there, fifty thousand Infantry, twelve thousand Cavalry, and six thousand Artillery—one hundred and fifty-six guns—in all, sixty-eight thousand men.

Napoleon had drawn up his force, ready for attack, on an opposite crest, about a mile distant, the ravine between being equally distant from the two. His force consisted of fifty thousand Infantry, sixteen thousand Cavalry, and seven thousand Artillery—two hundred and forty-six guns—in all, seventy-three thousand men. But, of this force, he was obliged to keep over twelve thousand men posted on his extreme right, to meet the expected advance of the Prussian Army, which began to come up, from the direction of Wavre, soon after twelve o'clock. At Wavre, about ten or twelve miles to the French right, Grouchy, with some thirty-two thousand men and one hundred guns, was attacking one of the four Prussian Corps, which was left there to detain him. The remainder of the Prussian Army, under Blücher, fifty-two thousand strong, with one hundred guns, was hastening, as fast as the soft roads would permit, from an early hour in the

morning, toward the French right, to carry out the plan agreed upon with Wellington. Napoleon, too, looked for Grouchy to arrive from the same direction. You will perceive that Napoleon was dealing with nearly double his own force.

Napoleon's attacks on Wellington, five in number, began at half-past eleven o'clock, and continued, at intervals, until half-past seven in the evening. At half-past four, the Prussians were up in force, and attacked the French right, heavily and continuously, with increasing force, until the close of the battle.

The last attack of Napoleon was made, with great impetuosity, upon the whole of Wellington's line, the two forces being not more than sixty yards apart. Failing of success, the French rapidly withdrew; and, Wellington says, seeing that they withdrew in some confusion, he advanced his whole line. But they moved no further than the positions that had been occupied by the French Army, and from which its attacks had been made. There, they halted, for the night. The French right also drew off, followed, in pursuit, by the Prussians, who continued to press the French Army, all night.

In this battle, the losses were, in Wellington's Army, ten thousand killed and wounded; in Blücher's, six thousand killed and wounded: the French losses have been stated at eighteen thousand, five hundred killed and wounded, and seven thousand prisoners.

The French wounded and a large portion of their Artillery, the horses being killed, were left upon the field. The Prussians captured an immense booty—the trains, camp-equipage, and nearly all the remaining Artillery which was abandoned on the route.

Recollect that this battle was fought and all the operations preceding and following it were conducted in a perfectly open, gently undulating country; that the French were obliged to recross the river Sambre, on their frontier, some twenty-five miles from Waterloo, yet the prisoners captured by the Prussians, in this pursuit, amounted to only six thousand, the whole number of French prisoners taken being stated at seven thousand. This number does not include the wounded. Further, Grouchy did not hear of the battle until the next day, when Blücher and Wellington were between him and the river Sambre and the French frontier; yet he retreated into France without any loss.

I think this, taken with what has been previously said, is sufficient to dispose of the question why Meade did not capture Lee's Army.

After a careful examination of the subject, so far as I am capable of forming an opinion, I am led to the conclusion that Meade, at Gettysburg, had a more difficult task than Wellington, at Waterloo, and performed it equally well, al-

though he had no Blücher to turn the scale in his favor.

A word or two more. Wellington, for his services in Portugal and Spain, had been raised through every grade of the British peerage to its highest rank; and Parliament had voted him large sums of money to enable him to live in a manner corresponding to his position. For Waterloo, there was no additional rank in the peerage to give him; but Parliament voted him two hundred thousand pounds—about a million of dollars. The whole sum thus bestowed amounted to nearly four millions of dollars. What remaining honors or marks of esteem there were left in the hands of the sovereigns of Europe to distribute, he received.

Meade, who was a Major in the Corps of Engineers, was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-general in the Regular Army, and was gratified at this mark of approval.

He had to bear many unjust criticisms on his conduct of the battle, and condemnation for not capturing Lee's Army. But time effaces all such attempted blemishes as these; and, I believe, Meade always felt satisfied that history would do him justice.

After crossing the Potomac, Lee was disposed to remain near Winchester, among the products of the fertile valley of Virginia; but a well-directed thrust, by Meade, through Manassas Gap, sent Lee rapidly out of the valley and across the Rappahannock.

On this river, the Army of the Potomac was ordered from Washington to rest; and several detachments were made from it, to the city of New York, to North Carolina, and elsewhere.

In September, Meade having ascertained that Longstreet's Corps had been sent to Bragg, on the Tennessee-river, excepting Pickett's Division, which was recruiting South of the James, moved forward, and Lee fell back, behind the Rapidan, a more defensible river than the upper Rappahannock. At this time, the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps were detached from the Army of the Potomac and sent to Chattanooga, and the two opposing Armies on the Rapidan were reduced to nearly equal numbers.

Early in October, Meade was contemplating a movement upon Lee, by our right flank, and, on the morning of the ninth, rode to Cedar Mountain, to have a better look at the country in the direction of a certain mountain-pass, when he discovered that Lee was making some movement, on our right; and, at the same moment, intelligence from the pickets and signal-stations began to pour in, but the nature of the movement could not be ascertained, with certainty, until Lee had concentrated his whole Army in the rear and right of Meade, threat-

ening to intercept and break up his lines of communication.

The Army of the Potomac was, at once, set in motion, and directed toward Warrenton, with the intention of attacking Lee, while in the act of crossing the Rappahannock, with every chance of a successful issue. But, when the movement was half through, one of Meade's commanders brought him wrong information of the movements, position, and apparent object of Lee; while, from another commander, who should have furnished the most important information of all, he received none whatever. In this manner he was misled; a part of his Army was placed in a critical condition; and the opportunity of attacking Lee was lost. There followed a series of manœuvres by the two Armies, during which the brilliant combats of Bristoe-station and Rappahannock Bridge took place, the movement ending in Lee's re-crossing the Rapidan. After the war, Lee acknowledged to Meade that his scheme had been frustrated in this operation—that he had been completely outmanœuvred.

Among the criticisms made on these operations, it was said: Lee uncovered Richmond by his movement—why did not Meade move on that, and swap queens? The answer to it was very obvious. The two queens were not of equal value. Richmond was a small town; and any other much smaller town would have furnished, equally well, all the conveniences required for the *personnel* of the Confederate Government. There were no Southern towns of any consequence within several hundred miles of it. Washington was twice as large as Richmond; was the capital of the country; and had collected in it all our national archives. Near to it, was the rich and populous city of Baltimore; and, not far off, the still richer and more populous city of Philadelphia.

The task of the Army of the Potomac was to cover all these cities and carry on offensive operations against the Army of Northern Virginia, in a country intersected with wide, deep, rapid rivers, and covered, in great part, with dense forests and thickets. To do all this required a large numerical superiority on the part of the Army of the Potomac. But it did not possess any material superiority of numbers, during the time Meade commanded it, until the Spring of 1864.

Having ascertained that Ewell's half of Lee's force was so posted that it could be surprised by a well-directed, rapid movement across the Rapidan, by the Army of the Potomac, Meade, in the latter part of November, secretly crossed the Rapidan, close to Lee's right, and advanced, with the Second Corps,

only eight thousand strong, to the point of concentration, close upon Ewell, at the hour named, twelve o'clock of the second day, and engaged the enemy. The left wing reached its designated position in time; but the right wing, consisting of about half the Army, which should have united with the Second Corps, at twelve o'clock, became entangled in the Wilderness forest, and did not move more than three miles from the river nor reach the point of concentration until the next morning. The opportunity for surprise was lost; and Lee had time to concentrate his Army and take up a strong position, on Mine-run, and entrench it by the time Meade reached there. The only points of attack offering any chance of success were on Lee's right and left flanks—he occupied the inner and much shorter line of an arc: we the outer and longer line. Dispositions were made to attack, from our right and left—the interval of four or five miles, between the two nearly equal parts of the Army, being thinly held with one or two Divisions of Infantry and Artillery—the most vicious disposition for battle possible; but the only one left Meade. Just as the Artillery-fire was about to cease and the Infantry, on the right, were about to run forward to the assault, an Aide from the commander on the left dashed up and informed General Meade it was impossible to attack, there. To have attacked, with our right, under such a condition, would have resulted in disaster; for Lee—having nothing to contend with, on our left, and much shorter distance to move over than we—could have concentrated on our point of attack and repulsed it; and, advancing on the open space between our two wings, which there was not time to close, could have divided our Army in two.

Instantly, the order was given to suspend the attack; and Meade rode to the left, to see, by personal inspection, what the chance was, there. He found it to be as represented; and the troops from the centre were returned to their former positions. By this time, the enemy had also discovered our plan of attack from former positions. By this time the enemy had also discovered our plan of attack, from the right, and were prepared for it: the scheme had to be abandoned.

It was, however, persistently urged on General Meade to attack, because the public would be dissatisfied, if he did not, and would not believe that he ought not to have attacked, unless he did attack and was bloodily repulsed. Meade knew, at the time, that if he did not attack there would be a clamor against him that would probably lead to his removal from command; but, notwithstanding, he gave no ear to the counsel I have mentioned, preferring

to be governed by his own judgment rather than by public opinion.

As the Winter had commenced, and as Meade believed that the line of operations from Fredericksburg would not be viewed with satisfaction, at Washington, he withdrew to his former position, on the North side of the Rapidan.

During the Winter, certain military events took place, which, though of interest, have no important bearing on the present subject.

Before the season for active operations returned, General Grant had been appointed Lieutenant-general, and placed in command of all the Armies. He concluded to make his Headquarters with the Army of the Potomac, Burnside's Corps, and the Army of the James.

During the Winter and Spring, the Army of the Potomac was re-inforced, and, when the Campaign opened, consisted of seventy-six thousand Infantry, in three Corps, commanded by Sedgwick, Hancock, and Warren, and about twelve thousand Cavalry, commanded by Sheridan, with a large Artillery force, having its own guard, which, when the Artillery was reduced—about the middle of May—was joined to one of the Infantry Corps. Burnside had some fifteen or twenty thousand men, which were united with the Army of the Potomac, early on the morning of the sixth of May, the second day of the Battle of the Wilderness.

Lee's force consisted of three Corps, each about twenty thousand strong, commanded by Ewell, Hill, and Longstreet, who arrived on the third of May; and eight or ten thousand Cavalry, commanded by Stewart, with a due proportion of Artillery.

The Artillery of both Armies was more than could be used in that country; and, with us, was cumbersome; and, therefore, reduced when we were near Fredericksburg.

The object of the Campaign was to fight Lee's Army and break it to pieces. Failing in that, upon our forcing it back upon Richmond, we were to destroy all lines of supply to that city, upon the North bank of the James-river; then cross over, and, encircling the town, destroy all lines of supply, on the South side.

This project necessarily entailed many battles.

The question first settled was, shall the movement be by the right flank, passing through Madison Court-house, and crossing the Rapidan at or above Lee's left flank?

This was decided against, as, beyond the Rapidan—as far as could be learned—the roads did not admit of the ready movement of the different Corps, for concentration; and if, by Lee's movements, he should avoid heavy fighting, he could, while maintaining his commu-

nication with his supplies, at Richmond, harass the new lines of communication and supply which must be opened for the Army of the Potomac, toward the Potomac-river and Chesapeake-bay, as we advanced. The importance of this objection was shown by the necessity of sending so many thousands of wounded, from the Army of the Potomac, by Fredericksburg, in two or three days after we began to move.

The objection to moving by the left flank was, that it took us through the tangled mass of woods called "The Wilderness," where Lee, by prompt movement, could force us to stop and fight him; and where, from the denseness of the woods and undergrowth, the troops acting on the defensive were unseen, while those moving to the attack could be plainly perceived. It served almost as effectually as an entrenchment, for the Army acting on the defensive.

The advantage of moving by the left flank consisted in keeping close to the Potomac-river and all lines of communication and supply we should want to open, from time to time, and which our Army would effectually cover. Accordingly it was decided to move by the left.

The project was to get through the Wilderness quickly, and endeavor to cut Lee's line of communication—the Central Railroad—somewhere between Louisa Court-house and Gordonsville, and attack him in the comparatively open country.

The moment our movement was perceived, Lee concentrated. Ewell, being nearest to us, was thrust along the pike against us; Hill along the Orange Court-house plank-road; Longstreet was to come up, on our left flank. By simply thrusting himself against us, we were obliged to stop our movement to attack Lee. We could not go on: if we did, he would watch his opportunity and overwhelm some portion that was exposed.

Meade knew that Lee's best course was to move against us and force us to attack him in the Wilderness, as I have already stated. Therefore, when, early in the morning of the second day of the movement, advance parties of the enemy attacked our Cavalry, on the Orange Court-house plank-road, and the advance-guard thrown out on the pike, Meade apprehended that the first battle would be fought in the Wilderness. But there was no means of telling, at first, whether these small attacks were made simply by very advanced parties of the enemy, made for the purpose of interrupting and delaying our march, or were made by the advance guards of Lee's main Army. There was but one thing to do—to attack, at once; clear them out of the way, if we could; take prisoners; and find out where the main

force of the Army was. Hancock, who moved promptly, in the morning, from Chancellorville, on the route directed in the General Order of the third of May, was directed to halt at Todd's-tavern, until it could be ascertained what the enemy's intentions were. They were soon disclosed. Ewell and Hill were close upon us, and were, at once, attacked by the Fifth Corps. Hancock was brought back, from the vicinity of Todd's-tavern, to the intersection of the Orange plank-road with the Brock-road. Until he could get up, Getty's Division of the Sixth Corps was sent to that intersection; and was at once engaged with Ewell. The Sixth Corps was posted on our right.

Thus commenced that extraordinary series of battles, of two months' duration, at the termination of which the Army of the Potomac had lost more than sixty thousand men, in killed and wounded.

The position of General Meade, all this time, was a delicate one, owing to the near presence of an officer of superior rank and command. He acquitted himself, in it, in such a manner as to command the respect and esteem of General Grant, between whom and himself there was, I believe, complete accord. For his eminent services in the campaign, Meade was made a Major-general in the Regular Army.

The close of June saw the commencement of what is termed the Siege of Richmond and Petersburg, which lasted until the second of April, 1865. During this long period, many operations, battles, and combats took place, with varying success. Throughout them all, the marked ability of Meade, as a commander, was conspicuous.

The breaking of the lines of Petersburg, on the second of April, was succeeded by the flying, fighting retreat and surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia; and with that surrender came Peace.

Perhaps the very imperfect reference to General Meade's military life which I have just made may serve to show what a great experience he had; and how valuable to his country his life has been; and that his death, in full bodily and mental vigor, is a great national loss.

[At the conclusion of the Oration, Wieprecht's *Imperial March* was played by the orchestra; a telegram from the President of the United States was read; a series of Resolutions expressive of the respect which the assemblage entertained for General Meade, its gratitude for his services, and calling on the Councils of Philadelphia to erect a monument to his memory, was read and, after a speech by Mr. Gibbons, adopted; the *Marche des Flambeaux*, by Meyerbeer, was performed by the orchestra; and the audience dispersed.]

VII.—EARLY RECORDS OF TRINITY-
CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY.—CONTIN-
UED FROM PAGE 77.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, NOW FIRST
PRINTED.

[* The words, *in italics*, enclosed in brackets, are those words, in the original manuscripts, which were *erased*: the words, *in Roman*, enclosed in brackets, are those words, in the original manuscripts, which have been *obliterated* by time or accident.]

Citty of) ss Att A Meeting of y^e Rector
New Yorke) Church Wardens & Vestry men
of y^e Said Citty on Munday
y^e 21st day of February Anno
Dom 1697

The Reverend Mr William Vezey Rector
Present Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens
Robert Lurting }
William Merrett Esq
William Morris
Thomas Clarke
James Evetts
William Janeway.
John Crooke
David Jameson
Sam^l Burte
William Huddleston
Nathaniel Marston
Michael Hawdon
William Sharpas
Ebenezer Willson
Thomas Burroughs.

Whereas [*before*] the Protestants of this
Citty of y^e Communion of y^e: Church of
England as [established] by Law were In-
corporated & made A body Politic []
Caleb Heathcote Major William Merrett
Cap^t Thomas Wenham Cap^t Ebenezer Will-
son Cap^t Thomas Clarke William Morris
Cap^t Jeremiah Tothill & Mr [] Van-
derburgh did become and are Still Obliged
by [their Bond] under their hands & Seals
[for ye] in the Sum of four hundred pounds
Currant Money of New Yorke on Condition
to pay two hundred pounds like Money with
the Interest of Six p Cen^t unto y^e Widow
Hollogond Dekey itt being Employed for y^e:
more Speedy & better Carrying on of the
building of Trinity Church itt is therefore
Order'd that the Same be A Corporation
debt & y^t the Rector Church Wardens &
Vestry men of y^e: Said Church for the time
being doe Indemnifie the Said Persons from
y^e: Said Obligation.

The Persons hereafter Named have Given
the Several Sums of Money hereafter Named
to y^e: use of Trinity Church itt being
Money by them formerly lent to M^r Nicolls
y^e: Agent &c:

Thomas Wenham	- - -	15- 00- 00
William Janeway	- - -	03- 00- 00
Thomas Clarke	- - -	03- 00- 00
William Morris	- - -	09- 00- 00
Jeremiah Tothill	- - -	03- 00- 00
Robert Lurting	- - -	03- 00- 00
Thomas Burroughs	- - -	03- 00- 00
John Crooke	- - -	03- 00- 00
Nathaniel Marston	- - -	

M^r James Evetts Produced A Draft of the
Church as the Pews are designed to be built
which Nemine Contracante were desposed
of & Allotted as followeth Viz^t

The Pew 45 for y^e Rector f

46 Coll Caleb Heathcote & Major William
Merrett

47 M^r Chidley Brooke

49 Cap^t Thomas Wenham [& *Mr. David
Jameson*] and M^r Emott

35 M^r William Janeway & M^r Jeremiah
Tothill

34 M^r William Morris & M^r James Emott

43 M^r Robert Lurting [& *Capt Thomas
Clarke*] & David Jameson

15 M^r Gabriel Ludlow & M^r William Hud-
dleston

32 M^r Lawrence Reade & Cap^t John Merrett

41 Cap^t John Tudor & [*Mr Michael Haw-
don*] Cap^t Morris

42 Cap^t Ebenezer Willson & William Sharp-
as

33 M^r John Crooke & M^r James Evetts

18 [*Capt John Merrett* &] M^r Thomas Bur-
roughs & M^r Marston

40 [*Mr Nathaniel Marston* & *Mr Samuel
Burte*] Michael Hawdon & Cap^t Clarke

Citty of) ss Att A Meeting of y^e: Rector
New Yorke) Church Wardens & Vestry men
of Trinity Church within the
Citty of New Yorke y^e: 7th
day of March 1697

Present The Reverend M^r William Vezey Rector
Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens
Robert Lurting }
Thomas Clarke }
David Jameson }
Michael Hawdon } Vestry men
John Crooke }
William Huddleston }
Nath Marston }
Will Sharpas }

Order'd the Persons hereafter Named doe
Collect the Subscriptions Given for y^e Glaz-
ing of Trinity Church Viz^t & make Return
to this Board by y^e: Next Meeting

Thomas Wenham to Collect

Thomas Wenham . - - - 1. 04. 0

Thomas Palmer	p ^d	0. 12. 0
A friend	p ^d	0. 04. 0
Joseph Blydenburgh paid		0. 12. 0
William Anderson paid		0. 04. 0
Chidley Brooke Esq		1. 04. 0
Coll Caleb Heathcote		1. 04. 0
Gab ^l Ludlow	p ^d	0. 13. 6
James Grayham Esq ^r	p ^d	1. 04. 00
Rob ^t Lurting to Collect		
Robert Lurting	p ^d	1. 04. 0
William Merrett	p ^d	1. 04. 0
James Evetts	p ^d	0. 18. 0
William Morris	p ^d	0. 18. 0
Ebenezer Willson	p ^d	0. 18. 0
Thomas Clarke to Collect		
Thomas Clarke	p ^d	1. 04. 0
Sam ^l Burt	p ^d	0. 12. 0
Rob ^t Skelton	p ^d	0. 18. 0
Jacob Mayle	p ^d	1. 00. 0
Richard Willett	p ^d	1. 04. 0
William Morris to Collect		
Bartholomew Laroox	p ^d - - -	00. 12. 00
Peter Matthews	p ^d - - -	00. 05. 06
Mr Davis	p ^d	01. 00. 00

Order'd that Cap^t Thomas Clarke Mr William Huddleston & Mr John Crooke doe take Care that the Church be Cleaned & put into the best posture they Can in Order that Divine Service & the Communion be there Administred the Next Sabbath day.

Citty of } ss Att A Meeting of the Church
New Yorke } Warden & Vestry men of Trinity Church on Munday y^e 14th day of March 1697

Present Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens
Rob^t Lurting }
William Morris }
David Jameson
Will Janeway
Sam^l Burt
John Tudor
Thomas Clarke
John Crooke
Nathaniel Marston
Will Sharpas

Order'd that Mr Thomas Wenham doe draw a Note on Chidly Brooke Esq^r to pay to John Elisson Joyner the Sum of thirty pounds Curr^t Money of New Yorke itt being in parte paym^t for y^e: making of y^e: Pullpitt &c: the Same being Money Subscribed by y^e: Said Chidley Brooke for the better Carrying on of the Building of y^e: Said Church

Resolved that the pullpitt in Trinity Church be Removed According to a Draft this Night produced & [that] Ordered y^t Cap^t Thomas

Clarke & Cap^t Jeremiah Tothill doe take the Same be forthwith Effectd.

Citty of } ss Att A Meeting of y^e Rector
New Yorke } Church Wardens & Vestry men
of Trinity Church on [Tues-
day] Munday y^e: 21th day of
March 1697

the Reverend Mr William Vezey Rector
Present Robert Lurting Church Warden
Thomas Clarke
William Merrett Esq }
David Jameson } Vestry men
William Morris }
John Crooke }
Nathaniel Marston }
William Sharpas }
Michael Hawdon }

Order'd that William Merrett Esq^r & Cap^t William Morris doe Collect the Contributions to be given in Trinity Church for the four Sabbath days Next Ensuing

Citty of } ss Att A Meeting of y^e: Rector
New Yorke } Church Wardens & Vestry men
of Trinity Church on Tuesday
y^e: 22^d day of March 1697

Present The Reverend Mr William Vezey Rector
Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens
Robert Lurting }
William Merrett Esq^r }
David Jameson }
John Tudor }
John Crooke }
Nathaniel Marston }
Will Sharpas }
Thomas Clarke }
Thomas Burroughs }
Ebenezer Willson }
William Morris }
Michael Hawdon }

Capt Thomas Clarke & Cap^t Jeremiah Tothill y^e: Collectors of y^e: Contributions Given in [Trinity] the Church have this day paid to Cap^t Ebenezer Willson the Sum of twenty One pounds Six Shillings being Money by them Collected the four Sabbath days last past & Ordered that Cap^t Willson Acc^t for y^e: Same.

Order'd that the following Address be Signed by the Church Wardens in behalfe of this Board & forthwith presented to his Excell & Council (Viz^t)

To his Excellency Benjamin Fletcher
Cap^t Gen^l And Governour in Chiefe of
the Province of New Yorke &c:

The humble Petition of y^e: Church

Wardens & Vestry men of Trinity Church [*Wardens*] in the City of New Yorke.

Sheweth

That there is a Certain Sum of Money Raised by Virtue of A License from Your Excell with Advice of y^e: Council from y^e: Voluntary Contribution of the Inhabitants of this Province & Others towards the Reliefe of Christian Captives in Salley which did belong to this Province & in Case of their death or other Escape or that it be Impossible to Relieve them by the Said Lysense itt is to be Employed to the like or Some Other pious use as your Excell the Govern^r & Council Shall Appoint

That itt So happens the Said Captives are Escaped dead or otherwise not to be Relieved That the Church Wardens & Vestry men of Trinity Church for and towards the finishing of S^d Church did upon their humble Application by your Excell favour Obtain from Your Excell in Council on y^e: 2^d of Dec^{br} 1697 an Order for y^e: payment of Said Money to the Church Wardens of Said Church towards the finishing of Said Church upon Condition that if any of the Said Captives be in Captivity & to be Relieved the Corporation of Trinity Church Should procure their Reliefe and Redemption att their Charge. And that the Persons Intrusted by Your Excell with the Management of Said Money towards the Redemption of Said Captives (Viz^t) Coll Stephen Cortlandt Peter Jacobs Main Dr Kerbyl and Capt John Kip will not meet together att the Request of the Said Church Wardens to Deliver up the Acc^t of the Amount of the Said Money and to Assign the Same.

Wherefore Your Excell Petitioners humbly pray Your Excell to Order that the Said Persons be Summoned to Appear before Your Excell & Give an Acc^t of y^e: Amount of y^e: Said Money & be Ordered to Assign the Said Money to the Said Church Wardens for the Aforesaid use of Trinity Church without further Delay

And Y^r Excell Petitioners as in Duty bound Shall Ever pray &c

City of New Yorke } ss Att A Meeting of y^e: Rector Church Wardens & Vestry men of Trinity Church on Munday y^e: 26th day of March 1698

Present The Reverend M^r Will Vezey Rector
Rob^t Lurting Church Warden
Ebenezer Willson
James Emott

Thomas Clarke
William Morris
David Jameson
Will Sharpas
John Tudor
James Evetts
Michael Hawdon
William Huddleston
John Crooke
Nath Marston
Thomas Burroughs

} Vestry men

Resolved y^t the Gallery design'd to be built on y^e: South Side of Trinity Church Att y^e: Charge of the Governm^t for the use of the Govern^r & Council of this Province [d] have a Part added to itt att y^e: Charge of this [*Congregation*] Corporation to run towards the West end of y^e: Church and that those persons that will have pews therein doe in proportion pay the Charge thereof.

M^r Jameson Reports to this board that y^e: Petition Order'd y^e: last Meeting of this board was read in Council [on] Thursday last & that Coll Cortlandt one of y^e: Council & one of y^e: persons Concern'd therein Jr- formed y^e: Gov^r & Council y^t they were ready to deliver up all papers Relating to the Money Collected for y^e: Redemption of y^e [Slaves] Captives in Sally & to Assign the Same. Whereupon itt is Order'd that (M^r Thomas Wenham being much Jndisposed) that M^r Rob^t Lurting M^r James Emott and M^r David Jameson doe waite upon y^e: Said Coll. Cortlandt & the other Persons [*that have ye*] to whose Charge [*of*] the Said Money was Committed & Demand all papers Relating thereunto & Assignment of the Same.

M^r David Jameson Reports that his Excell y^e: Governour has Given A Bible & Some other Bookes to this Corporation for y^e: use of Trinity Church w^{ch} are Supposed to be in the hands of M^r Simon Smith Order'd that M^r Cap^t Willson and William Sharpas doe waite upon M^r Smith & Aske for y^e: Same.

The Board being Sencible of Several Strangers being now in Town y^t have not yett Contributed to y^e: Carrying on of the Building of Trinity Church Order'd that Cap^t Willson and Cap^t Tudor doe goe About with y^e: list of Subscriptions & Endeavour to gett additions thereunto. & also to Collect the Arreage of Subscriptions yett unpaid

[City of New Yorke } ss Att A Meeting of ye Rector Church Wardens & Vestry of Trinity Church ye 4th day of April 1698

*Present The Reverend Mr William Vezey Rector
Robt Lurting Church Warden
Will Merritt Esqr
James Emott
John Tudor
David Jameson
Ebenezer Willson
Thomas Clarke
William Janeway
Wm Sharpas
William Huddleston
Michael Hawden
James Evetts
William Huddleston
Nathaniel Marston
John Crooke
Thomas Burroughs*

*The following Address was three times read
& Approved & Ordered to be Entred in
these Minutes & that itt be Engrossed & that
to morrow Morning at [Eight] Nine O Clock
this board doe meet att ye Mayors & present
the same to his Excellency]*

Citty of } ss Att A Meeting of ye Rector
New Yorke } Church Wardens & Vestry men
of Trinity Church on Munday
ye: 11th day of April 1698

*Present The Reverend Mr Will Vezey Rector
Robt Lurting } Church Wardens*

*Coll Caleb Heathcote
William Merrett Esqr
Ebenezer Willson
Will Janeway
Nath Marston
Thomas Burroughs
Sam^l Burte
John Crooke
James Evetts
Michael Hawden
Will [Jane] Sharpas*

Order'd that the Church Wardens together
with Capt Thomas Clarke & Mr John Crooke
or any three of them be A Committee for
the Disposal of the pews in Trinity Church
as they shall see meet for the Convenient
seating of the Congregation and that A
Note be put upon the Church Door to give
Publick Notice thereof.

Mr William Huddleston Late Clarke of
Trinity Church Informed this board that by
reason of [great] Business & affairs that
Call him Abroad he Cannot Attend that
Service & Dessires this board will Appoint
some Other person to Execute that office itt
is therefore Ordered that Mr Nathaniel

Marston be Clerke of Trinity Church Dureing
his well Behaviour in the S^d office & that he
have A Sallery of twenty pounds p^{a} Annum
for the said service to be paid Quarterly out
of the Publick Stock of ye: Church. to
Commence from the Ninth day of this In-
stant Month of April

Citty of } ss Att A Meeting of ye. Rector
New Yorke } Church Wardens & Vestry men
of Trinity Church on Monday
the 18th day of April 1698
Present The Reverend Mr William Vezey Rector

*Coll Caleb Heathcote
William Merrett Esqr
Ebenezer Willson
James Emott
Thomas Clarke
David Jameson
John Tudor
William Janeway
John Crooke
William Morris
Nath Marston
Sam^l Burte
Mich Hawdon
Will Sharpas*

Order'd that Coll Heathcote Capt Willson
Capt Clarke and Capt Tudor doe Attend ye:
Rector to waite upon his Excell the Earle of
Bellomont with A Draft of the Church in
Order his Lordship Assign A place for the
building of A Pew, for himselfe and family.

The Rector & Committee doe Reporte y^t
they Accordingly have waited on my Lord
with the Draft of ye: Church & that his
Lordship has [Appointed] desired A place
on ye: South Side of ye: Church fronting
the Pullpitt for the Setting of his pew w^{ch}
is [Agreed to] Assigned for him According-
ly.

Att a meeting of the Rector
Church warden^s and Vestrey
men of Trinity Church on
monday. Aprill. 25. 1698 - - -

Trinity Church ss

*Present The Reverend Mr W^m Vessey . . .
Tho^s Wenham
Rob Lurton
W^m Merrett - - -
Tho Clarke - - -
Jn^o Tudor
Mich Hawdon
W^m Huddleston
Eben Willson*

Natha Maston
Jn^o Crook - - - - -
James Emote
W^m Janeway
W^m Morris
Samuell Burt
James Evertts

Ordered - - that the Easter Offerings - - att the
Communion. on Easter. Sunday. lastt. . . be to
the Vuse of. the Rector

Citty of)
New Yorke } ^{ss} Att A Meeting of the Rector
Church Wardens & Vestry men
of Trinity Church on Tuesday
y^e: 26th day of April 1698

Present The Reverend M^r William Vezey Rector
Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens

The following Address [was] to Coll Fletcher
was read & approved & Ordered to be Entered
in these Minutes dated 25th April 1698

William Merrett, Esq^r
Ebenezer Willson
David Jameson
James Emott
John Tudor
William Morris
Thomas Clarke
James Evetts
Michael Hawdon
Will Sharpas.
Will Janeway
Nath Marston
Pursuant to the Directions of the Char-
ter for the Incorporating the Inhabi-
tants the Inhabitants of this Citty in
Communion of the Church of England
as by Law Established the Inhabitants
of y^e: Said Citty in Communion as
Aforesaid did this day Convene togeth-
er in Trinity Church [and] According
to publick Notice and did the Elect and
Choose the persons hereafter Named
to Serve in the Respective Offices of
Church Wardens & Vestry men of [the
Said Citty for] Trinity Church for the
Year Ensueing

Viz' Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens
Thomas Clarke }
Will Merrett Esq
Coll. Caleb Heathcote
William Morris
Ebenezer Willson
James Emott
Rob^t Lurting
Mich Hawdon
John Crooke
Will Sharpas
Jeremiah Tothill
Will Huddleston
James Evetts

Thomas Burroughs
David Jameson
Matthew Clarkson
Will Nicoll Esq^r
Will Anderson
Rich^d Willett
Rob^t Walters
Giles Gaudineau

William Welch Appeared before this board
& being Informed y^t this Church wanted A
Sexton told them he was ready to Execute
y^t office & that for his wages or Sallery for
the Same he be Allowed 6^s P^p Annum of
Every pew - for y^e Cleaning & looking after
the same & that the persons that have A
Right to the Said pews pay the Same Quar-
terly in Equal proportions

Order'd Cap^t Willson & M^r Anderson doe
Collect the Contributions of y^e: Church for
four Sabbath days following

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VIII.—“VERMONT CONTROVERSY.”— CONTINUED FROM PAGE 102.

A SERIES OF UNPUBLISHED PAPERS, CONCERNING
THE RELATIONS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE AND
THE EARLY VERMONTSE, FROM THE ARCH-
IVES OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

[7.—*Resolutions of the Committee of Safety of
New York, requesting the Continental Con-
gress to recommend the Vermontese to submit
to the authority of New York and asking that
body to disband the Regiment authorised by it
to be raised in Vermont and commanded by
Colonel Warner.*]

IN COMMITTEE OF SAFETY FOR THE STATE OF
NEW YORK, FISHKILL, January 20th 1777.

WHEREAS, until the Commencement of
the present Contest with Great-Britain, the inhab-
itants of Cumberland and Gloucester Counties in
general submitted to the jurisdiction of this
State; many of them obtained Grants and Con-
firmations of Title from the late Government,
and justice was administred by magistrates of
its Appointments;

AND WHEREAS a Spirit of Defection and
revolt has lately been extended to those Counties
through the arts misrepresentations of certain
people inhabiting the County of Charlotte, dis-
tinguishing themselves by the name of the Green-
mountain-boys, and their emissaries.

AND WHEREAS the Congresses and Con-
ventions of this State have hitherto cotedemplated
the Effects of this dangerous Insurrection with
silent Concern, being restrained from giving it a
suitable Opposition by the Apprehension that it

might, at so critical a Juncture, weaken our Exertions in the Common Cause.

AND WHEREAS the said Insurgents and their Emissaries, taking advantage of the patient forbearance of this State, and flattered by the Countenance and Strength which they have acquired by being embodied into a regiment under the immediate authority of the Continental Congress and without the Consent or Co-operation of this State, have lately united divers of the Inhabitants of Towns within the said Counties of Cumberland and Gloucester to unite with them in assuming a total independence of this State, chusing a separate Convention, and framing a Petition to The Honourable Congress for its Sanction and approbation of this unprovoked revolt :

AND WHEREAS the loss of so valuable a territory as is now attempted to be wrested from this State by the violence of an inconsiderable part of its members, who have, during the present War, received liberal allowances out of the publick Treasury for their more immediate protection, will not only oppress the remainder with the payment of the enormous debts which have accrued in the Common Cause, but must at every future period, expose this State to be intruded into and overrun, its jurisdiction to be denied, and its authority contemned and set at Defiance :

AND WHEREAS divers ill-disposed persons have, with wicked and sinister purposes, reported that members of the Honble the Continental Congress, and other men of Influence and authority in the neighbouring States do favour and support the Insurrection aforesaid :

AND WHEREAS the said ill-disposed persons have also insinuated that the Honourable the Congress do Countenance a design of dismembering this State by appointing Seth Warner who hath heretofore been and still continues a principal Agent and Abettor of the riot and revolt aforesaid, to command the beforementioned regiment.

AND WHEREAS the appointment of the said Seth Warner is inconsistent with the usual mode adopted in Congress and approved of in this and the neighbouring States, and contrary to the express representation in similar Case made to the Honble Congress on the 11 Day of July last by the Convention of this State :

AND WHEREAS such reports and insinuations not only tend to justify the turbulent and disaffected inhabitants of the said Counties, but divers of the good Subjects of this State are discouraged from risking their Lives and Fortunes in the defense of America, while there is reason for apprehending that after all their vigorous efforts and all they have suffered and must continue to suffer for the Common Cause, and

even after a successful period to the present Conflict shall have restored Happiness and Security to their Sister States, this State alone may remain exposed to Havock devastation and anarchy, and be deprived of great and valuable Territories to gratify the ambitious unjust and selfish projects of its disorderly Subjects ;

AND WHEREAS the inveterate foes to the Liberties of America, from the earliest Commencement of the present serious Contest have endeavoured to alienate the minds of the good people of this State from the Common Cause by representing that nothing less than the power of Great-Britain can guard their territorial rights and protect their Jurisdiction against usurpation and Encroachment, and it is a Truth to be lamented that such representations have proved but too successful, and have now acquired additional Force by reason of the premisses :

AND WHEREAS it has become absolutely necessary not only for the preservation of the authority of this Convention and the Confidence and respect of its Constituents ; but for the success of the United States, so far as they depend upon or are connected with this Branch of the Grand american Confederacy, that proper and vigorous means should be forthwith exerted for vindicating its rights and asserting and securing its jurisdiction : and as a preliminary Step to quelling the aforesaid disturbances, removing the jealousies and apprehensions of the good people of this State, and depriving the wicked emissaries of Great Britain of the principal argument by which they hitherto have, and still continue to debauch their minds and seduce them from their Allegiance to this State and their Attachment to the Common Cause, a suitable application to the Honble the Congress of the United States may be attended with the most salutary Effects, and that, in the mean time, coercive measures be suspended :

RESOLVED THEREFORE,

That a proper application be immediately made to the Honble the Congress, to whose Justice the said insurgents have appealed, and on whose advice they pretend to rely, requesting them to interpose their Authority, and recommend to the said insurgents a peaceable submission to the jurisdiction of this State, and also to disband the said Regiment directed to be raised by Col^o Warner, as this Convention hath cheerfully and voluntarily undertaken to raise a Regiment in Addition to the Quota designed [?] for this State by Congress : have opened their utmost resources to the wants and necessities of the American Army : have a very great proportion of this Militia now in the field, and are heartily disposed to contribute to the publick Service in every respect as far as the

Circumstances and abilities of the State will permit.

Extract from the Minutes
ROBERT BENSON, Secry

[8.—*Letter of the Committee of Safety of New York to the Continental Congress, enclosing the preceding Resolutions and urging the requests contained therein.*]

FISHKILL, 20 January 1777.

SIR

I am directed by the Committee of Safety of New-York to inform Congress that by the arts and Influence of certain designing men, a part of this State hath been prevailed on to revolt and disavow the authority of its legislature.

It is our misfortune to be wounded so sensibly, while we are making our utmost exertions in the common Cause.

The various evidences and informations we have received would lead us to believe, that persons of great influence in some of our Sister-states have fostered and fomented these divisions in order to dismember this State at a time when by the inroads of our common Enemy we were supposed to be incapacitated from defending our just Claims. But as these informations tend to accuse some members of your honble Body of being concerned in this Scheme, decency obliges us to suspend our belief.

The Congress will doubtless remember that so long ago as in the month of July last, we complained of the great Injury done us by appointing officers within this State without our Consent or approbation. We could not then, nor can we now perceive the reason of such disadvantageous discrimination between this State and its neighbours. We have been taught to believe that each of the United States is entitled to equal rights: in what manner the rights of New York have been forfeited we are at a Loss to discover: and although we have never received an answer to our last Letter on this Subject, yet we did hope that no fresh Ground of Complaint would have been offered us.

The Convention are sorry to observe that by conferring a commission upon Col^d Warner, with Authority to name the Officers of a regiment to be raised independent of the legislature of this State, and within that part which hath lately declared an Independence upon it, Congress hath given but too much weight to the Insinuations of those who pretend that your honble body are determined to support these insurgents; especially as this Col^d Warner hath been constantly and invariably opposed to the Legislature of this State,

and hath been, on that very account, proclaimed an Outlaw, by the late Government thereof. However confiding in the Honour and justice of the great Council of america we hope that you have been surprised into this measure.

By order of the House, Sir, I enclose you the resolution upon the important Subject of this Letter, and am further to observe that it is absolutely necessary to recal the Commissions given to Col^d Warner and the officers under him, as nothing else will do justice to us and convince those deluded people that Congress have not been prevailed on to assist in dismembering a State which, of all others, has suffered most in the Common Cause.

The King of Great-Britain hath, by force of arms taken from us five Counties, and an Attempt is made in the midst of our distresses to purloin from us three other Counties. We must consider the persons concerned in such designs as open Enemies of this State, and, in Consequence of all America.

To maintain our Jurisdictions over our own Subjects is become indispensibly necessary to the authority of the Convention, nor will any thing less silence the plausible arguments by which the disaffected delude our Constituents and alienate them from the Common Cause. On the Success of our Efforts in this respect depends, too probably, even the power of Convention to be longer serviceable in this glorious Contest. It is become a common remark in the mouths of our most zealous friends, that if the State is to be rent asunder, and its jurisdiction subverted to gratify its deluded and disorderly Subjects, it is a folly to hazard their Lives and fortunes in a Contest which, in every event, must terminate in their ruin.

I have the Honour to be,
with great Respect,

Sir

Your most obed^t and hble Serv^t

By Order,

ABRAHAM TENEBROECK, Presd^t
Honble JOHN HANCOCK Esq.

[9.—*Second letter of the Committee of Safety of New York, to the Continental Congress, enclosing the two preceding papers.*]

KINGSTON, ULSTER-COUNTY 1 March 1777.

SIR

The enclosed Letters and resolutions were proposed sometime since, but for reasons with which you need not be troubled were delayed. Some late proceedings of the disaffected within this State, occasion their being now transmitted.

I am directed to inform you that the Convention are engaged in establishing a firm

and permanent System of Government, when this important Business is accomplished, they will dispatch a satisfactory State of their Boundaries, and the Principles on which they are founded for the Information of Congress. In the mean time they depend upon the Justice of your Honble House in adopting every wise and salutary expedient to suppress the Mischiefs which must ensue both to this State and the General Confederacy from the unjust and pernicious project of such of the Inhabitants of New-York, as merely from selfish and interested motives, have fomented this dangerous Insurrection. The Congress may be assured that the Spirit of Defection, notwithstanding all the arts and violence of the Seducers, is by no means general. The County of Gloucester, and a very great part both of Cumberland and Charlotte Counties continue steadfast in their allegiance to this Government. Brigadier-General Bailey's Letter, a Copy of which is enclosed, will be a sufficient proof of the temper of the people of Gloucester County. Charlotte and Cumberland continue to be represented in Convention, and from very late Information we learn that out of 80 Members which were expected to have attended the mock-Convention of the deluded Subjects of this State, twenty only attended.

We are informed by good authority that Col^d Warner was directed by the General to send forward his men as he should enlist them to Ticonderoga; notwithstanding which it appeared by a return from thence, not long since, that only 24 privates had reached that post, nor is there the least prospect of his raising a number of men, which can be an Object of publick Concern, though instead of confining himself to the Green-mountains, as we understand was the intention of the Honble the Congress, he has had the advantages of recruiting in Albany and other places.

I have the Honour to be
with great Respect

Sir,
your most obedient
and hble Serv^t

By Order,

ABM TENBROECK, Presid :

Honble JOHN HANCOCK Esq.

[10.—*Extract from the Journal of the Continental Congress, noticing the receipt of the three preceding papers, by that body, and its action thereon.*]

IN CONGRESS, 7 April 1777.

A Letter of the 20th of January, and one of the 1st of March last, from the Convention of the State of New York, with an Extract from the Minutes of the Committee of

HIST. MAG. VOL. I. 15.

Safety of said State dated January 20th 1777, was received and read :

ORDERED, That they lie on the Table.

Extract from the Journal of Congress
WILLIAM N. HOUSTON, D Secy

[11.—*Extract from the Journal of the Continental Congress, noticing the receipt, by that body, of a Declaration and Petition from the inhabitants of Vermont—No. 6, and—its action thereon.*]

IN CONGRESS 8th April 1777.

A Declaration and Petition from sundry Inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants was received and read :

ORDERED, That it lie on the Table.

Extract from the Journal of Congress
WILLIAM N. HOUSTON, D Secy

[12.—*The Council of Safety of Vermont to the Council of Safety of New Hampshire, asking immediate assistance to oppose the progress of the Royal troops.**]

IN COUNCIL OF SAFETY STATE OF VERMONT
MANCHESTER 15th July 1777

GENTLEMEN

This State in particular seems to be at Present the Object of Destruction. By the Surrender of the fortress Ticonderoga a Communication is open to the Defenceless inhabitants on the frontier who having little more in present store than sufficient for the maintenance of their Respective Families and not ability to immediately to Remove their Effects are therefore induced to accept such Protections as are Offered them by the Enemy; by this means THOSE TOWNS who are most Contiguous to them are under necessity of Taking such Protection by which the next Town or Towns become equally a frontier as the former Towns before such Protection, and unless we can Obtain the Assistance of our friends so as to put it immediately in our Power to make a Sufficient stand against strength as they may send, it appears that it will soon be out of the Power of this State to maintain a frontier—this Country notwithstanding its infancy seems as well supplied provisions for Victualing an army as any Country on the Continent, so that on that account, we cannot see why a stand may not as well be made in this state as in the State of New Hampshire and more especially as the inhabitants are Heartily Disposed to Defend their Liberties—You Gentlemen will be at once sensible that Every such Town as accept protection are rendered at that instant forever incapable of affording us any further assistance

* This paper is published in *Slade's State Papers*—pages 79, 80—but in a mutilated form.—W. F. G.

and what is infinitely worse, as some Disaffected Persons eternally Lurk in almost every Town such become Double fortified to injure their Country our Good Disposition to Defend ourselves and make a Frontier for your State with Our own cannot be carried into execution without your Assistance, should you send immediate assistance we can help you, and should you neglect till we are put to the necessity of Taking protection, you Readily Know it is in a moment out of our power to assist you your Laying these Circumstances together, will I hope induce your Honours to take the same into Consideration and immediately send us your Determination in the Premises.

I have the satisfaction to be your
Honours most Obed^t and very
Hum^{bl} Serv^t by Order of Council
IRA ALLEN, Secr^y

THE HONOURABLE THE COUNCIL OF SAFETY
STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

P. S. By express this moment received, we Learn that between 3 & 6 Thousand of the Enemy are Fortifying at the Town of Castleton—our case calls Loud for immediate assistance

I ALLEN

[13.—*The Council of Safety of Vermont to all Officers of Militia, asking assistance.*]

IN COUNCIL OF SAFETY STATE OF VERMONT
MANCHESTER 15th July 1777

TO ALL MILITIA OFFICERS WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is the second and perhaps the Last Express we may be able to send you from this part your immediate assistance is absolutely Necessary, a few hundred Militia troops to be joined to our present strength would greatly add to our present encouragement — as by Very Late information we Learn that a large Scout of the enemy are disposed to take a Tour to this part, the inhabitants with their Families cannot be quieted without an Assurance of the arrival of Troops directly for their Assistance, you will Please to let us know your determination without delay.

The Continental Store at Bennington, seems to be their present aim — you will be Supplied with provision here on your arrival, pray send all the Troops you can Possibly Raise—we can repulse them if we have assistance

I have the honor to be your most obed^t

Hum^{bl} Serv^t By order of Council

IRA ALLEN Secr^y

[14.—*Reply of the President of New Hampshire to the letter of the Council of Safety of Vermont, of July 15th, 1777—No. 12, ante.*]

EXETER, July 19, 1777.

Sir:

I was favored with yours of the 15th inst. yesterday, by express, and laid the same before our General Court, who are sitting.

We had, previous thereto, determined to send assistance to your State. They have now determined that a quarter part of the Militia of twelve Regiments shall be immediately draughted; formed into three Battalions, under the command of Brigadier-general John Stark; and forthwith sent into your State, to oppose the ravages and coming forward of the enemy; and orders are now issuing and will all go out in a few hours to the several Colonels for that purpose. Dependence is made that they will be supplied with provisions in your State; and I am to desire your Convention will send some proper person or persons to Number Four, by Thursday next, to meet General Stark there, and advise with him relative to the route and disposition of our troops, and to give him such information as you may then have, relative to the manœuvres of the enemy.

In behalf of the Council and Assembly, I am,
Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

MESCHECH WEARE, President.*

IRA ALLEN, Esq.,

Secretary of the State of Vermont.

[15.—*The Council of Safety of Vermont to Colonel Marsh and Major Smith, calling for immediate assistance.*]

STATE OF VERMONT 13th Aug^t 1777

IN COUNCIL OF SAFETY BENNINGTON—
DEAR COL^o

By Express this Day reciev'd from the Commanding officer of the Northern department we Learn that a door has now opened for the troops of this State to do Duty on this side the North River which will be Clear from Gener^l Schuylers Command and as an Expedition is on foot of the greatest importance which is to remain a secret till the Troops are Collected these are Therefore in the most Positive Terms to Requiar you without a Moments Loss of Time to March one half of the Regiment under your Command to this Place—no small Excuse at this Juncture can be reciev^d

Whilst I am writing this we are informed by Express that a Large Bodey of the Enemys Troops ware Discover two hours ago in St Koik 12 Miles from this Place and another Bodey at Cambridg About 18 Mills from this that they march Boldly in the Road and there will Doubtless be an attack at or near this place within 24 howers we have the Assistance of Maj^r general

* In order to expedite the work of copying the volume of records which this series of articles reproduces, Captain Goodwin referred to the copy of this letter which is in Slade's *State Papers of Vermont*, from which we copy. If any variation shall be found between the original and this copy it will be explained by this circumstance.—EDITOR.

Stark with his Bigade You will hurry what
Rangers forward are Recruited with all speed
Now is the Time S^r

I am S^r your Hum^b Servant
S^r I Desiar By order of Counesel
You would send PETER OLCOTT Col^o
this Express to General Baley
Col^o MARSH

a Copy

To Maj Israel Smith

JONAS FAY } vice president

[16.—*The Council of Safety of Vermont to "the
"Generals nearest commanding," calling for
assistance.*]

STATE OF VERMONT

IN COUNCIL OF SAFETY BENNINGTON
16th August 1777

GENTLEMEN

Brig General Starks from the State of N.
Hampshire with his Brigade together wth the
Militia & Companies of Rangers raised by this
State with Part of Col^o Symonds Regiment of
the Militia are now in Action with a Number of
the Enemies Troops assembled near this Place
which has been for some Time very Severe, we
have now in Possession (taken from them this
Day) Four Brass field pieces Ordinance Stores &c

And this Moment four or five hundred
Prisoners have arrived, we have taken the
Ground altho Fortified by Intrenchments, &c,
but after being drove about one mile and the
Enemy being reinforced made a Second Stand &
Still continue the Action, the Loss on each Side
is doubtless considerable, but the Numbers can-
not ascertain —

You are therefore in the most pressing
Terms requested by Gen^l Starks & this Council
to forward the whole of the Militia under your
Several Commands to this place without one
minutes loss of time they will proceed on
Horseback with all the Ammunition that can be
provided conveniently on our present exertion
depends the Fate of thousands—

I am

Gen.

Y^r most Obd^t Hble Ser^{vt}

JONAS FAY Vice Presd^t

To the Gen^{ls}: nearest
Command^s Reg^{ts} in y^e States } |

[17.—*The Council of Safety of Vermont to
the Committee of Safety in Charleston, New
Hampshire, enclosing a copy of General Gates's
letter, asking immediate assistance.*]

BENNINGTON 18th Sept^r 1777

GENTLEMEN

I am ordered by this Council to Inclose a
Copy of General Gates Letter to you by which
you will see the Necessaty of forwarding your
Militia with Expditi^o. You will also forward

Copies to the Eastward of the Generals Letters
Requesting them to Come forward.

I am Gentlemen

Your most Obedient

By order

Hum^bl Serv^t

JOSEPH FAY Se.^r

TO THE HONORABLE COMMITTEE
OF CHARLESTON IN N HAMPSHIRE

[ENCLOSURE.*]

CAMP ON BEHNS HEIGHTH

Sept^r 17- 1777

I have Rec^d Certain Intelligence that
Gen^l Burgoyne has Caused Skeensborough Fort
Ann Fort George Fort Edward and the Post he
Lately ocupied to the Southward of Lake George
and Skeensborough, to be evacuated, and the
artillery, Stores and Provision to Be Brought to
his Army, now at Van Vaters Mills, Seven Miles
North of this Camp, Except Some Heavy Can-
non which are Carried to the five mile Island in
Lake George From this it is Evident the Gen^l
Designs to Resque all upon, one Rash Stroke, it
is there fore the Indispensible Duty of all Con-
cerned to Exert themselves in Reinfoursing this
Army without one moments Delay, the Militia
from Every Part Should be ordered here with
all Possible Expedition, I am S^r your most obe-
dient humble Ser^t

HORATIO GATES

To the Honorable the Charman of the
Committe at Benington to be forwarded to the
Committees to the Eastward thereof

IX. - THE INVASION OF PENNSYLVAN- IA, BY THE CONFEDERATE STATES' ARMY, IN 1863.

REPORT OF THE OPERATIONS OF "EARLY'S
"DIVISION," C. S. A.

FROM A CORRECTED COPY, WITH ILLUSTRATIVE
NOTES, COMMUNICATED BY GENERAL J. A.

EARLY,†

HEADQUARTERS, EARLY'S DIVISION,
August 22nd, 1863.

Major A. S. PENDLETON,

A. A. General, Second Corps, A. N. Va.:

I have the honor to submit the following
Report of the operations of this Division, during
the recent Campaign, commencing with its de-

* It will be remembered that this is merely a record of
a copy of General Gates's letter. That officer did not
spell words exactly in the style employed in this copy of a
copy of his original letter.—EDITOR.

† This Report was printed in *The Southern Magazine*,
for September and October, 1872, but it was not printed
accurately: General Early having kindly sent us a correct-
ed copy, we have pleasure in presenting it to our readers
in the words which he has approved.—EDITOR.

parture from Fredericksburg, and ending with its arrival in the vicinity of Orange Court-house.

On the fourth of June, the Division marched from Hamilton's-crossing, and having been joined by Jones's Battalion of Artillery, passed Spotsylvania Court-house, Verdiersville, Somerville's-ford, on the Rapidan, Culpeper Court-house, Sperryville, Washington (the county-seat of Rapahannock), and, crossing the Blue Ridge, at Chester-Gap, arrived at Front Royal late on the night of the twelfth. Hoke's and Smith's Brigades crossed both forks of the Shenandoah, that night, and encamped; and Hays's and Gordon's Brigades, with Jones's Battalion of Artillery and the Division trains, encamped on the East side of the South-fork, near Front Royal.*

Early on the morning of the thirteenth, Hays's and Gordon's Brigades, Jones's Artillery, and the trains were crossed over to the North side of the North-fork of the Shenandoah; and I received orders from the Lieutenant-general commanding to move my Division to the Valley-turnpike, and advance to the vicinity of Kernstown, and then move to the left, so as to get a position from which the main work of the enemy, at Winchester, could be attacked with advantage, information at the same time being given me that there was a hill to the westward of this work and commanding it, of which it was desired I should get possession. Lieutenant Barton of the Second Virginia Regiment of Walker's Brigade of Johnson's Division accompanied me as a guide; and Brown's Battalion of Reserve Artillery, under Captain Dance, was ordered to accompany my Division.

Having received the instructions of the Lieutenant-general commanding, the wagons, except the ambulances and the Regimental ordnance and medical wagons, were left at Cedarville; and I diverged from the Winchester and Front Royal-turnpike, at Nineveh, reaching the Valley-turnpike, at Newtown, and thence advancing towards Winchester. I found Lieutenant-colonel Herbert, of the Maryland line, with his Battalion of Infantry, the Battery of Maryland Artillery, and a portion of the Battalion of Maryland Cavalry, occupying the ridge between Bartonsville and Kernstown, and engaged in occasional skirmishing with a portion of the enemy who had taken position near Kernstown. I

halted my command, here, forming it in line, on either side of the turnpike, and proceeded to reconnoitre the ground, for the purpose of ascertaining the position and strength of the enemy, near Kernstown, and also of finding the road by which I was to diverge from the turnpike so as to reach the position, in rear of the enemy's works, which I had been directed to gain. The only portion of the enemy in sight, on my arrival, consisted of Cavalry; but I was informed that an Infantry picket occupied Kernstown, and I soon discovered that a Battery of artillery was located on Pritchard's-hill, near Kernstown, which was the same position occupied by the enemy's artillery, at the time of General Jackson's engagement at this place. Finding it necessary to dislodge the enemy from this hill, after making a reconnoissance, I moved Hays's Brigade to the left, through a skirt of woods and a meadow, to the foot of the ridge along which General Jackson made his advance, and thence along a road which runs from Bartonsville to the Cedar-creek-turnpike, until an eligible position for advancing upon Pritchard's-hill, from the left, was reached. From this point, Hays was ordered to advance and gain possession of the hill, which he did, without opposition, the enemy having hurriedly withdrawn his Battery; but, whilst advancing, General Hays sent me word that the enemy had a considerable Infantry force on the ridge to his left; and I immediately conducted Gordon's Brigade over the same route, and sent word to Hays to halt until Gordon could get up. Gordon then advanced rapidly to the left of Hays, and, in conjunction with skirmishers sent out by the latter, drove the enemy's force across the Cedar-creek-turnpike and over the ridge between that road and Abraham's-creek, which latter here crosses the Valley-turnpike. While this was going on, Hoke's and Smith's Brigades, which had been left in line, on the right and left of the Valley-turnpike, respectively, were ordered to advance towards Kernstown. Gordon having continued to advance until his right reached the Valley-turnpike, was halted, and Hays was moved to his left; and then Smith to the left of Hays—the three Brigades being formed in line, in rear of the crest of the ridge which is immediately South of Abraham's-creek, beyond which the enemy had been driven. The enemy then occupied Bowes'-hill, on the North of the creek, near Barton's mill, with a considerable force of Infantry and Artillery; and as it was near night, and too late for further operations, Hoke's Brigade, under the command of Colonel Avery of the Sixth North Carolina Regiment, which had been ordered to the support of the other Brigades, was ordered back to Kernstown, where it was placed in position to protect the ambulances, wagons, and artillery, which

* The Second Corps, composed of Rodes's, Johnson's, and my Divisions, under Lieutenant-general Ewell, had remained in the vicinity of Culpeper Court-house, on the ninth; and, on that day, my Division was moved towards Brandy-Station, during the Cavalry fight there, but was not needed. On the tenth, we resumed the march; and, on the twelfth, Rodes's and Johnson's Divisions preceded mine in the march, crossing both forks of the Shenandoah, and camping near Cedarville, a mile or two North of the North-fork.

had been brought to that point, from an attack from the left and rear; and Colonel Herbert was ordered to take position, with his Battalion of Infantry, on the right of Gordon, who had extended his line on that flank, across the Valley-turnpike. In this position, the troops remained all night under a drenching rain.

Very early next morning (the fourteenth) I ordered Gordon and Hays, respectively, to advance a Regiment across the creek and get possession of Bowers'-hill, then occupied by the enemy's skirmishers only, as his Artillery and main force of Infantry had been withdrawn during the night. This was accomplished after some skirmishing, the skirmishers of Smith's Brigade being also advanced across the creek, on the left, at the same time. General Ewell had come over to my position, in the meantime, and we proceeded together to reconnoitre the position, from the fort, on the top of Bowers'-hill, then occupied by my skirmishers, from which point we had a fair view of the enemy's works about Winchester; and we discovered that the hill, to the North-west of the enemy's works, which I had been ordered to gain, had also been fortified and was occupied. It was found to be necessary, then, to take this hill by assault; and a position, having been discovered, beyond it, on the North-west, from which it was thought an assault might be made with advantage, I was directed to move the greater part of my Division around to that position and make the attack, leaving a force at the point then occupied, to amuse the enemy and conceal the movement upon his flank and rear. I will here state that, when our skirmishers had advanced to Bowers'-hill, Major Goldsborough of the Maryland Battalion, with the skirmishers of the Battalion, had advanced into the outskirts of the town of Winchester; but, fearing that the enemy would shell the town from the main fort, I ordered him back.

After receiving final instructions from General Ewell, I replaced the skirmishers of Hays's and Smith's Brigades by others from Gordon's Brigade; and, leaving General Gordon, with his Brigade, the Maryland Battalion, and two Batteries of Artillery (the Maryland and Hupp's), to amuse the enemy and hold him in check, I moved, with Hays's, Hoke's, and Smith's Brigades and the rest of the Artillery, the latter all under Colonel Jones, to the left (West and North-west), following the Cedar creek-turnpike for a short distance, and then leaving it and passing through fields and the woods, which latter I found sufficiently open to admit of the passage of artillery, thus making a considerable detour and crossing the Romney macadamised-road, about three miles West of Winchester and half a mile from a point at which the enemy had a

picket the night before. After crossing the Romney-road, where I left the Fifty-fourth North Carolina Regiment, of Hoke's Brigade, on picket, I continued to move on, through fields and woodland and on obscure paths, until I reached the position from which I wished to assault the enemy's works, which proved to be a ridge, with its northern end close to the Pughtown-road, a very considerable portion being wooded. On the South side of the main woods, immediately confronting the fortified hill which I desired to assault, were an orchard and the ruins of an old house, called "Folk's Old House," and on the North side was a corn-field, on Mrs. Brierly's land, both of which points furnished excellent positions for artillery, within easy range of the work I proposed assaulting, which was on the summit of a hill, on Fahnstock's land, adjoining the Pughtown-road. To the desired point I was guided by a worthy and intelligent citizen, whose name I withhold, as he has already been the subject of the enemy's persecutions; and I was so fortunate as to reach it without meeting with any scouts, pickets, or stragglers of the enemy, or exciting his attention, in any way.* I reached this point about four P. M.; and, as the day was excessively hot and the men had marched a circuit of some eight or ten miles, without getting any drinking water, and were very much fatigued, I massed them in the woods, out of view of the enemy, to give them time to blow. In the meantime, having proceeded to reconnoitre the enemy's position and the ground over which I would have to operate, I discovered the two favorable positions for my artillery, before mentioned, and that the intervening woods afforded an excellent cover under which troops could advance to within a short distance of the foot of the hill on which was the work I wished to assault. I also discovered that the enemy occupying this work—which was a bastion front, presenting the appearance of an enclosed-work, from my point of view—were not keeping a

* My guide was Mr. James C. Baker, who resided a few miles from the town. As we were moving along an almost unused path or road, North of the Romney-road, at a sudden turn in it, we came upon a young girl, thirteen or fourteen years of age, on horseback, with her small brother behind her, and a large bundle of clothes tied up in a sheet. She was very much startled and frightened at meeting us; but, on discovering the Confederate gray, she pulled off her bonnet, waved it around her head, cried "Hurrah!" and then burst into tears. The enemy had been shelling the country about her father's house, and one or two shells had fallen near to or on the house, and she had been sent from home to get out of danger. She said: "Oh, I am so glad to see you! I had no idea any of our men were anywhere near here." That girl will make a good wife to some Confederate soldier, if she does not already occupy that position.

lookout, in my direction, but were looking intently in the direction of Gordon's command, on which a gradual advance was being made by Infantry, deployed as skirmishers, and some pieces of artillery, well supported. Meanwhile, Colonel Jones had quietly prepared for running his artillery into position as quick as possible, when the moment for attack should arrive; and the men having been allowed to rest, as much as possible, under the circumstances, I directed General Hays, whose Brigade had been selected to make the assault, to move near to the edge of the woods facing the enemy's work, and to keep his men under cover, until the artillery opened, and then to advance, as rapidly as possible, to the assault, with three Regiments in front and the two others following, a short distance in rear, as soon as he should discover that the enemy was sufficiently demoralised by the artillery-fire. The artillery, under Jones, was divided so as to put twelve pieces in the old orchard mentioned, and eight pieces near the edge of the corn-field, on the North of the woods. The Fifty-seventh North Carolina Regiment was detached and so posted as to protect these latter pieces from an attack, in the direction of the Pugh-town-road, which ran not far from them; and the rest of Hoke's Brigade and the whole of Smith's were placed in line, in rear of Hays, ready to support him. The enemy's works, on the front, presented to me, consisted of the bastion-front, on the high hill, which has been mentioned, another smaller breastwork, between that and the Pughtown-road, and a more extensive but incomplete work, on the North side of the Pughtown-road. He had evidently been making recent preparations against an attack from this quarter, and had commenced felling the timber in the woods under cover of which I operated; but, strange to say, on this occasion, he failed to keep a lookout in that direction. About an hour by sun, everything being ready, Jones ran his pieces, by hand, into position and opened, almost simultaneously, from the whole of his twenty guns, upon the enemy, before he was aware of our presence in his vicinity.* The cannonading was kept up briskly, about three-quarters of an hour, when Hays advanced, as directed; ascended the steep slope of the hill leading to the enemy's works, through a brush-wood that had been felled to answer the purpose of abattis; and drove the enemy from his fortifications, in fine style, capturing, in the assault, six rifled pieces, two of which were immediately turned upon the enemy, thus preventing an effort to recapture the works before reinforcements could arrive, for which a portion of the

enemy's main force commenced preparing. As soon as I saw Hays's men entering the works, I ordered forward Smith's Brigade to the support, and also ordered Jones to advance, with the pieces that were posted on our left, leaving Colonel Avery, with that part of Hoke's Brigade with him, to look out for the rear. On reaching the captured work, which proved to be open in the rear, I found that it overlooked and commanded, as had been anticipated, the enemy's main work, near the town, and also a redoubt, to the North of the main work, which was also occupied by Infantry and Artillery; and that all the works on the left (North) of the captured one had been evacuated. The enemy was in evident commotion; but, by the time the Artillery and Smith's Brigade reached the captured hill, dusk was approaching, and it was too late to take any farther steps for the capture of the main work, which was very strong, and to accomplish which would have required the coöperation of the other troops around Winchester.* I contented myself therefore with directing an artillery-fire to be kept up, until dark, on the enemy's position, which was returned, from the main work and redoubt spoken of, though with but little effect.† During the night, I had the captured work turned and embrasures cut, so as to be able to open, at early light, on the main work. The Fifty-seventh North Carolina Regiment was ordered to the work on the North of the Pughtown-road; Hays's Brigade occupied the works captured by it; Smith's Brigade was formed in line, in rear of Hays; Avery was left, with two Regiments of Hoke's Brigade, to prevent any surprise by the enemy from that direction; and the Fifty-fourth North Carolina Regiment was allowed to remain on picket, on the Romney-road. In this position, the troops lay on their arms, all night. I sent my Aide, Lieutenant Calloway, to General Gordon, to direct him to move upon the main fort, at light, next morning; and I also sent a courier to General Ewell, to inform him of what

* From Cedarville, Rodas had been sent, by the way of Berryville, to Martinsburg; and he drove off a force from the former place, and captured some artillery and prisoners, at the latter. Johnson had moved, with his Division, on the direct road from Front Royal to Winchester; and during my operations at Kernstown, as well as on the North-west of Winchester, had made demonstrations against the enemy, on the East and South-east of the town, occasionally having some very heavy skirmishing, up to the very outskirts of the town; and my operations were very greatly facilitated and covered by those of Johnson. General Ewell was with Johnson's Division.

† A very valuable officer, however, Captain Thompson, of the Louisiana Guard Battery, had his arm shattered by a shell, and died that night, from hemorrhage from his wound.

* This was the remarkable case of a surprise of a fortified position, by artillery, in broad daylight.

had been accomplished, and that I thought the enemy would evacuate, before morning.

As soon as it was light enough to see, the next morning, it was discovered that the enemy had evacuated, taking the Martinsburg-road; and, very shortly afterwards, firing was heard on that road, which proved to be from the encounter of Johnson's Division with the retreating enemy. I immediately ordered my whole command in pursuit, after having detached the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, of Smith's Brigade, to guard the abandoned wagons and property. Gordon's Brigade, which first reached the main fort and pulled down the flag left flying over it, preceded the rest of the Division; and, on reaching the point at which General Johnson had encountered the enemy, I found his Division halted and in possession of the greater part of the enemy's Infantry, as prisoners. It was evident that further pursuit, on foot, of Milroy and the small body of mounted men who had escaped with him, was useless; and I therefore halted my command and camped it near the place of Johnson's engagement.

The enemy had abandoned, at Winchester, all his artillery, all his wagons, and a considerable quantity of public stores. Twenty-five pieces of artillery, in all, with their caissons, were secured, as was a considerable quantity of artillery ammunition, though somewhat damaged. In the hurry of the pursuit, in the morning, I gave such directions and took such steps as were possible, under the circumstances, to preserve the captured property; nevertheless, much of it was pilfered and damaged by stragglers, and, even after it got into the hands of the Quartermasters and Commissaries, much of it seems to have been made away with.

I cannot too highly commend the conduct of Generals Hays and Gordon and their Brigades, in the two days' fighting which occurred around Winchester. The charge of Hays's Brigade upon the enemy's works was a most brilliant exploit; and the affair of the day before, when General Gordon drove the enemy from the position he occupied near Kernstown, reflected equal credit on himself and his Brigade. All the arrangements of Lieutenant-colonel Hilary P. Jones, and the conduct of himself and his artillery (including that under Captain Dance), were admirable, and have not been surpassed during the war. I must also commend the gallantry of Lieutenant-colonel Herbert and Major Goldsborough of the Maryland line and their troops. Hoke's and Smith's Brigades did not become engaged, on either day. The members of my Staff, Major Samuel Hale, Division Inspector, Major John W. Daniel, A. A. General, and Lieutenants A. L. Pitzer and William G. Calloway, Aides-de-camp, acquitted themselves to

my entire satisfaction; and Mr. Robert D. Early and Mr. Lake, Volunteer Aides (the latter being a citizen of Maryland who had been sent through the lines, by the enemy, the day before our arrival), rendered me efficient service, as did Lieutenant Barton of the Second Virginia Infantry, detailed to accompany me as a guide. My loss in the whole affair was light, consisting of twenty-nine killed, one hundred and thirty wounded, and three missing. Among the killed and wounded, however, were some gallant and efficient officers.

Having been, afterwards, assigned to the command of Winchester, for a short time, I sent to Richmond, by way of Staunton, one hundred and eight officers and three thousand, two hundred, and fifty enlisted-men as prisoners, leaving in Winchester, several hundred prisoners, sick and wounded. The greater part of the prisoners were captured by General Johnson's Division, while attempting to make their escape, after the evacuation.

While in command, at Winchester, I detached the Fifty-fourth North Carolina Regiment, of Hoke's Brigade, and the Fifty-eighth Virginia Regiment, of Smith's Brigade, to Staunton, in charge of the prisoners; and, leaving the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, of Smith's Brigade, on duty at Winchester, I left that place, on the afternoon of the eighteenth, and proceeded, with the residue of Hoke's Brigade and Jones's Battalion of Artillery, to Shepherdstown, on the next day, Gordon's and Hays's Brigades and the three remaining Regiments of Smith's Brigade having preceded me to that place. On the twenty-second, I crossed the Potomac, at Shepherdstown and moved through Sharpsburg and Boonsboro', encamping on the road towards Hagerstown, about three miles from Boonsboro'.*

* My tri-monthly Field-return, made out at Shepherdstown, the original of which is now in my possession, shows the strength of my Division, present, on the twentieth of June, as follows:

	Officers.	Enlisted Men.	Agg'te.
General, Division, and			
Brigade Staff . . .	27	"	27
Troops present for			
duty	487	5,124	5,611
Total present for duty	514	5,124	5,638
Present sick	7	306	313
" Extra duty . . .	16	452	468
" In arrest	6	16	22
Total present . . .	543	5,928	6,471

It was the portion of this force which was able to march, with which I crossed the Potomac and entered Pennsylvania. The large number of men on extra duty is accounted for by the fact that we had no employes, but all teamsters, ambulance-men, artificers, etc., etc., were enlisted soldiers. My Division, notwithstanding the absence

The Seventeenth Virginia Cavalry, under Colonel William H. French, of Jenkins's Brigade, reported to me, on this day, by order of General Ewell, and remained with me, until the Battle of Gettysburg. On the twenty third, I moved through Cavetown, Smithtown, and Ringgold, (or Ridgeville, as it is most usually called) to Waynesboro', in Pennsylvania. On the twenty-fourth, I moved through Quincy and Altdale to Greenwood, on the macadamised road from Chambersburg to Gettysburg.* At this point, my Division remained in camp, on the twenty-fifth, and I visited General Ewell, at Chambersburg, and received from him instructions to cross the South Mountain, to Gettysburg, and then proceed to York, cut the Northern Central railroad, running from Baltimore to Harrisburg, destroy the bridge across the Susquehanna, at Wrightsville and Columbia, on the branch railroad from York, towards Philadelphia, if I could, and rejoin him at Carlisle, by the way of Dillstown.† Colonel Elijah White's Battalion

of Cavalry was ordered to report to me, for this expedition; and, on the morning of the twenty-sixth, having sent all my wagon trains to Chambersburg, except the ambulances, one medical wagon for each Brigade, the Regimental ordnance-wagons, one wagon with cooking utensils for each Regiment (including the officers), and fifteen empty wagons to use in gathering supplies, and carrying no other baggage, I moved towards Gettysburg.* On reaching the forks of the road, on the East slope of the mountain, about one and one-half miles from Cashtown, I sent General Gordon, with his Brigade and White's Battalion of Cavalry, on the macadamised road, through Cashtown, towards Gettysburg; and I moved, with the rest of the command, to the left, through Hilltown, to Mummasburg. I had heard, on the road, that there was probably a force at Gettysburg, though I could get no definite information as to its size; and the object of this movement was for Gordon to amuse and skirmish with the enemy while I should get on his flank and rear so as to capture the whole force. On arriving at Mummasburg (with the Cavalry advance) I ascertained that the force at Gettysburg was small; and, while waiting here for the Infantry to come up—its march having been considerably delayed by the muddy condition of the country-roads—a Company of French's Cavalry, that had been sent towards Gettysburg, captured some prisoners, from whom it was ascertained that the advance of Gordon's command—a body of forty Cavalry-men, from White's Battalion—had encountered a Regiment of Militia, which fled on their first approach. I immediately sent forward Colonel French, with the whole of his Cavalry, to pursue this Militia force, which he did, capturing a number of prisoners. Hays's Brigade, on its arrival, was also sent towards Gettysburg; and the other Brigades, with the artillery, were ordered into camp near Mummasburg.† I then rode to Gettysburg, and found Gordon just entering the town, his command having marched with more ease than the

of three small Regiments, was fully an average one in our Army; and we had but nine, in all, of Infantry.

* Rodde's and Johnson's Divisions had preceded me across the Potomac—the former at Williamsport and the latter at Shepherdstown—taking the route, through Hagerstown and Greencastle, to Chambersburg. My route was along the western base of South Mountain; and the very excellent public maps of the Counties, in Maryland and Pennsylvania, which we obtained from citizens, enabled me to move along this part of the route, as well as afterwards, without the assistance of a guide.

† It will be seen that General Lee says in his Report, published, some time since, in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, that orders were given to me to seize the bridge from Wrightsville to Columbia. The orders received by me were as stated in my Report, which was written very shortly after the close of the Campaign. This discrepancy may have arisen from a misapprehension, by General Ewell; but my recollection is very distinct, and I have now a memorandum, in pencil, made at the time, in General Ewell's presence, showing what was to be my march on each day, and the time of my probable junction with him, and also a note from him, from Carlisle, all of which rebuts the idea that I was to hold the bridge. However, afterwards, I determined to depart from my instructions and to secure the bridge, cross the river, and move up, in rear of Harrisburg, as I found the condition of the country different from what was contemplated at the time the instructions were given. This discrepancy is a matter of very little moment, really, as the destruction of the bridge, by the enemy, settled the question without any agency of ours; and I have made this explanation simply from the fact that the statement, as contained in my original Report, is variant from that in General Lee's Report. I can well see how General Ewell may have misapprehended General Lee's directions, or how the latter, writing several months after the events had happened, may have fallen into the mistake, from the fact that I really attempted to secure the bridge and the enemy burnt it, to thwart my purpose.

* Before leaving Greenwood, I had the iron-works of Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, near that place, burned and destroyed, as the enemy had made it an invariable rule to burn all such establishments wherever he had gone in the Confederacy.

† In speaking of camping my men, on this whole Campaign, it must be understood that I merely mean that they bivouacked—their beds being generally the naked ground, and their covering the sky above them. A few officers only had some tents, which were absolutely necessary to enable them to attend to their duties; but on this expedition to the Susquehanna, no officer, of any rank, including myself, had a tent or any baggage that he did not carry on his back or on his horse. This day had been a very cold rainy one; and the night was most uncomfortable and dreary.

other Brigades because it moved on a macadamised road. The Militia Regiment which had been encountered by White's Cavalry was the Twenty-sixth Pennsylvania, consisting of eight or nine hundred men, and had arrived in Gettysburg, the night before, and moved out, that morning, a few miles on the road towards Cashtown, but had fled on the first approach of White's advance, taking across the fields, between Mummasburg and Gettysburg, and going towards Hunterstown. Of this force, a little over two hundred prisoners, in all, were captured and subsequently paroled. Hays's Brigade was halted and camped about a mile from Gettysburg, two Regiments having been sent to aid French, in the pursuit of the fugitive Militia, but were not able to get up with it. The authorities of Gettysburg declared their inability to furnish the supplies required of them; and a search of the stores resulted in securing only a very small quantity of Commissary supplies; but about two thousand rations were found in a train of cars and issued to Gordon's Brigade. The cars, numbering ten or twelve, were burned, as was also a small railroad-bridge, near the place. There were no railroad buildings of consequence. The day was cold and rainy and the roads were very muddy; and, as it was late when I reached the place and desired to move upon York, early next day, I had no opportunity of compelling a compliance with my demands on the town or ascertaining its resources, which, however, I think were very limited.*

I ordered Tanner's Battery of Artillery and a Company of French's Cavalry to report to General Gordon, during the night, and directed him to move, with them and his Brigade, on the turnpike, towards York, at light, next morning; and I also directed Colonel White to proceed, with his Cavalry, to Hanover Junction, on the Northern Central-railroad, destroying the railroad-bridges on the way, and to destroy the Junction and a bridge or two South of it, and then proceed to York, burning all the bridges up to that place. Having returned to Mummasburg, that night, I moved, next morning, from that place, with the rest of my command, through Hunterstown, New Chester, Hampton, and East Berlin, towards Dover, and camped a short distance beyond East Berlin. I then rode over to Gordon's camp, on the York-turnpike, which was about four miles distant, to arrange with him the manner of the ap-

proach upon York, if it should be defended. But all the information we could gain induced me to believe that there was no force in York; and, that night, a deputation came out from the town, to Gordon's camp, to surrender it. I directed General Gordon, in the event of there being no force in the place, to march through and proceed to the Columbia-bridge and secure it, at both ends, if possible. Next morning (the twenty-eight) General Gordon marched into the town of York, without opposition; and I proceeded, with the rest of the command, by the way of Weigalstown, leaving Dover to my left. At Weigalstown, I sent Colonel French, with the greater part of his Cavalry, to the mouth of the Conewago, to burn two railroad-bridges, at that point, and all other bridges on the railroad, between there and York; and I then proceeded on to York, sending Hays's and Smith's Brigades into camp, at Lauck's-mill, near the railroad, some two miles North of the town. Hoke's Brigade, under Avery, was marched into the town and quartered in some extensive buildings put up for hospitals. I found General Gordon in the town, and repeated to him the directions to move to the Susquehanna and secure the Columbia-bridge, if he could; and he promptly moved his command in that direction. I then made a requisition upon the town-authorities for two thousand pairs of shoes, one thousand hats, one thousand pairs of socks, one hundred thousand dollars, in money, and three days' rations of all kinds for my men. Subsequently, between twelve and fifteen hundred pairs of shoes and boots, the hats, socks, and rations, were furnished and issued to the men; but only the sum of twenty-eight thousand, six hundred dollars in money was furnished, which was paid to my Quarter-master, Major Snodgrass—the Chief-burgess, or Mayor, and other authorities protesting their inability to raise any more money, as they said nearly all in the town had been previously run off; and I was satisfied that they had made an honest effort to raise the amount called for.

A short time before night, I rode out in the direction of the Columbia-bridge, to ascertain the result of Gordon's expedition, and had not proceeded far before I saw an immense smoke rising in the direction of the Susquehanna, which I subsequently ascertained arose from the burning of the bridge in question. On arriving at Wrightsville, on the bank of the Susquehanna, opposite Columbia, I learned from General Gordon that, on approaching Wrightsville, in front of the bridge, he found a command of Militia, some one thousand, two hundred strong, entrenched; and after endeavoring to move around the flank of this force, to

* I subsequently saw it stated that the people of Gettysburg boasted of their failure to comply with my requisition, and twitted the people of York with their ready compliance with the demand on them. The former pleaded their poverty, most lustily, on the occasion, and the people of York were wise in "accepting the situation."

cut it off from the bridge, which he was unable to do promptly from want of knowledge of the locality, he opened his artillery on the Militia, which fled at the bursting of the third shell, when he immediately pursued; but, as his men had then marched a little over twenty miles, on a very warm day, the enemy beat them running. He, however, attempted to cross the bridge, in pursuit, and the head of his column got half-way over; but he found the bridge, which had been prepared for the purpose, on fire in the middle. As his men had nothing but muskets and rifles to operate with, he sent back for buckets to endeavor to arrest the flames; but, before they arrived, the fire had progressed so far that it was impossible to extinguish it—he had therefore been compelled to return and leave the bridge to its fate. This bridge was one and one-quarter miles in length, the superstructure being of wood, on stone abutments and piers; and it included, under one covered structure, a railroad-bridge, a pass-way for wagons, and also a tow-path for the canal which here crosses the river by means of locks and a dam below. The bridge was entirely consumed, and, from its flames, the town of Wrightsville caught fire and several buildings were consumed; but the farther progress of the conflagration was arrested by the exertions of Gordon's men.* I regretted very much the failure to secure this bridge, as, finding the defenceless condition of the country, generally, and the little obstacle likely to be afforded by the Militia to our progress, I had determined, if I could get possession of the Columbia-bridge, to cross my Division over the Susquehanna, cut the Pennsylvania Central Railroad, march upon Lancaster and lay that town under contribution, and then move up and attack Harrisburg, in the rear, while it should be attacked in front by the rest of the Corps, relying, in the worst contingency that might happen, upon being able to mount my whole command from the immense number of horses that had been run across the river, and then move westwardly, destroying the railroads and canals and returning back again to a place of safety. This project, however, was entirely thwarted by the destruction of the bridge, as the river was otherwise impassable, being very wide and deep, at that point. I therefore ordered General Gordon to move his command back to York, next day, and returned to that place, myself, that night.

Colonel White succeeded in reaching Hanover

* These men were Georgians; and it is worthy of note that the town of Darien, in their own State, was destroyed, about this time, by an expedition sent by the enemy for the express purpose.

Junction and destroying the depot, at that place, and also one or two bridges in the vicinity; but he did not, however, destroy all the bridges between that point and York, as one or two of them were defended by an Infantry force, as he reported. Colonel French succeeded in destroying the bridges at the mouth of the Conewago and all the bridges between that point and York; and I sent him to destroy the remaining bridges over the Codorus, between York and Hanover Junction, which he succeeded in doing, any force which may have been defending them having disappeared. I found no public stores at York. A few prisoners found in the hospital, with some others captured by Gordon, at Wrightsville, were paroled. All the cars found at the place were destroyed; but the railroad buildings, two large car-manufactories, and the hospital buildings were not burned, because, after examination, I was satisfied that the burning of them would probably cause the destruction of the greater part of the town, and, notwithstanding the barbarous policy pursued by the enemy, in similar cases, I determined to forbear, in this case, hoping that the example might not be without its effect even upon our cruel enemy."

* Before leaving York, I wrote and had printed the following address to the citizens; and I think they will bear me out in the assertion that my troops preserved the most perfect order, and that they themselves were deprived of nothing, except what was furnished on the requisition made upon the town authorities. It was well that my demands were complied with, as otherwise I would have been compelled to have resorted to measures that would not have been agreeable either to them or to me. The balance of the money, however, is still unpaid:

[ADDRESS OF GENERAL EARLY TO THE INHABITANTS OF YORK.]

"YORK, Pa., June 30th, 1863.

"TO THE CITIZENS OF YORK: I have abstained from burning the railroad-buildings and car-shops in your town, because after examination I am satisfied the safety of the town would be endangered; and acting in the spirit of humanity which has ever characterized my Government and its military authorities, I do not desire to involve the innocent in the same punishment with the guilty. Had I applied the torch without regard to consequences, I would have pursued a course that would have been fully vindicated as an act of just retaliation for the many authorized acts of barbarity perpetrated by your own Army upon our soil. But we do not war upon women and children; and I trust the treatment you have met with at the hands of my soldiers will open your eyes to the monstrous iniquity of the War waged by your Government upon the people of the Confederate States, and that you will make an effort to shake off the revolting tyranny under which it is apparent to all you are yourselves groaning.

"J. A. EARLY.

"Major-general C. S. A."

It has been lost upon the Yankees, however, as, so far from appreciating the forbearance shown, I am informed that it has been actually charged by some of their papers that Gordon's command fired the town of Wrightsville; whereas the exertions of his men saved the place from utter destruction.* On the afternoon of the twenty-ninth, I received, through Captain Elliott Johnson, Aide to General Ewell, a copy of a note from General Lee, and also verbal instructions, which required me to move back and rejoin the rest of the Corps, on the western side of the South Mountain; and, accordingly, at daylight, on the morning of the thirtieth, I put my whole command in motion, taking the route, with the main body, through Weigaltown and East Berlin, in the direction of Heidlersburg, from which place I could move either to Shippensburg or Greenwood, by the way of Arendtsburg, as circumstances might require. I, at the same time, sent Colonel White's Cavalry on the turnpike from York towards Gettysburg, to ascertain if any force of the enemy was on that road. At East Berlin, a small squad of the enemy's Cavalry was seen and pursued by my Cavalry advance; and I received information, at this point, from Colonel White, by a messenger, that a Cavalry and Infantry force had been on the York and Gettysburg-road, at Abbotstown, but had moved South towards Hanover. A courier from General Ewell met me here with a dispatch, informing me of the fact that he was moving with Rodes's Division, by the way of Petersburg, to Heidlersburg, and directing me to move in that direction. I encamped, that afternoon, about three miles from Heidlersburg, and rode to see General Ewell, at that point, where I found him with Rodes's Division, and was informed that the object was to concentrate the Corps at or near Cashtown; and I received directions to move, next day, to the latter point. I was informed that Rodes would move by the way of Middletown and Arendtsville; but it was arranged that I should go by the way of Hunters-town and Mummashburg.†

Having ascertained that the road from my camp to Hunters-town was a very rough and circuitous one, I determined, next morning (July 1st) to march to Heidlersburg, and thence, on the Gettysburg-road, to the Mummashburg-road. After passing Heidlersburg a short distance, I

received a note from yourself,* written by order of General Ewell, informing me that General A. P. Hill was moving towards Gettysburg, against the enemy, and that Rodes's Division had turned off at Middletown and was moving towards the same place; and directing me to move directly for Gettysburg. I therefore continued on the road I was then on; and, on arriving in sight of the town, I discovered that Rodes's Division was engaged with the enemy, to my right, on both sides of the Mummashburg-road. A considerable body of the enemy occupied a position in front of the town; and the troops constituting his right were engaged in an effort to force back the left of Rodes's line. I immediately ordered my troops into line and formed them across the Heidlersburg-road, with Gordon's Brigade on the right, Hays's in the centre, Hoke's (under Avery) on the left, Smith's in the rear of Hoke's, and Jones's Artillery in the field immediately in front of Hoke's Brigade, on the left of the Heidlersburg-road, in order to fire on the enemy's right flank. As soon as these dispositions could be made, a fire was opened by my Artillery on the enemy's Infantry and Artillery, with very considerable effect; and Gordon's Brigade was advanced to the aid and relief of Doles's Brigade, which was Rodes's left, and was being pressed back by a considerable force of the enemy that had advanced, from the direction of the town, to a wooded hill on the West side of Rock creek—the stream which is on the North-east and East of the town. When Gordon had become fairly engaged with this force, Hays's and Hoke's Brigades were ordered forward, in line, and the Artillery, supported by Smith's Brigade, was directed to follow. After a short, but hot contest, Gordon succeeded in routing the force opposed to him, consisting of a Division of the Eleventh Corps commanded by Brigadier-general Barlow, and drove it back, with great slaughter, capturing, among a number of prisoners, General Barlow himself, who was severely wounded. Gordon had charged across the creek, over the hill on which Barlow was posted, and through the fields towards the town, until he came to a low ridge behind which the enemy had another line of battle extending beyond his (Gordon's) left. The Brigade was halted here to reform and replenish its ammunition; and I then ordered Hays and Avery, who had been halted on the East side of Rock-creek, while I had ridden to where Gordon had been engaged, to advance towards the town, on Gordon's left, which they

* The houses that were burned adjoined the toll-house, which was connected with the bridge; and their destruction was thus inevitable from the burning of the bridge.

† When I had moved across South Mountain, Ewell had moved with Rodes's and Johnson's Divisions and Jenkins's Cavalry, to Carlisle—Rodes's Division and Jenkins's Cavalry going from there towards Harrisburg.

* Major A. S. Pendleton, A. A. G., to whom this Report is addressed.

did, in fine style, encountering and driving into the town, in great confusion, the second line of the enemy on this part of the field. Hays's Brigade entered the town, fighting its way, while Avery moved to the left of it, across the railroad, and took his position in the fields, on the left and facing Cemetery-hill, which here presented a very rugged ascent. This movement was made under the fire of the enemy's Artillery, from Cemetery-hill, which had previously opened when my Artillery first opened on the enemy's flank; but Avery succeeded in placing his men under the cover of a low ridge, which runs through the fields from the town. Hays's Brigade was formed, in line, on a street running through the middle of the town. A very large number of prisoners was captured in the town and before reaching it—their number being so great as really to embarrass us. Two pieces of artillery (Napoleons) were also captured, outside of the town, the capture being claimed by each Brigade; but it is unnecessary to decide which reached the pieces first, as their capture was due to the joint valor of the two Brigades—Hays's and Hoke's.

While these operations were going on with Hays's and Hoke's Brigades, I saw, farther to our right, the enemy's force, on that part of the line, falling back and moving, in comparatively good order, on the right of the town, towards the range of hills in the rear; and I sent for a Battery of artillery to be brought up, to open on this force and on the town, from which a fire had been opened on my advancing Brigades; but, before the Battery got up, my men had entered the town, and the retiring force on the right had got beyond reach. I had, at the same time, sent an order to General Smith to advance, with his three Regiments; but he thought it advisable, not to comply with this order, on account of a report that the enemy was advancing on the York-road, near which he was. As soon as my Brigades entered the town, I rode into that place myself; and, after ascertaining the condition of things, I rode to find Generals Ewell and Rodde, or General Hill, for the purpose of urging an immediate advance upon the enemy, before he could recover from his evident dismay, in order to get possession of the range of hills to which he had fallen back, with the remnant of his forces; but, before I found either of these officers, General Smith's Aide came to me with a message from the General, stating that a heavy force of the enemy, consisting of Infantry, Artillery, and Cavalry, was advancing on the York-road, and that we were about to be flanked; and, though I had no faith in this report, I thought it best to send General Gordon, with his Brigade, to take charge of Smith's, also, and to

keep a lookout, on the York-road, and stop any further alarm. Meeting with an officer of Major-general Pender's Staff, I sent word, by him, to General Hill (whose command was on the Cashtown-road and had not advanced up to Gettysburg) that, if he would send up a Division, we could take the hill to which the enemy had retreated; * and, shortly afterwards, meeting with General Ewell, I communicated my views to him, and was informed by him that Johnson's Division was coming up; and General Ewell then determined, with this Division, to take possession of the wooded hill,† on our left of Cemetery-hill, which commanded the latter. But Johnson's Division arrived at a late hour, and the movement having been further delayed by another report of an advance on the York-road,‡ no effort was made to get possession of the wooded hill, that night.§

* I subsequently learned that my message was delivered by this officer to General Hill; but the latter said he had no Division to send.

† This was the hill mentioned, in the accounts of the battle, as "Culp's-hill."

‡ Not from Gordon, however, but from some straggling courier or Cavalryman. These reports all proved to be false; but they were very embarrassing to us.

§ Johnson had come by the way of Shippensburg and the Greenwood and Cashtown Gap, and did not arrive until after the fighting was all over, on that day.

As much censure has been cast upon General Ewell for the failure to prosecute the advantage gained on the first day—more, however, by private than public criticism—I will make the following statement: He was on his way to Cashtown, or Hilltown, near it, to which point he had been ordered by General Lee, when he received Hill's message in regard to his expected engagement with the enemy; and, though Ewell was the ranking officer, he moved promptly to the aid of Hill. He found the latter engaged with the enemy, at great disadvantage, and immediately ordered the Division with him into action, when the enemy turned his main force on that Division (Rodde's) which had to bear the brunt of the battle, until the arrival of my Division turned the fate of the day. Hill did not advance to the town of Gettysburg, and made no offer of cooperation in any advance on Cemetery-hill, that I am aware of; and I must say that I do not recognise the justice of throwing the whole responsibility on Ewell. I was anxious for the advance, and urged it with great earnestness; but two of my own Brigades were neutralised by the reports of flanking columns, on the York-road, as I found it necessary, in the excitement that then prevailed, to put an adequate force on that flank, under an officer who I knew would not permit any false alarms to be raised, at a critical moment, the evil consequences of which all experienced soldiers can understand. Though I had strong faith in the result of an advance, the troops at Ewell's command had then marched from twelve to fifteen miles and were embarrassed with several thousand prisoners; and from our then stand-point—however it may

Having been informed that the greater portion of the rest of our Army would move up, during the night, and that the enemy's position would be attacked, on the right and left flanks, very early next morning, I gave orders to General Hays to move his Brigade, under cover of night, from the town, into the field on the left of it, where it would not be exposed to the enemy's fire, and would be in position to advance on Cemetery-hill, when a favorable opportunity should occur. This movement was made; and Hays formed his Brigade on the right of Avery, and just behind the extension of the low ridge on which a portion of the town is located. The attack did not begin in the morning of next day, as was expected; and, in the course of the morning, I rode with General Ewell to examine and select a position for artillery. Having been subsequently informed that the anticipated attack would begin at four P. M., I directed General Gordon to move his Brigade from the York-road, on the left, to the railroad, immediately in rear of Hays and Avery—Smith, with his Regiments, being left under General J. E. B. Stuart to guard the York-road.* The fire from the ar-

tillery, on the extreme right and also on the left, having opened at four P. M. and continued for some time, I was ordered, by General Ewell, to advance upon Cemetery-hill, with my two Brigades that were in position, as soon as Johnson's Division, which was on my left, should become engaged at the wood d hill [Culp's] in its front, on which it was about to advance, information being given me that the advance would be general, and that Rodes's Division, on my right, and Hill's Divisions, on his right, would unite in it. Accordingly, as soon as Johnson became fully engaged, which was about or a little before dusk, I ordered Hays and Avery to advance and carry the works on the heights, in their front. Their troops advanced in gallant style to the attack, passing over the ridge in front of them under a heavy fire of artillery; then crossing a hollow, between that and Cemetery-hill, and moving up the rugged slope of this hill, in the face

appear now—it was not apparent that we would not encounter fresh troops, if we went forward; and the fact was that two fresh Corps (Slocum's and Sickles's) were very near the battle-field: while a reserve of three or four thousand men (Steinwehr's Division) had been left on Cemetery-hill and had not been engaged.—See statement, in Swinton's *Army of the Potomac*, and Doubleday's testimony, *Report on the Conduct of the War*, II., I., 809.

* General Lee had come to the rear of the position of our Corps, between sunset and dusk, on the evening before (the first), and had a conference with Ewell, Rodes, and myself, for the purpose of ascertaining the exact condition of things; and, after we had given him all the information in our possession, he expressed the determination to attack the enemy, at daylight, next morning, and asked us if we could not make the attack from our flank, at that time. We suggested to him that, as our Corps constituted the only troops that were immediately confronting the enemy, he would manifestly concentrate and fortify against us, by morning (which proved to be the case); and we informed him that the enemy's position, in our immediate front, was by far the strongest part of the line, as the ascent to it was very rugged and difficult; by reason of all of which we thought it would be very difficult to carry the position; and if we did so it would be at immense sacrifice. We also called his attention to the more favorable nature of the ground on our right, for an attack on the enemy's left; and pointed out to him the outline of Round Top Hill, which we could see, in the distance, notwithstanding the approaching dusk, as a position which must command and inflame that of the enemy. The three of us concurred in these views; and General Lee, to whom the day's battle had been unexpected, and who was not familiar with the position, recognised the force of our views.

He then remarked that if our Corps remained in its then position, and the attack was made on the left flank of the enemy, from the point suggested, our line would be very much drawn out and weakened, and the enemy might take the offensive and break through it; and he said it would perhaps be better for us to be drawn to the right, for the purpose of concentration. We were very loth to yield the position we had fought for and gained, especially as a large number of the enemy's wounded and a large quantity of small arms were in our possession, in the town, and many of our own wounded were not in a condition to be moved; and we assured General Lee that we could hold our part of the line, against any force, and suggested that, in the event of a successful attack on the enemy's left, we would be in a better condition to follow it up from where we were.

All of his remarks were made in that tone of suggestion and interrogation combined, so familiar to those who had frequent intercourse with General Lee, and which often left those with whom he was conversing under the impression that they were really prompting him, when he was only drawing them out and trying to ascertain whether they understood what they were expected to perform. He finally announced his purpose to make the main attack, at daylight, from the right of the Army, while an attack, by way of diversion, was to be made from the left of our Corps, to be converted into a real attack on a favorable opportunity. He then left us to give the necessary orders for carrying out his plans; and we prepared for co-operation, at the designated time, having undoubting faith in a successful result. If General Lee had contemplated receiving the attack of the enemy, at Gettysburg, the arrangement of his line would have been faulty, by reason of its length and form; but neither he nor any one else apprehended such an attack; and, for the purpose of attack, on our part, the arrangement was the best that could have been made. Had we concentrated our whole force at one point, the enemy could have concentrated correspondingly, and we would not have been in as favorable a position for taking advantage of success.

of at least two lines of Infantry posted behind stone and plank-fences, but these were driven from their positions; and, passing over all obstacles, the two Brigades reached the crest of the hill and entered the enemy's breast-works crowning it, getting possession of one or two Batteries; but no attack was made on their immediate right; and, not meeting with the expected support from that quarter, these Brigades, whose ranks were very much depleted, could not hold the position they had gained, because a very heavy force of the enemy was turned against them, from that part of the line which the Divisions, on the right, were to have attacked, and they had therefore to fall back, which they did with comparatively slight loss, considering the nature of the ground over which they had to pass and the immense odds opposed to them. Hays's Brigade, however, on this occasion, brought off four captured colors from the top of Cemetery-hill. At the time these Brigades advanced, Gordon's Brigade moved forward to support them, and advanced to the position from which they had moved, but was halted there, because it was ascertained that no advance was being made on the right, and it was evident that the crest of the hill could not be held by the three Brigades, without other assistance, and that the attempt would be attended with a useless sacrifice of life.* Hays's and

Hoke's Brigades were re-formed on the line previously occupied by them, on the right and left of Gordon, respectively. In this attack, Colonel Avery, of the Sixth North Carolina Regiment, commanding Hoke's Brigade, was mortally wounded; and, with this affair, the fighting on the second of July terminated.

After night, I was directed by General Ewell to order Smith's Brigade (three Regiments) to report to General Johnson, on the left, by daylight, next morning; and General Smith, in pursuance of the orders given him, did report to General Johnson, and his three Regiments were engaged, on the third, on the extreme left, under that officer's direction. As the operations of this Brigade, on that day, were under the immediate control of General Johnson, I will, in that connection, merely refer to the Report of Colonel Hoffman, the present Brigade-commander, which is herewith forwarded.

Before light, on the morning of the third, Hays's and Hoke's Brigades—the latter now under the command of Colonel Godwin, of the Fifty-seventh North Carolina Regiment—were withdrawn to the rear, and subsequently formed in line, in the town, on the same street formerly occupied by Hays's Brigade—Gordon's Brigade being left to occupy the position held by these Brigades on the previous day. In these positions, the three Brigades remained during the day, and did not again participate in the attack, though they were exposed, during the time, to the fire of sharpshooters and an occasional fire from the enemy's artillery posted on the heights.

At two o'clock, on the morning of the fourth, my Brigades were quietly withdrawn, under orders, from their positions, and moved around to the Cashtown road, where they were formed in line across the said road, in rear of Rodes's and Johnson's Divisions, which occupied the front line, on our left, along the crest of Seminary-ridge, West of the town.*

carrying them out, that this most promising movement was thwarted just as it was on the point of proving a grand success.

* As there has been much criticism in regard to the management at this battle, and, especially, in regard to the lateness of the attack on the second, I make the following extracts from Swinton's *Army of the Potomac*. He says: "Indeed, in entering on the Campaign, General Lee expressly promised his Corps-commanders that he would not assume a tactical offensive, but force his antagonist to attack him. Having, however, gotten a taste of blood, in the considerable success of the first day, the Confederate commander seems to have lost that equipoise in which his friends commonly moved; and he determined to give battle."

[Foot note.] * * This and subsequent revelations of the purposes and sentiments of Lee, I derive from General Longstreet, who, in a full and free conversation with the

* The position attacked by my Brigades was held by the Eleventh Corps, under Howard; and General Gibbons, U. S. A., in his testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, in speaking of the attack, by Longstreet, on their left, says: "After we had repulsed one attack, 'there was heavy firing over on the right of Cemetery-hill. I received a message from General Howard, commanding the Eleventh Corps, asking for reinforcements. Just about the same time, General Hancock became alarmed at the continued firing and desired me to send 'a Brigade, designating Colonel Carroll's, and afterwards 'three other Regiments from my Division, to the assistance of our right centre. Colonel Carroll moved off, promptly, and, as reported to me, arrived on the right of Cemetery-hill, to find the enemy actually in our Batteries and fighting with the cannoniers for their possession. He gallantly moved forward with his command; drove the enemy back; retook the position; and held it till the next day.'"—*Report of the Committee*, II, 1, 440, 441.

At the same time, Johnson was making excellent progress in capturing the works on Culp's hill, when the part of the Twelfth Corps that had been sent to meet Longstreet's attack, on their left, returned and arrested his progress. Had Rodes's Division, on my immediate right, and one of Hill's Divisions, on his right, advanced simultaneously with my two Brigades, we would have attained such a lodgment on Cemetery-hill, while Johnson would have been enabled to gain Culp's-hill, that the enemy must have been forced to retire from his position, in great disorder; but there was such a misconception of orders or delay in

My loss, in three days' fighting, at Gettysburg, was one hundred and fifty-four men killed, eight hundred wounded, and two hundred and twenty-seven missing—a large proportion of the missing being, in all probability, killed or wounded.

At two o'clock, on the morning of the fifth, under orders from General Ewell, my Division moved, on the road, towards Fairfield, following in the rear of the Corps and constituting the Rear-guard of the whole Army. While I was waiting at the junction of the road on which the Corps had moved with the direct road from Get-

tysburg to Fairfield, for the passage of all the troops and trains, a few pieces of artillery were run out by the enemy and opened, at long range, but without doing any damage. The whole force having got on the road, in front of me, I moved on slowly in the rear, Gordon's Brigade bringing up my rear followed by White's Battalion of Cavalry.* On arriving in view of Fairfield, which is situated in a wide, low plain, surrounded by hills, I found the wagon-trains, in front, blocked up; and, while waiting for the road to be cleared, I received a message from Colonel White that a force of the enemy was advancing in our rear. I immediately sent word forward to hasten the trains up; but as they did not move, I was preparing to fire a blank cartridge or two, for the purpose of hastening their movements, when the advance of the enemy appeared on a hill, in my rear, and it became necessary to open on him with shells. The enemy also brought up a Battery and returned my fire; and the trains very soon moved off and cleared the road. One of Gordon's Regiments—the Twenty-sixth Georgia—was deployed, as skirmishers, and sent against the enemy, and drove back his advance, thus holding him in check while my Division was gradually moved forward, in line, past Fairfield, to a favorable position for making a stand, when the Twenty-sixth Georgia Regiment was called in. In this affair, it sustained a loss of some eight or ten killed and wounded. The enemy not advancing, the Division was encamped not far from Fairfield, and so posted as to protect the trains which had been parked a little further on.† The enemy did not again molest me; and, at light, next morning—the sixth—my skirmishers were replaced by those of Rodes, whose Division was this day to constitute the Rear-guard, when I moved to the front of the Corps, and, passing the Monterey Springs, on the summit of the mountain, crossed over to Waynesboro', where I encamped for the night. Early next morning, I moved towards Hagerstown, by the way of Leitersburg, following Rodes and being followed by Johnson, whose Division this day constituted the Rear-guard. My Division was halted and encamped about a mile North of Hagerstown, on the Chambersburg-turnpike, where it remained until the afternoon of the tenth, when it was moved through the town and placed in line of battle, along

"writer, after the close of the War, threw much light on the motives and conduct of Lee, during this Campaign."—Page 340.

"Longstreet, holding the right of the Confederate line, had one flank securely posted on the Emmetsburg-road, so that he was really between the Army of the Potomac and Washington, and, by marching towards Frederick, could undoubtedly have manoeuvred Meade out of the Gettysburg position. This operation, General Longstreet, who forboded the worst from an attack on the Army in position and was anxious to hold General Lee to his promise, begged, in vain, to be allowed to execute."

[Foot-note.] * The officer named is my authority for this statement."—Pages 340, 341.

"The absence of Pickett's Division, the day before, made General Longstreet very loth to make the attack; but Lee, thinking the Union force was not all up, would not wait. Longstreet urged, in reply, that this advantage (or supposed advantage, for the Union force was all up) was counterbalanced by the fact that he was not all up either; but the Confederate commander was not minded to delay. My authority is again General Longstreet."—

Foot-note, page 335.

These extracts will serve to throw much light on the causes of the extraordinary delay in the attack, on the second, and show who was mainly responsible therefor. The statement that General Lee had promised his Corps-commanders not to take the offensive, but force the enemy to attack him, is a very remarkable one; and it is very certain that neither General Ewell nor General Hill claimed the benefit of any such promise, for both of them advanced to the attack, on the first, without General Lee's knowledge even. The "Union force" was not all up when General Lee wanted to make the attack, for Meade's Army was arriving all the morning, and Sedgwick's Corps (the Sixth) did not get up until two P.M. A large portion of Meade's Army did not get into position until the afternoon; and Sickles did not take the position which Longstreet subsequently attacked until three P.M.; while Round Top was unoccupied all the forenoon and until after the attack began.—(See the testimony of Meade and his officers, in the Report before quoted from.) An attack, therefore, in the early morning or at any time in the forenoon, must have resulted in our easily gaining positions which would have rendered the heights of Gettysburg untenable by the enemy. It was the delay which occurred in the attack, that thwarted General Lee's well-laid plans.

* I did not leave the view of the enemy's position at Gettysburg until the afternoon of the fifth.

† It was Sedgwick's Corps which followed us as far as Fairfield, and it did so most cautiously; but it followed no further. There were presented none of the indications of a defeated Army, in the rear of ours: and my Division came off with a feeling of defiance, and was as ready to give battle as ever.

the crest of a ridge, a little South-west of the town, with the left resting on the Cumberland-road. On the next day—the eleventh—the Division was moved to the right and placed in position, with its right flank resting on the road from Hagerstown to Williamsport, and remained there until after dark, on the twelfth, when it was moved, across the Williamsport road, to the rear of General Hill's position, for the purpose of supporting his line which faced the Sharpsburg-road, along and near which a considerable force of the enemy had been massed in his front.

At dark, on the thirteenth, my Division was withdrawn and moved to Williamsport, that night, bringing up the rear of the Corps; and, after light, on the morning of the fourteenth, it was crossed over the Potomac—Gordon's, Hoke's, and Smith's Brigades (the latter now commanded by Colonel Hoffman, as General Smith had resigned and received leave of absence, on the tenth) fording the river, above Williamsport; and Hays's Brigade with Jones's Artillery crossing on the bridge, at Falling Waters.* The Division encamped near Hainesville, that night, and, the next day, moved through Martinsburg, reaching Darksville on the sixteenth, where it went into camp and remained until the twentieth, when it was ordered to move across North Mountain, at Mills's Gap and then down Back-creek, to intercept a body of the enemy reported to have advanced to Hedgeville. On the night of the twentieth, I camped near Gerard's Town, and, next day, crossed the mountain, and, proceeding down Back creek, reached the rear of Hedgeville, but found that the enemy had hastily retreated, the night before, when I re-crossed the mountain, through Hedgeville, and encamped on the East side. That night, I received orders to move up the Valley, for the purpose of crossing the Blue Ridge; and I moved, next day, to Bunker-hill, and then, through Winchester, on the twenty-second, to the Opequan, on the Front Royal-road; but, in consequence of instructions from General Ewell, I turned off to the main Valley-road from Cedarville, the next day, and marching by the way of Strasburg, New Market, Fisher's or Milan's Gap, Madison Court-house, Locust Grove, and Rapidan Station, I reached my present camp, near Clark's Mountain, in the vicinity of Orange Court-house, on the first of this month. The Fifty-fourth North Carolina Regiment and Fifty-eighth Virginia Regiment re-joined their Brigades, near Hagerstown, on the

march back, after having participated in the repulse of the enemy's Cavalry-attack on our trains, near Williamsport, on the sixth of July; and the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment re-joined its Brigade on our passage through Winchester.

The conduct of my troops, during the entire Campaign, on the march as well as in action, was deserving of the highest commendation.* To Brigadier-generals Hays and Gordon I was especially indebted for their cheerful, active, and intelligent co-operation, on all occasions; and their gallantry in action was eminently conspicuous. I had to regret the absence of the gallant Brigadier-general Hoke, who was severely wounded in the action of the fourth of May, at Fredericksburg, and had not recovered; but his place was worthily filled by Colonel Avery of the Sixth North Carolina Regiment, who fell, mortally wounded, while gallantly leading his Brigade in the charge on Cemetery-hill, at Gettysburg, on the second of July. In his death, the Confederacy lost a good and brave soldier. The conduct of Lieutenant-colonel Jones and his Artillery Battalion, on all occasions, as well as that of Brown's Battalion, under Captain Dance, at Winchester, was admirable. My commendations are also due to Colonel French and Lieutenant-colonel White and their respective Cavalry commands for the efficient services performed by them. To the members of my Staff, Major S. Hale, Division-inspector, Major J. W. Daniel, A. A. General, Lieutenants A. L. Pitzer, and William G. Calloway, my Aides, and Mr. Robert D. Early, a Volunteer Aide, I was indebted for the active zeal, energy, and courage with which they performed their duties.

Accompanying this Report will be found lists of the killed, wounded,† and missing, and also the Official Reports of Brigadier-generals Hays and Gordon, Colonels Godwin and Hoffman, and Lieutenant-colonel Jones; also a Report by Colonel Murcheson, of the Fifty-fourth North

* The river was quite high and the current, at the Ford, was so strong that the men could not cross there, but had to be crossed above, where the water was deeper. The river was rising at the time, as it had been raining a good deal; and, very shortly after the crossing of my Division, the water was too deep for Infantry to cross by wading.

* Smith's Brigade had not gone into action under my immediate command; but, on the third, at Gettysburg, his three Regiments present had gone into action under General Johnson's command, on his extreme left, when he attacked the enemy's right flank on that day. They acted with their usual gallantry; and the Forty-ninth Virginia Regiment sustained a very heavy loss—heavier, perhaps, than that of any other Regiment in my Division. The loss of this Brigade is included in that of the Division mentioned in the Report.

† One hundred and ninety-four of my wounded were left in the Field-hospital, near Gettysburg, under the care of competent Surgeons, because they were too badly wounded to be transported. Ample provisions for them, for several days, were left, and a sum of money—part of that obtained at York—was left with the Surgeon in charge, for the purpose of buying such comforts for the wounded as might be needed.

Carolina Regiment, of the part taken by his Regiment, in the repulse of the enemy's Cavalry, near Williamsport, Maryland.

Very Respectfully,

J. A. EARLY,

Major-general Commanding Division.

X.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—Ed. His. Mag.]

THE MAN WHO SET UP THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER.—The printer boy who, in 1814, set up, in the *Baltimore American*, the MS. of Francis Scott Key's poem, *The Star-spangled Banner*, still lives, in full vigor, being none other than Samuel Sands, the editor of the *American Farmer*. The *American* received the MS. from John S. Skinner, who, after the bombardment of Fort Mc Henry and the withdrawal of the British fleet, was sent down to them in a flag-of-truce boat to negotiate for an exchange of prisoners. Mr. Skinner chanced to meet Mr. Key on the boat and obtained from him a copy of his song. It was not for some time after its publication that the modest Key would permit it to be known that he was the author. Mr. Sands has long been known as the editor of the *Farmer*; but the fact of his having "set up" *The Star-spangled Banner* will be new to many.

THE FIRST DAILY IN CHICAGO.—*Rounds' Printer's Cabinet* for April, has the following: "The first daily paper in Chicago was named '*The American*, and published by William Stuart, (subsequently Postmaster) who, also, "was the founder of the first paper in Binghamton, Broome-county, New York, where "he at present resides. Stuart sold (if we "remember aright,) to W. W. Bracket; and, at "a later date, the paper came into the hands of "Richard L. Wilson, and still lives as the *Journal*. The next daily was the *Democrat*, published at the outset by John Calhoun, though "soon becoming under the control of John "Wentworth."

While there is no doubt the *Journal* can lay claim to being the oldest daily paper published in Chicago, we are of the opinion that the *Democrat*, as a weekly, was the first newspaper published in that city—its initial number bearing date, November 26, 1833, with John Calhoun as Editor and Proprietor. Mr. Wentworth purchased

it two years later, and continued its publication until 1861, when its subscription list was transferred to the *Daily Tribune*.—*American Press*.

THE FIRST SHORT-HAND REPORTER TO CONGRESS.—The first to report the proceedings of Congress, in short-hand, was Thomas Lloyd, an Englishman, who served with distinction in the Army of the Revolution. In 1819, he invented a system of stenography, by the aid of which he was able to take down the speeches for subsequent translation.

SCRAPS.—A manuscript by Elam Crane has been discovered in Western New York, containing the following anecdote of Red Jacket, which is new: "He was once on a visit to a house in Canandaigua, and not arriving till after dinner, the "girl was ordered to make preparations for him. "She, through carelessness or thinking it would "do well enough for an Indian, placed on the "table a dish of meat that had been visited by "the flies. Red Jacket advanced to the table, "and, seeing the insects busily engaged in the "meat, took the dish and placed it on the sill of "the door; stepped back; took his rifle; deliberately took aim; and discharged the contents "through the meat. The report of the gun "alarmed all in the house. They ran to inquire "the cause. Red Jacket replied that he always "killed his meat before he ate it. The joke had "its desired effect."—*Syracuse Journal*.

—A Poughkeepsie journal revives some historical reminiscences which are of general interest. When Holt's *New York Journal* was driven out of New York city, by the British, it was, for many years, published by Mr. Holt, in Poughkeepsie. His successor was Nicholas Power; and he, in turn, was followed by Paraclete Potter, brother of the late Bishop Alonzo Potter, of Pennsylvania, and of Bishop Horatio Potter, of New York. In connection with his newspaper business, Mr. Potter, in 1806, opened a bookstore in which book-publishing and selling were carried on for sixty-four years, till the store was burned down, last Winter. In this store, both Alonzo and Horatio Potter were once clerks. Mr. Paraclete Potter published school-books and a variety of miscellaneous works, among them *Baron Steuben's Military Tactics*. He was a federalist in politics; and, for a time, his journal was the State-paper. The little reading-room, in the rear of the bookstore, was, for many years, the favorite assembling place of many men whose names are noted in our State history, such as James Kent, afterwards Chancellor, James Tallmadge, N. P. Tallmadge, Philo T. Ruggles, James Duane Livingston, Gulian C. Verplank,

Peter R. Livingston, James K. Paulding, Edmond H. Pendleton, Charles H. Rugales, and many more, who made the place a resort for social, literary, and political intercourse. Bishop Alonzo Potter used to declare that he received his first literary impulse from listening to the animated and interesting discussions in that old reading-room.—*Albany Argus*.

—Joseph Twitchell, the first white child born in the limits of what is now the town of Bethel, Maine, died on the twenty-fifth of November, 1871, in the ninetyeth year of his age.

The *Lewiston Journal* says his grandfather, Joseph Twitchell, was one of the principal original proprietors of the town, which was run out by him, into lots, in 1769. His son, Eleazer, built the first mill and dwelling-house in the town, in 1774, and raised a large family of children of which Joseph was one. Mr. Twitchell has thus lived to see the wilderness changed into a thriving town, while he has survived all his companions save one who was older than himself.

—A curious bit of history concerning Cape May, the fashionable watering-place on the New Jersey coast, shows how, as early as 1758, when the Cape was in its infancy, as a community, a certain frantic rage for fashion prevailed among the wives and daughters of the pilots and oystermen who composed, with their families, the settlement. Benjamin Franklin, it appears, while Minister to France, sent from that country to some female denizen of the Cape, a new style of woman's cap. In order to make enough money to secure a similar cap, all the young girls of the Cape took to knitting mittens, which, when completed, were sold. The mitten-making became in time a remunerative feature of industry, at the Cape; and it is easy to perceive how unbroken is the chain between the Cape May of 1758 and the Cape May of 1871. Fashionable instincts put money in its purse, a hundred years ago, as they do to-day. If Cape May should ever take to itself a coat of arms, the device should be a field bearing an antique, fashionable cap, supported by two knitting needles with a mitten for a crest. This would be neat—we will say gaudy—and, as heraldry should always do, will succinctly tell the story of Cape May's start as a watering-place.—*Albany Argus*.

—A letter from the Powell, Colorado, exploring expedition furnishes some interesting information in regard to the Aztecs, that singular people who formerly inhabited Mexico. Aztec "picture-writing" has been discovered on the rocks, near Uintah; and, from there to the gulf, traces of their ancient residence abound. As an example of the discoveries, the record of the fifteenth of last September will be interesting. On that day, a party of three men started in

quest of the ruins. Climbing up and along a steep and narrow ledge, they came to a cluster of dilapidated houses, with but six feet of wall remaining. They found pieces of pottery and fragments of arrow-heads, with occasional perfect specimens of the latter. One of the most interesting and valuable prizes was in the form of an earthen jug, artistically fashioned, and in an excellent state of preservation. It was hidden under a rock, with the mouth covered with a stone. The jar had a capacity of four or five gallons, and contained small bundles of split willows, used for baking corn bread. The bundles had been tied with twine made from wild hemp, and were rotten with age. The explorers propose to visit many of the "cities" of the Aztecs, this Winter, and learn more of their history, habits, and religious rites, from personal observation and study.

—Phillips Wharf, in Salem, just leased for twenty years, at eighteen or twenty thousand dollars per year, by the Lowell Railroad, as a coal station, is a famous structure, and has been, for years, the busiest place in that old but growing city. It is the wharf built by the Crowninshields, and known by their name, during the War of 1812, when it received from the deck of the Crowninshield cartel *Henry*, commanded by a Crowninshield, the honored remains of Captain James Lawrence and his Lieutenant, Ludlow, who perished in the wild fight between the *Chesapeake* and *Shannon*, just off Marblehead, on the afternoon of the first of June, 1813. On this funereal day, the wharf was crowded with conspicuous men. Eldridge Gerry, then Vice-President, was there, with members of the National and State administrations; and an Oration was delivered by Judge Story, parts of which enjoyed a long life in school readers and prize declamations. No solemnities comparable with these ever occurred in Salem, though the burial of Brigadier-general Frederick W. Lander, in presence of Governor Andrew, Hon. Caleb Cushing, and a vast concourse, approached them, nearly.

XI.—NOTES.

JOHN MILTON AND ROGER WILLIAMS.—In Doctor Allibone's *Dictionary of Authors*—article on Roger Williams—I find the following:

"We spoke of our mutual friend, Mr. Roger Williams of Rhode Island, * * * that noble confessor of religious liberty. * * * We rejoiced in the zeal of that extraordinary man and most enlightened legislator, who, after suffering persecution from his brethren, persevered, amidst incredible hardships and difficulties, in seeking a place of refuge for 'the sacred ark of conscience.'—*John Milton* :

"*Letter to the Count Pallavicini de Saluces, the Genoese Envoy into England*—quoted in "*the Piedmontese Envoy*, 292-294, and in Rev. "Dr. Francis Vinton's *Oration on the Annals of Rhode Island, etc., New York, 1863, 53, "Note 1."*

Doctor Vinton, here quoted by Doctor Allibone, begins his eloquent and learned *Oration* with these words: "Rhode Island, the smallest of the United States, was the cradle of the civilization of the nineteenth century. This is a bold statement, as well as lofty praise. And yet it is not arrogant in the sons of Rhode Island to repeat what European philosophers have asserted * and the truth of history confirms." Doctor Vinton then refers to "*Note 1." on page 53 of his *Oration*, where the, so-called, "Letter of John Milton" is reprinted, at length, with the following prefatory words: "The intimacy of Roger Williams with the historic men of his generation, and the lofty hopes of the future grandeur of America, which the bold thinkers of that age cherished, are set forth in the letter of John Milton to Count Pallavicini de Saluces; the noble Genoese Envoy into England. (quoted in *The Piedmontese Envoy*, pp. 292-294.)" Then follows the letter to "MY DEAR COUNT," concluding "Forget not, as you will never be forgotten by, your devoted friend,

"JOHN MILTON."

One of the best authorities on American history, and particularly versed in Rhode Island history, writes to me that this letter "had no other existence save in the brain of the late Mrs. Professor Elton, from whose novel, called *The Piedmontese Envoy*, Dr. Vinton quoted the letter as veritable history. It may admonish us how history often is made up."

That Milton and Williams were one in Puritan convictions, sympathy, and affiliations is well known; and Dr. Vinton quotes proof of their personal intimacy from a letter of Mr. Williams (Knowles's *Memoir of Roger Williams*, 264): "It pleased the Lord to call me for some time, and with some persons, to practice the Hebrew, the Greek, Latin, French, and Dutch. The Secretary of the Council (Mr. Milton) for my Dutch I read him, read me many more languages."

The apparent acceptance of Mrs. Elton's fiction by so respectable an authority, as an authentic document and veritable history, renders it important to note the error, and, as far as may be, check its circulation.

BOSTON.

J. W. T.

"TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION OF BOSTON."—This seems to be a favorite

title with Boston authors, no less than three of them having chosen it for their works, namely, Thomas Pemberton, in 1794, Charles Shaw, in 1817, and Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, in 1871. These are all independent works, and not different editions of the same book.

BOSTON, MASS.

DELTA.

CEDAR COUNTY, IOWA.—*The Cedar Post*, published at Tipton, Cedar county, Iowa, contains a series of papers, entitled *Outlines of the History of Cedar-county*, which will interest all collectors of locals. D.

THE BATTLE OF MOBLEY'S MEETING-HOUSE.

[CHARLESTON, 13th Augt, 1859.

DEAR SIR: Some time ago, you enquired of me for a description of the Attack on a party of Royalists at Mobley's Meeting-house, by a party of Americans. Domestic affliction prevented me from paying earlier attention to the subject, and I now offer an imperfect sketch of its origin, progress, and result. It may aid in your collection of such matters, and I submit it with fears that it may be too late if not otherwise useless for your purposes.

In your first number, giving the description of the Battles of Lexington and Concord, you give several references to the description or narrative of Ensign and of Lieutenant De Berniere. We presume that they were the same person, but the christian or given name is not mentioned. If it was John De Berniere we have some of his descendants among us, and they would be glad to know where his narrative may be seen and if any copy of it can be procured.

I remain very respectfully, Yours,

MR. H^R B. DAWSON.

JOS. JOHNSON.]

About the middle of June, 1780, or one month after the surrender of Charleston to the British Army and Navy, Colonel Richard Winn heard of an intended meeting of the Royalists at this point, in the Northern portion of South Carolina. It stands on the road which leads to Chesterville, about fifteen miles South-west of that village, just where that road crosses the Southern branch of Little-river, but is in Fairfield District. This had become a place of rendezvous for the Tories, during the siege; and, after the surrender of Charleston to the British forces, much of the plunder taken from the Whigs was there paid for and delivered to British Agents. One of them had appointed the proposed meeting at this point.

Colonel Winn called on his neighbor, Colonel William Bratton, and proposed that they should unite in the surprise of those Tories. After some consultation, it was agreed that as their friends united were but little more than thirty, they would go together to Colonel John McClure of Chester District, residing near Rocky Mount, and propose his co-operation. Here they again

numbered their probable adherents, and, although many were well-disposed, not more than sixty could be relied on for the expedition, still they determined to proceed with that or any such number. The leaders in this expedition had the utmost confidence in the patriotism and bravery of their respective followers, but some of them had been disarmed by the British agents and adherents; while others were incited by injuries and provocations, in the seizure of their horses and cattle, and by personal feelings and apprehensions, to join in the expedition, hoping to recover their property or a part of it.

The rendezvous of Royalists was appointed to take place on the thirtieth of June, and the Whigs had made their arrangements for a simultaneous attack on that station. The Whigs had the utmost confidence in their leaders and were united by all honorable motives, as friends, neighbors, and brother-patriots. The expedition was judiciously arranged and perfectly executed as it had been planned. The Royalists being taken by surprise, broke and dispersed, at the first fire. Very few were killed or wounded on either side. Among other property recovered were about one hundred horses, which were restored to their respective owners, and kept with more care thereafter out of the reach of the enemy. The mother of Colonel McClure recovered five or six of her horses and other residences in proportion. This was the first resistance made in South Carolina to the British arms, after the capitulation of Charleston. Huck's defeat followed, in about ten days after it; and opposition was then kept up, on a greater scale, by Sumter, Marion, Pickens, Harden, and others—their forces being thus increased and encouraged by the patriotism, bravery, and success of the first adventurers.

XII.—QUERIES.

THE BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE.—In Doctor Bassett's *History of the Reign of George III.*—Edition, Philadelphia: 1828—Volume I., Pages 431, 432, I find the following, while alluding to the services, opposite Chad's-ford, in this battle, of Major Patrick Ferguson, who subsequently commanded the Royal troops at King's Mountain, and fell, there: "Ferguson, in a private letter of which Dr. Adam Ferguson has transmitted me a copy, mentions a very curious incident, from which it appears that the life of the American General was in imminent danger. While Ferguson lay, with a part of his Rifle-men, on the skirt of a wood, in front of General Knyphausen's Division, the circumstance happened, of which the letter in question gives the following account: 'We had not lain long, when a rebel officer, remarkable by a

"Huzzar dress, passed towards our Army, within a hundred yards of my right flank, not perceiving us. He was followed by another, dressed in dark green and blue, mounted on a good bay horse, with a remarkable large, high, cocked-hat. I ordered three good shots to steal near to them and fire at them; but the idea disgusted me; I recalled the order. The Huzzar, in returning, made a circuit; but the other passed within a hundred yards of us; upon which I advanced from the wood, towards him. Upon my calling, he stopped; but, after looking at me, proceeded. I again drew his attention and made sign to him to stop, levelling my piece at him; but he slowly continued his way. As I was within that distance at which, in the quickest firing, I could have lodged half a dozen balls in or about him, before he was out of my reach; I had only to determine; but it was not pleasant to fire at the back of an unoffending individual, who was acquitting himself very coolly of his duty, so I let him alone. The day after, I had been telling this story to some wounded officers who lay in the same room with me, when one of our Surgeons, who had been dressing the wounded rebel officers, came in and told us that they had been informing him that General Washington was, all the morning, with the Light troops, and attended only by a French officer, in a Huzzar dress, he, himself, dressed and mounted, in every point, as above described. I am not sorry that I did not know, at the time, who it was."

Will those readers of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE who can throw any light on this matter be kind enough to do so?

WESTCHESTER, PENN.

L.

THE STATE OF HIS MAJESTY'S COLONY IN VIRGINIA.—Is this work, mentioned in Duyckinck's *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, i., 84, as having been printed in 1727, the same as that printed, from a manuscript copy, in 1798, in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, v., 124-166, under the title of *An Account of the Present State and Government of Virginia*? I have before me a copy of a work, without title-page, bearing the same title as that in the *Historical Collections*, and evidently printed in the last century, signed "HENRY HARTWELL, JAMES BLAIR, E. CHILTON," which has, as an Appendix, the Charter of William and Mary College, and contains this additional sentence: "It" [the College] "is honestly and zealously carry'd on by the Trustees, but is in danger of being ruin'd by the Backwardness of the Government."

Boston.

J. W. D.

"FREEDOM TO WORSHIP GOD," IN MASSACHUSETTS.—In Doctor Smalley's *Worcester Pulpit*, pages, 518, 519, that gentleman, in alluding to the Scotch Presbyterian Church in that city, says of the members of that sect who originally settled in Worcester, "Oppressed, on the other 'side of the water, they fled hitherward; arrived here, they found the same spirit of 'religious persecution, only in a different form.' They were disposed to be peaceable; but they wished to worship God in their own way. They attempted to 'build him a house.' Its site was selected; the timbers had been cut and raised; the building was in the progress of construction. But it was never completed. No winds beat upon it to overthrow it; no floods carried it away; no fire devoured it; no earthquake swallowed it. '*The inhabitants gathered, tumultuously, by night, and demolished the structure. Persons of consideration and respectability aided in the riotous work of violence; and the defenceless foreigners were compelled to submit to the wrong.*'"

Will some reader of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE please inform me what more is known of this riot in Worcester; and where the information may be found?

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

H. B. D.

"HEATHCOTE."—On a City map of Savannah, Georgia, one of the Wards of that City is named "HEATHCOTE WARD." Can any one give information how this name came to be given?

PELHAM, N. Y.

"HEATHCOTE."

TRUMBULL'S INDIAN WARS.—In the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for December, 1857, will be found an article on the book which generally goes by the above title. It is there shown that the book was originally published, probably about the year 1802, at Brooklyn, L. I., under the title of "*History and Discovery of America* * * * By the Rev. JAMES STEWARD, D. D." The book was next printed, in 1812, at Norwich, with the name of *Henry Trumbull* substituted for that of the Rev. James Steward, D. D.; and it has always since borne Trumbull's name on its title-page.

The writer of the article seems to have been unable to learn anything further about Steward or Trumbull. I presume the former was a fictitious name. I have lately met with a pamphlet entitled *Narrative of the Pious Death of the Penitent Henry Mills, who was executed in Galesboro' (Penn.), on the 15th of July last, for the Murder of his Wife and Five children*, which bears this imprint: "Boston: Printed 'by Henry Trumbull, 1817." I find by the

Boston Directory of 1818, that there was, then, a Henry Trumbull, printer, doing business in Washington-street.

Query. Was this the compiler of the book whose title is given above?

BOSTON.

DELTA.

THE CROSS OF CALATRAVA ON THE BASE METAL FIVE CENT PIECE.

Why is the Shield, on the base-metal five-cent piece, surmounted by the Cross of the Order of Calatrava? Is the President of the United States, *ex officio*, a member of that knightly Order, founded by the Catholic Sovereigns of Spain? I am not a numismatist proper, but simply an inquirer.

ELIZABETH, N. J.

J. G. S.

THE PILGRIM AND THE PURITAN FATHERS.

"What is to be thought of the intelligence or candor of a Massachusetts newspaper, which, in this nineteenth century, is capable of publishing such a paragraph as the following:

"'The opinion of the Puritans on this' [Christmas] 'and some other subjects, not strictly of the same category, appears from the following provisions of an early Statute of Plymouth Colony: 'No one shall keep Christmas, or any Saint-day, read Common-prayer, make mince-pies, play cards, or play on any instrument of music, except the drum, trumpet, and jews-harp.'"

"The Puritans had no more to do with the laws of Plymouth Colony than they had with those of France; while that Colony never had such a Statute, nor any resembling it."

The foregoing, cut from a recent number of *The Congregationalist*, a widely-circulated weekly, edited by Henry M. Dexter, D. D., and published in Boston, very properly distinguishes "the Pilgrim Fathers" from "the Puritan Fathers" of Massachusetts; but, it seems to us, the learned Editor shows an uneasiness, in view of the possible association of the two sets of "Fathers," which is inconsistent with what we have heard said concerning the effect, on the United States and the world—if not on "the world to come"—of the emigration of that party which landed, from the *Mayflower*, on the rock at Plymouth, in December, 1630.

As *The Congregationalist* is so anxious to keep "the Puritans" distinct from the Plymouth Colony, are we to understand that it also relinquishes all the claims to the alleged grand results of that particular Colony, which, in common with every other New Englander, it has, hitherto, so diligently and loudly, if not so learnedly, thrust before the world?

Are all the glories which, it is said, cluster around Plymouth-rock, to belong, hereafter, indisputably, to the descendants of "the Pilgrim Fathers," *and to them only?*

Are "the Puritan Fathers" and their descendants, hereafter, like other folks, to depend entirely on their own merits, without recourse to "the Pilgrims," the *Magnflower*, or Plymouth-rock?

Will *The Congregationalist* be so kind as to inform us, on these subjects, and to tell us what the new programme is, for "Forefathers'-day" orators and other exponents of New England's pretensions?

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

HIST. MAG.

CONNECTICUT ON THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES.—"Thirty-five years ago, the State of Connecticut passed a law against teaching colored children of other States to read in Connecticut; and the school house of Prudence Crandall, of Canterbury, was burned to the ground because she was so far in advance of New England ideas as to teach colored children."

I find the above in a recent number of the *Free Press*, one of the most influential papers in Vermont, published at Burlington. Can the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE throw any light on the subject?

BENNINGTON, VT.

J. F. S.

XIII.—REPLIES.

GENERAL SEDGWICK'S REPORT OF THE OPERATIONS AT FREDERICKSBURG.—[*H. M.*, III., i., 102.]

DEAR SIR: I have just seen your number for February last, having been absent in Richmond when it arrived. I find in it the Report of General Sedgwick, U. S. A., in regard to the operations at Fredericksburg, in April and May, 1863, which you claim to be published for the first time. You are mistaken in this respect. By referring to the *Report of the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War*, Second Series, Vol. I., pages 104-108, (published in 1865) you will find the Report, in full, appended to Sedgwick's testimony before the Committee. The Report is dated May 7th, 1863, and is identically the same as the one published by you to the close of the latter, with several paragraphs added, beginning in line third from bottom, page 107, (*Committee's Report*) making reference to the conduct of particular officers and commands. You will find that Report signed, in due form.

I was opposed to Sedgwick on that occasion, and have noted a number of mistakes into which he has fallen, more particularly in his testimony,

where he has made my force equal to his own. The fact was, I had less than nine thousand men.

In his Report he says that a force of fifteen thousand, coming from the direction of Richmond, occupied the heights of Fredericksburg, on the morning after he broke through the line. That force was mine; and not a man had come from Richmond, or anywhere else, to me. He is also greatly mistaken in saying that the troops attacking them, on the afternoon of the fourth, were scattered and driven back. They were three Brigades of my command, and were not repulsed, at all, but drove them towards Banks' ford. * * * * *

LYNCHBURG, VA.

J. A. EARLY.

NEWBERNE AND PUREYSBURG.—[*H. M.*, III., i., 120.]—In a *History of the German Settlements, and of the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina*, by G. D. Bernheim, Pastor of St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran-church, Wilmington, N. C., published by the Lutheran Book Store, Philadelphia, 1872, pp. 67-81, will be found a history of the settlement of Newberne, North Carolina, by De Graffenreid, etc., with reference to Hawks's *History of North Carolina*, ii., 536.

In the same volume of Bernheim, pp. 88-99, will be found the account of the Swiss Colony at Pureysburg, South Carolina, with reference to *Mills's Statistics of South Carolina*, page 369, and Carroll's *Historical Collections*, ii., 121, etc.

This is the fullest account of the settlement of Pureysburg, that issued so singularly, which we have seen.

STATESVILLE, N. C.

E. F. R.]

SACRAMENTAL TOKENS.—[*H. M.*, III., i., 57.]

I.

MY DEAR SIR: Owing to my absence from the city when your note of 18th May came to hand and to my having been repeatedly absent since, your note has lain until to-day, overlooked.

In reply; I beg to state that, from 1784 to 1870, *tokens* were in use in my church. Previous to every Communion season, each member, in good standing, received from the Session, through the hands of the Moderator, his or her token, which secured admission to the Table. When all were seated, one or more of the Elders collected the tokens, carefully seeing that no one was at the Table but such as the Session judged to be worthy. Our tokens were small oval pieces of Lead, bearing on the one side, the former name of the church—"Assoc-

"ATE CHURCH, N. Y."—and, on the other side, the date—"1799." In 1870, we discontinued the use of them, the arrangements then made in the "Fourth church" rendered them unnecessary.

The Fourth Church, you will perceive, from the above, was originally the "Associate Presbyterian Church." It was organized in 1784, although, for several years previous to that time, there was a Society, or brotherhood, strongly attached to the old Scottish secession testimony, who could not, in conscience, worship in any one of the three Presbyterian churches, then existing in the city. From 1777, they met together, every Lord's day, in private houses, for the worship of God; and, out of this Society, rose the Associate Presbyterian Church, in New York. Their first church-building was located in Nassau-street, between Maiden-lane and John-street. In 1822, the congregation moved up to a new edifice, at the corner of Grand and Mercer streets. There, they continued until 1852, when they purchased the larger edifice, at the corner of Grand and Crosby-streets, then vacated by the Scotch Church. In that same year, the Congregation voted to transfer their church-relations to the Old School Presbyterian-church, in which connection they entered into the Union between the Old and New School Presbyterian-churches. In 1866, they moved up to Thirty-fourth-street, and assumed the name of "The Fourth Presbyterian Church."

I am, My Dear Sir, very truly, yours,

JOHN THOMSON.

150 West 37th-street, N.Y.

II.

In THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, III., i., 57—January, 1872—is an inquiry about Sacramental tokens. Some time ago, we sent an inquiry, either to the *New York Observer*, or to this Magazine, or both, in regard to the origin and use of these, but never had any answer. Dr. George Howe, in his *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, lately published, speaks of the Huguenots of France, in 1683, using them at their communions: they consisted of pieces of block-tin, of the size of a *sous*—a small copper coin of less value than our cent. In Burder's *Religious Ceremonies*, p. 401, we find that, in the Scotch Presbyterian church, "Tickets were given to each communicant, and also to strangers who brought sufficient testimonials. None can commune without such tickets;" and, on page 444, it is said that, "in the Presbyterian church in the United States, they do not require such tickets."

The author of the last-named book was not acquainted with the usage of all the churches

of that denomination in the country. A few years ago, they were in use among the Scotch-Irish, in Western North Carolina.

They consisted of pieces of lead, like large buck-shot, flattened down and stamped with some letter of the alphabet, a specimen of which accompanies this communication. They were distributed to the persons qualified to commune, by an Elder appointed for the purpose, either on Saturday before, or on the Sabbath morning of the Communion. Then, when the communicants had taken their seats at the table, an Elder went along and took them up again. If the number was large, as they attended often from all the churches around, in the Spring and Fall, from fifteen or twenty miles, many would come in late; and the same tokens might be given out, and taken up again, several times the same day. A person might get a token, take his seat, and return it again the next moment to the same officer. They seem to have been associated with the use of tables in this service. When tables were disused, they went out of use also.

In a church of which the writer was Pastor, about 1847, the tokens had been borrowed by a neighboring Session, on a communion occasion. It was too late to recover them, when their absence was discovered: we went through the services, at that time, without them. They have never been in use, there, since. We think it is many years since any of these churches have resorted to them, to exclude unworthy communicants. They did not always accomplish this, as we happen to know. We have heard of their being used in some churches with the *colored* members only. We have also heard of strangers present, at such times, who had never seen or heard of such things before; and who supposed that, when the tokens were returned, it was a payment of *money* for the privilege of the ordinance.

We do not know whether they continue in use in any branch of the church; but think that some of the Associate Reformed retain them.

We would still continue the inquiry *when*, and *why* were tokens first introduced? We have examined many works connected with the history and antiquities of the church, without finding what we wanted.

STATESVILLE, N. C.

E. F. R.

III.

In the Presbyterian churches in Pennsylvania and, probably, generally, in this country, leaden tokens were formerly used on Communion occasions, in accordance with the Scottish custom. They were given out by the Pastor and Elders, to those entitled to partake of the Sac-

rament, and taken up after the communicants were seated at the table. These tokens were usually flat pieces of lead, something over half an inch square, with the initials of the name of the church stamped upon them. I have some of them in my possession. They are not now in use, in any of the churches, so far as I am aware. In this section of country, I believe they generally ceased to be used about fifty years ago.

WESTCHESTER, PENN.

J. S. F.

IV.

In the January number of your valuable Magazine, which has just been received, under the head of "Queries," page 57, a correspondent designating himself by the initial letters, "R. I. B., BROOKLYN, N. Y.," writes to inquire, "if any of your readers can inform him in regard to certain *Sacramental Tokens*, which are alleged to have been used, in olden times, in many churches, throughout the United States, and particularly, what was the character of these coins, their inscriptions, by whom issued, and to whom, and if they are now in use, and where?"

Perhaps, the following reply may, to some extent, answer the purpose of your correspondent, R. I. B.

When the writer of this was a lad, some fifty or sixty years ago, such tokens, as those referred to above, were used in the old Scotch Presbyterian Church, situated on the corner of Chapel and Fox-streets, in the city of Albany—at that time, under the pastoral care of the Rev. John McDonald, D.D. The leading members of this church, and, indeed, the principal element of it, was composed of Scotch immigrants and their families, chiefly from Stirlingshire, Perthshire, and Mid-Lothian, who had formerly been connected, either with the Burgher or Anti Burgher Dissenters from the established church of Scotland. The custom of using metallic Tokens, on Sacramental occasions, most probably originated in that body of Christians, and was afterwards introduced into this country, by successive immigrants. If so, the Presbyterian churches, in Galway, Broadalbin, Johnstown, Mayfield, and Kingsborough, belonging to the Presbytery of Albany, which were largely made up of such immigrants, must have used similar tokens.

In Doctor McDonald's church, they were distributed to the communicants, on the Friday or Saturday, previous to the administration of the Lord's Supper, at what was called a "*Preparatory lecture*." Every communicant present received a token from the Minister, which was a small round piece of lead, about the size of a dime or cent of the United States coinage now in

use, only twice as thick; but whether there was any inscription or device engraved upon it, the present writer does not remember, having only seen one occasionally, and then, merely by accident, so carefully and secretly was it kept by the recipient. At the time of the administration of the Sacrament, after all the communicants were seated at a long table, covered with a fair linen cloth, which traversed the centre aisle, as well as that in front of the pulpit, the Elders of the Church passed quietly and reverently along, and took from each communicant his or her token. None were allowed to communicate, who were not in possession of such a token.

Whether any other Presbyterian Church in Albany observed the same custom, the writer is unable to say, although he has a sort of indistinct recollection that it was practised, at one time, in the First Presbyterian Church, then under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Arthur J. Stansbury, and also, under that of his successor, the Rev. Henry R. Weed. If such, however, were the fact, Doctor James P. Boyd, son of the late Elder Peter Boyd, will be able to furnish any information relating thereto, that may be desired. And, in regard to the custom in Doctor McDonald's church (which, by the way, has long since ceased to exist) Doctor James McNaughton, a distinguished physician of Albany, who married a daughter of the late Archibald McIntyre, formerly Comptroller of the State of New York, whose wife was the daughter and only child of Doctor McDonald, will readily furnish any information respecting the use of Sacramental tokens in Doctor McDonald's church. Some of those tokens, perhaps, many of them, are still in the possession of Mrs. McNaughton or some other member of Mr. McIntyre's family. Hoping that the above may serve as a clue, if nothing more, to the information sought,

I remain

Respectfully Yours,

NAVAL LYCEUM,

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

WM. M. CARMICHAEL.

REV. EVAN EVANS.—[*H. M., II., ix., 380.*]—Doctor Perry says, in his note to the paper quoted, in regard to Rev. Evan Evans, "re-mov-ing into Maryland, he was presented to St. George's Parish, in Baltimore, now Har-ford, County, where he ministered until his death, which occurred in 1721."

Doctor Perry does not expressly say that Doctor Evans died in Maryland; but such is the inference, from the language quoted, as well as that of Humphreys, from whose *Historical Account* is derived the statement made by Doctor Doer—*History of Christ Church, Philadelphia*—"shortly after his removal to Maryland, he," [Evans] "died."

This has generally been understood as a statement that Doctor Evans died in Maryland. But such is not the case, as the following extract from the *Pennsylvania Mercury* of October 12, 1721, will show :

"The Rev. Evan Evans, D. D., who has been minister of this Church Twenty Years, from hence removed to Maryland, from which place he made a journey hither to visit his friends having, on Sunday the 8th inst., read prayers and preached in our church, in the morning was taken with an apoplectic fit while he was in the same devotion in the afternoon. He sunk down, immediately, in the desk, and was thence carried to his lodgings where he remained speechless until Wednesday morning about 2 O'clock, at which time he breathed his last among us. He was much beloved for his piety and peaceful disposition and is now lamented by most who knew him. It is remarkable that, as the Rev. Gentleman in his life-time was instant in admonishing his parishoners 'to constancy in their devotion to God,' because they might happily be taken away in that holy exercise by a sudden death, which he esteemed a great favor, he had this favor by the Divine hand bestowed on himself. And his body now quietly rests in the Church where he so often instructed others in the paths of virtue and true Christianity and his soul we doubt not is joining in hallelujahs with the saints above."

Rev. Evan Evans appears to have been buried in Christ Church, Philadelphia. His grave is probably one of the two which are located in the aisle, in front of the chancel, numbered XLII. and XLIV.—*Clarke's Record of Inscriptions upon tablets and grave-stones in the burial grounds of Christ Church, Philadelphia*. The inscriptions upon these stones are entirely worn away. XLII. is probably the grave of Evans, because, next to it is number XLIII., that of the Rev. Robert Jenney, who died in 1742. XLIV. may be the grave of Rev. Nathaniel Evans, who died in 1767. XLV. marks the grave of Rev. Richard Peters, who died in 1776. The arrangement of these graves, with the position, justifies the inference that these were appropriated to clergymen in the order of their deaths.

PHILADELPHIA. THOMPSON WESTCOTT.

HON. WILLIAM DARLINGTON. M.D., LL.D.—
[*H. M., III., i., 32-34.*]

I was gratified to see, in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for January last, Mr. Lanman's interesting memoir of Doctor Darlington, who was one of the earliest and warmest friends of this periodical, and a frequent contributor to its pages. The latest published work of Dr. Darlington was

his *Notæ Cestriensis: Notices of Chester County Men and Events*, which appeared in numbers in the *Village Record*, a newspaper printed at West Chester, Pennsylvania, where the author resided. The first number appeared in that paper, on the nineteenth of June, 1860; and the series, consisting of eighty-six regular numbers and several supplementary numbers, was finished not long before Dr. Darlington's death. The author placed three perfect sets of this series in public libraries, namely, in those of the Smithsonian Institution, at Washington, D. C., the Pennsylvania Historical Society, at Philadelphia, and in the Village Library, at West Chester, Pennsylvania. An index to the series is printed in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xvi., 362-363. These articles show great research and contain many facts not to be found in print, elsewhere. They deserve to be reprinted, in book form.

BOSTON.

JOHN WARD DEAN.

EARLY STEAMBOATING.—[*H. M., III., i., 54.*]
—In Westcott's *Life of John Fitch*, Philadelphia, 1857, you will find the *Advertisement* which you publish, quoted, with eight others, published in Philadelphia papers, between the fifteenth of June and the tenth of September, 1790, giving information, by intervening publications of the same advertisement, before they expired, twenty-three times, and specifying thirty-one distinct trips.

I calculate that, in those trips, the steamboat passed over thirteen hundred and eighty miles. The boat probably ran much more than was advertised, as, at that time, her performances were so much matters of notoriety, as not to need public notice of her trips. Probably, in that season, she passed over two thousand, five hundred miles, before she was laid up. See account of the performances of this boat, in the *New York Magazine*, 1790, page 493; *Statement of Rembrandt Peale—Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, i., 34; *New York Review*, iv., 148.

Dr. Thornton says, in *A Short Account of the Origin of Steamboats*, that Fitch's boat went, in 1790, eighty miles in one day.

Rufus Wilnot Griswold, in a paper read before the New York Historical Society, some years ago, quoted a letter of Noah Webster, stating that he was a passenger in Fitch's steamboat. Commodore Charles Stewart, U. S. N., is known to have frequently told the story of his passage, to his friends. There is much more about the matter in my *Life of Fitch*.

PHILADELPHIA.

THOMPSON WESTCOTT.

P. S. In looking again, at your advertisement of the steamboat, I notice that the *Doylestown*

Democrat assumes that it shows "at what time" steamboat communication was first opened between Philadelphia and Trenton. I may mention that the first advertisement, quoted in my biography, published in the *Pennsylvania Picket*, June 15, 1790, states that the boat sets off from Arch-street ferry, in Philadelphia, "every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, for Burlington, Bristol, and Trenton, and returns on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. Price for passengers, 2/6 to Burlington & Bristol, 3/9 to Bordentown, and 5s to Trenton."

THE BOSTON BAR.—[*H. M., II., viii., 182.*]

There are several mistakes, in your Boston Bar article, September, 1870, pages 184-185.

The remark "For heaven's sake don't let Otis get hold of it" was applied to Mr. Choute, by Chief-justice Shaw. The remark was not applicable to Mr. Otis—though smooth and effective, he was not redundant. But the remark was not without wit, applied to Mr. Choute, as he was in the habit of using expletives, though often with great effect; and these Judge Shaw was not pleased with.

Mr. Otis, I think, never appeared before Judge Shaw, in the Supreme Court. He left practice before Shaw's appointment.

Mr. Dexter was appointed Secretary of War, by John Adams; and, afterwards, Secretary of the Treasury, also, by Mr. Adams. The last office he held till 1802 under Mr. Jefferson; then Mr. Gallatin was appointed. Mr. Dexter never was appointed Secretary of the Treasury by Mr. Madison; but, in 1815, Mr. Madison offered him the mission to Spain, which he declined.

The paragraph in relation to the peculiar habit of Mr. Otis, is another mistake. Mr. Dexter had the lounging habit; and the remarks were made by the students concerning him. This is set forth in the reminiscences of Mr. Dexter, written by Lucius Manlius Sargent, Esq., one of Mr. Dexter's students.

Your correspondent is rather *mixed*.

BOSTON.

ARTHUR W. AUSTIN.

THE FIRST EDITION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS LAWS.—[*H. M., II., iii., 85.*]

Charles Shaw, in his *Topographical and Historical Description of Boston* (12mo. Boston: 1817,) p. 136, prints extracts from the *Book of General Laws and Liberties concerning the inhabitants of the Massachusetts*, which he informs us was "published at Boston in May, 1649, "with this republican motto: 'Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist receive

"to themselves damnation.'—*Rom., xiii., 2.* "This work," he adds, "is alphabetically arranged."

The book from which Mr. Shaw made extracts was, I presume, a copy of the first edition of the Laws of Massachusetts, of which no copy is now known to be in existence.

BOSTON.

JOHN WARD DEAN.

EARLY PRINTING, IN THE WEST.—[*H. M., III., i., 120.*]

Father Gabriel Richard procured a printing-press and had it in operation, here, as early as 1809. During that year, he published a small bound volume with the following title: *L'Âme Pénitente ou le nouveau Pensez-y-Bien: Considérations sur les Vérités éternelles avec des Histoires & des Exemples.* Au Detroit: Imprimé par Jacques M. Miller. M.DCCC.IX.

So far as I know, this is the first book printed West of the Alleghanies.

DETROIT, MICH.

C. J. WALKER.

COLONIAL TEA-POTS.—[*H. M., III., i., 57.*]

I.

In the recently-published volume entitled *Princeton College during the Eighteenth Century*, by Samuel D. Alexander, under the head of PHILIP VICARS FITZHIAN, the following notice of the destruction of the tea, in New Jersey, will be found: "In connection with his class-mate, Andrew Hunter, and about forty other young patriots, he assisted in the destruction of a cargo of tea, at Greenwich, New Jersey. "This cargo had been brought over by the ship "Greyhound, which sailed up Cohansey-creek and deposited the tea in the cellar of a store-house which is still standing. In imitation of the proceedings of the Whigs of Boston, in 1773, and animated by the same patriotic spirit, this company of young men, disguised as Indians, assembled on the evening of the twenty-second of November, 1774; removed the chests of tea from the storehouse; conveyed them to an adjoining field; and there burned them."

This Mr. Fithian was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Philadelphia, but was never ordained, and died, in 1776, from disease contracted in camp. The Andrew Hunter, too, was a clergyman, serving in the Revolutionary Army and in the Navy; and died in 1823.

BROOKVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

II.

Permit me to refer you to Barber and Howe's *New Jersey Historical Collections*, page 145, Edition 1852, for a somewhat particular account

of the destruction of tea in New Jersey, in November, 1774. It was by fire—not by water.

In a small duodecimo, of one hundred and seventy pages, of an *Historical Account of the First Settlement of Salem, in West Jersey*, the story is told by R. P. Johnson. Barber and Howe have told the story in his words. The names of the principal actors are given, and how they escaped punishment. Johnson's little book was published in Philadelphia, in 1839. Possibly it is in the New York Historical Society's Library.

NEWARK, N. J.

SAMUEL H. CONGAR.

III.

I enclose an account of the tea affair referred to. You will notice that it took place in Cumberland, not Salem, County. See Mulford's *History of New Jersey*, page 391, where Johnson's *History of Salem* is quoted, and a buncombe description in Elmer's *History of Cumberland-county*, page 15, where it is stated that forty persons, disguised as Indians, destroyed the tea with the approbation of the County Committee.

NEW YORK.

WM. KELBY.

[ENCLOSURE.]

[From Dunlap's *Pennsylvania Packet*, Monday, January 9, 1775.]

At a general meeting of the Inhabitants of the County of Cumberland, in New Jersey, held at Bridgetown, on Thursday, the 22d day of December, 1774.

The articles of the Association entered into by the American Continental Congress being publicly read, were unanimously approved of; whereupon it was resolved, that a committee of thirty-five persons be appointed to carry the same into execution throughout the county; * * * *

As soon as the committee were chosen, they were publicly informed, that a quantity of Tea had been secretly landed at Greenwich, and that the inhabitants of that town had taken the alarm, and had chosen a *pro tempore* committee of five persons, to take care of the same until the committee of the county was chosen; the general committee then with drew, in order to consider what should be done in the affair, and came into the following resolution, namely, That this Committee, being ignorant of the principles on which the said tea was imported, or whence it came, and not being able to get information thereof, by reason of the importer's absence, do think it best to have it privately stored, and agree to meet at ten o'clock to-morrow, in order to take care of the same. Accordingly they met the next day agreeable to appointment, and found to their surprize that the tea had been destroyed, by persons unknown,

the night before, at the time the committee were sitting at Bridgetown; whereupon the committee further entered into the resolves following:

I. That we entirely disapprove of the destroying the above mentioned tea, it being entirely contrary to our resolves.

II. That we will not conceal, nor protect from justice, any of the perpetrators of the above fact.

Extracts from the Minutes of the Committee.

THOMAS EWING, Clerk.

MILES STANDISH.—[*II. M., III., i., 56.*]

DEAR MR. DAWSON: Your note of the tenth instant has this moment reached me, together with the query respecting Miles Standish. By the way, he wrote his Christian name *Myles*, as his autograph in my possession shows. If your quæst had looked into Allen, B. Knapp, or any good American Biographical Dictionary he would have seen that Captain Standish never belonged to Massachusetts; that he came to Plymouth with the first Pilgrims, in 1639, in the *Mayflower*; always lived in the Old Colony of Plymouth; and died in Duxbury, Oct. 3d, 1656. I do not remember ever having seen it stated that he belonged to any church. If his family in England, that is his ancestors, were Catholics, it was probably at a period so remote that it is not reached by records, or when the Catholic religion was the only religion in England.

Captain Standish came from Duxbury Hall, a noted place in the town of Standish, and County of Lancaster—that is, Lancashire. Duxbury, in the Colony of Plymouth, was so named on account of the Captains originating in Duxbury, County of Lancaster.

BOSTON.

SAMUEL G. DRAKE.

[NOTE ON THE ABOVE REPLY.—It is, certainly, a very hazardous operation even to seem to differ from the venerable and distinguished author of this Reply; but we venture to refer him and our readers to Captain Standish's signature to the proceedings of a town-meeting at Duxbury, November 7, 1639—*Plymouth Colony Records*, xii., 75—one appended, as a witness, to a Deed made by William Hillier of Duxbury, on the tenth of November, 1646—*Ibid*, 140—one certifying to a contract made by John Bulden, in December, 1648—*Ibid*, 164—one to an acknowledgement of a Deed, on the ninth of June, 1651—*Ibid*, 172—one to an acknowledgement of a Deed, on the third of September, 1649—*Ibid*, 183—one to an acknowledgement of a Deed, on the third of June, 1651—*Ibid*, 207—all of which are written *Miles*.

Again: he was officially recorded, among the Assistants, in 1633, as *Miles—Colony Records*,

x., 173—and again in the Roll of Freemen—*Ibid.* 174—and in all, except two, of the numerous official Court Records of the Colony, while he was a Magistrate, 1639–1653—*Ibid.*, *Judicial Acts*.

It is very true that in June, 1631, he signed his name as *Myles*—*Plymouth Colony Records*, xii., 16—again on the third of June, 1647—*Ibid.*, 144—and again, to the award of the arbitration on the division of the Brewster estate, on the twentieth of August, 1645—*Ibid.*, 117—and, in two cases, on the official records of the Court, while he was a Magistrate; but if there is any weight in numbers, of equal merit, the testimony is certainly overwhelming in favor of *Miles*.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

H. B. D.]

THE CAPTURE OF GENERAL RIALI.—[*H. M.*, II., viii., 54; III., i., 58.]

SALEM, MASS., Oct. 28, 1872.

HENRY B. DAWSON, ESQ.

DEAR SIR: In writing to you, some time since, I gave an anecdote, relating to the British General Riall, at one of the most memorable and hard-fought conflicts in the War of 1812, at Niagara, Bridgewater, or Lundy's Lane, as it is variously called. My object was to corroborate, for your satisfaction, a statement, made in a previous number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. I observe that you have printed it, under the head of "Replics," in your number for January, 1872.

Another reminiscence of the exploration, in 1822, of that battle-ground is, perhaps, worthy of preservation.

On passing over it, my attention was attracted to a rather fine looking mansion, on the summit of the land where the fight occurred, overlooking the entire area within which it took place, as well as the banks, rapids, and fall of the river Niagara. Enquiring of a person, whom I met at the time, I was told that it was the residence of Major Leonard, a retired officer of the British Army, High Sheriff of Upper Canada.

Richard Leonard commenced his military career in Egypt; served, under Wellington, in the Peninsula Campaigns; and throughout the War of 1812. He was distinguished for his high qualities as an officer, and bore honorable scars on his person. In one of the affairs, sortie, or assault, about Fort Erie, he was permanently crippled. His Regiment was at the extreme right of the British Army, in the Battle of Niagara, on the spot where his house stood. His life, as a soldier, began under the shadow of the Pyramids; and one of his last fights, where he spent the remnant of his days, was in sound and sight of Niagara Falls.

As we were natives of the same place, St.

John, New Brunswick, and our families had always been intimate, I called upon him, and was received in the most cordial manner.

As he limped along with me on his piazza and the grounds immediately around it, he pointed out the positions of the two Armies. Near at hand was the spot where a British battery was posted. He witnessed and described the famous assault upon it, commemorated in our military history.

The American Commanding-General, Brown, saw the importance and necessity of silencing this battery.

James Miller of New Hampshire was Colonel of a Regiment. General Brown, knowing his extraordinary courage and prowess, but also appreciating the almost desperateness of the undertaking, rode up to him and, not in the manner of an order, but of a suggestion, said, "Colonel Miller, that Battery must be taken: 'can you do it?'" Miller's answer has since been among the household words of America: "I will try, Sir." He instantly ordered his Regiment to fix bayonets; forbid them to return fire; gave the word, "Forward;" and led them on. As the British cannon mowed them down, the gaps silently closed up. On each discharge of the British artillery, Miller's voice was heard, above the dull roar of Niagara, below, in clear, firm tones, "Steady, Boys, 'Steady.'" The column moved on, without a falter; the enemy's gunners were bayonnetted at the side of their pieces; and the Battery was won.

Miller was forthwith brevetted Brigadier-general; and received the thanks of Congress, by whose order a gold medal was presented to him. He was afterwards Governor of Arkansas and, for many years, Collector of the Port of Salem. Major Leonard spoke in the highest terms of the gallant bearing of Miller and his heroic Regiment. It gives me pleasure to record this testimony of a brave enemy in honor of one long a townsman and friend, the integrity of whose life was equal to the intrepidity of his soul.

But the chief inducement to recall this interview with Major Leonard is this. He stated that, in his whole military experience, the Battle of Niagara was the only one in which armies met, in a general bayonet-charge, without any shrinking or swaying, on either side. Generally, there is more or less wavering; but when the contending forces, on this occasion, approached and met, the clash of bayonets was actually simultaneous, from one end of the line to the other. This declaration, made by one whose personal experience entitled him to speak with such authority, proves that the armies encountering each other on that bloody

night were alike worthy of the race from which both chiefly sprung.

SALEM, MASS.

C. W. UPHAM.

MACKENZIE'S LIVES OF VAN BUREN, ETC.—[*H. M., II., ix., 44.*]—In further reply to this Query, we have to say that we have excellent reason for supposing that, to some extent, at least, Mr. Mackenzie was assisted, in his preparation of those works, by his fellow exile, Doctor E. B. O'Callaghan, more recently known, so widely and so honorably, as the historian of New Netherland and editor of various works concerning the history of New York.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

H. B. D.

XIV.—WHAT WE HAVE TO SAY ABOUT IT.

[Under this caption, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE proposes to "have its say" on whatever, concerning the History, Antiquities, and Biography of America—living men and their opinions and conduct as well as dead men and dead issues—it shall incline to notice, editorially.]

A LETTER WHICH COST THE CITY FOUR THOUSAND DOLLARS—THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S PRIZE.

"The following was stolen from the city archives and sold by auction for twenty-five hundred dollars. Mayor Hall then sued the purchaser, and recovered it at a cost of four thousand dollars for legal expences. The Common Council are about to give it to the Historical Society:

"*To The Honble the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, & Commonalty of the City of New York.*

"GENTLEMEN, I receive your Address, and the freedom of the City with which you have been pleased to present me in a golden Box, with the sensibility and gratitude which such distinguished honors have a claim to.—The flattering expression of both, stamps value on the Acts; & call for stronger language than I am master of to convey my sense of the obligation in adequate terms.—

"To have had the good fortune amidst the vicissitudes of a long and arduous contest never to have known a moment when I did not possess the confidence and esteem of my country.—And that my conduct should have met the approbation, and obtained the affectionate regard of the State of New York (where difficulties were numerous & complicated) may be ascribed more to the effect of divine wisdom, which had disposed the minds of the people, harrassed on all sides, to make allowances for the embarrassments of my situation, whilst with fortitude & pa-

ience they sustained the loss of their Capitol and a valuable part of their territory—and to the liberal sentiments, and great exertion of her virtuous Citizens, than to any merit of mine.—

"The reflection of these things now, after the many hours of anxious solicitude which all of us have had, is as pleasing, as our embarrassments at the moments we encountered them, were distressing—and must console us for past sufferings & perplexities.

"I pray that Heaven may bestow its choicest blessings on your City—That the devastations of War, in which you found it, may soon be without a trace.—That a well regulated & beneficial Commerce may enrichen your Citizens.—And that your State (at present the Seat of the Empire) may set such examples of wisdom & liberality, as shall have a tendency to strengthen & give permanency to the Union at home—and credit & respectability to it abroad.—The accomplishment whereof is a remaining wish, & the primary object of all my desires

"G^o WASHINGTON" *

We cut the above from the *New York Sun* of Saturday, March 8, 1873, for the purpose of noticing some of the statements which are contained in it and of correcting some of the errors.

FIRST: It was stolen from the city; but no one who knew him will suppose, for a moment, that "the venerable antiquary," referred to, in the same paper, in the same connection, a few days previously—the late John Allen—ever "stole it," as was therein charged. He had owned it more than twenty years, when he died; and we know that he was never even suspected of the theft, by those who were best capable of judging.

SECOND: "The purchaser" of the letter, Mr. D. W. C. Lent, the bookseller in Grand-street—then a clerk in the employ of Sheldon & Co—was not "sued" for it, but Messrs. Bangs, Merwin, & Co., the auctioneers, in whose hands the letter was, the purchaser having declined to receive it.

The action was instituted by the Counsel of the Corporation, at our suggestion, after we had personally examined the letter and the endorsements on it and compared them with the record of the letter, on the manuscript Minutes of the Common Council; and we received the hearty approval of the venerable David T. Valentine, "the old Clerk", for having induced the Counsel to notice the matter. We have no doubt that

* The copy of the letter, as printed in the *Sun*, was so inaccurate that we have corrected the proof-sheet of this copy by comparing it with the original.—EDITOR.

the Mayor, Mr. Hall, also urged the matter, as Mr. Valentine did; and to them and to the Council, the city is chiefly indebted for the recovery of the letter.

THIRD: As the City was the winning party, in the action for the recovery of the letter, the Costs of that action necessarily fell on the losing party—Messrs. Bangs, Merwin, & Co., who defended the claim of the Allen Estate to the letter, against the City. We do not see, therefore, how the recovery of that letter could have cost the City anything worth noticing; and we have the authority of the Assistant Clerk of the Common Council for saying that it did not.

FOURTH: If the archives of the city are to be despoiled again and its files scattered, the New York Historical Society should not be made the Receiver. The Common Council is as capable of keeping that paper as any other; and if it is incapable of preserving its own records—of which this letter is a part—it ought to dissolve and return to its original elements.

We protest against any such disposition of the letter in question.

XV.—BOOKS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. SOZINER, ARMSTRONG, & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient to them.]

1.—*History of Ancient Woodbury, Connecticut, from the first Indian Deed in 1659 to 1871, including the Present Towns of Washington, Southbury, Bethlehem, Roxbury, and a part of Oxford and Middlebury.* By William Cothren. Waterbury, Conn.: William R. Seeley. 1871. Octavo, [L] xi., 2-823, vii; [U.] x., 841-1610, vi, iii.

Not far from twenty years ago, there was published a *History of Ancient Woodbury*, which, because of its completeness and evident accuracy, has, ever since, been recognized as one of the very best of American locals. It has gradually become scarce and, now, it is not often seen in the market.

The same industrious hand which wrote the work, probably encouraged by the merited praise which it had secured, seems to have been employed, these twenty years, in collecting material for a new edition—material for both the correction of the former volume and for the construction of a new one—and in the two partly volumes before us, we find the complete work, in all its fullness.

To those who are familiar with the volume which Mr. Cothren originally published, a description of the contents of the first of these volumes will be unnecessary, as they are believed to be the same, with here and there a correction. To those who do not know it, however, a brief description of its contents may be useful. Op-

ening with a *Physical History* of the territory of "Ancient Woodbury," the author follows with Chapters devoted to the *History of the Indian Purchases*; to the *Civil History* of the locality; to its *Indian History, Ecclesiastical History, and Revolutionary History*; to the *History of Southbury and South Britain Societies and the town of Southbury*; to the *History of Bethlehem Society and the Town of Bethlehem*; to the *History of Judea and New Preston Ecclesiastical Societies and the town of Washington*; to the *History of Roxbury Ecclesiastical Society and the town of Roxbury*; the *History of the other Churches beside the Congregational*; to the *History of the Strict Congregational Society in Woodbury*; to *Biographical Sketches of natives and residents of Ancient Woodbury, who have remained in the territory*—covering sixty-three pages—to similar Sketches of natives of the territory who have emigrated—covering sixty-nine pages—to a series of Genealogies of eighty-eight Woodbury families; and to fifty pages of *Statistics*—the whole bringing down the history of the ancient town and its inhabitants to 1854.

To that volume, as we have said, another has just been added, bringing the history of the town to May, 1872. Beginning, as before, with the *Physical History* of the territory, its Indian, Ecclesiastical, and Civil Histories successively follow—the latter including the Bi-centennial Celebration of the town, in 1859, the Masonic Centennial Celebration of 1865, and the First Church Bi-centennial Celebration of 1870, the latter including the services at the dedication of the "Fathers' Monument"—and they are succeeded by Chapters devoted, respectively, to *Woodbury in the great Rebellion*—extending over two hundred and sixty-five pages—*Crimes and Casualties*; a continuation of the *History of the Societies and Towns set off from Ancient Woodbury*; *Biographies and Autobiographies of natives, residents, and descendants of Ancient Woodbury*; *Genealogies* of Ancient Woodbury families; and *Statistics*. An Appendix, Table of Errata, and General Index of Names close the volume.

The preparation of the second volume, under any circumstances, would have imposed far less labor on its author than that of the first volume had done; but its contents are not less important to those who are interested in the history of Ancient Woodbury, because they relate to more recent events and have cost less labor in securing them. They were necessary to fill the measure of Ancient Woodbury's History; and the author has faithfully discharged the duty which he undertook to perform—the two volumes constituting, in their literary character, one of the most complete and satisfactory town-histories which has yet been published.

We wish we could approve its typographic and artistic claims to excellence, and endorse those which its excellent author has made in their behalf—the paper is, very often, too thin to prevent the letters from being seen on *both* sides of the leaves; and what seem, by others, to have been considered fine specimens of art, we consider to be mere caricatures, disfiguring the letter-press of the volume, and reflecting no credit on either the good taste or the professional skill of the gentleman who produced them.

If we understand the subject correctly, this new edition of this excellent work was published by subscription and with only a few extra copies, nearly all of which have been already sold: those of our readers who collect "locals," therefore, will do well to secure copies without unnecessary delay.

2.—*Zell's Descriptive Hand Atlas of the World.* By J. Bartholomew, Geogr. T. Ellwood Zell. Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, and New Orleans. Quarto. Parts I-X.

We have received from Mr. B. W. Bond, 5 Beckman-street, New York, the first ten parts of this work; and we have pleasure in calling our readers' attention to it.

The Maps in this Atlas are to number thirty-five; and are sixteen inches by eleven, from border to border; constructed on a large scale, "according to their relative importance from "an American point of view"—England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Norway and Sweden, France and Switzerland, for instance, being relatively larger than Turkey and Russia—and beautifully printed in colors. Each is accompanied with a complete index of all the names—*both in their local and their English forms*—which are to be found thereon, with references by means of which they may be easily found on the map itself; and, in addition, there is a mass of statistical information accompanying each which will be found exceedingly useful, for reference. A general index of names, containing every name given in every map, is promised at the close of the volumes.

In an Atlas—which, at best, is only a work for reference rather than for ordinary reading—it is primarily important that the Maps shall contain as much as possible without being so crowded with names that the whole become confused. There must be no muddle of names; and yet every name which will become an object of frequent search must be there. In making these Maps, there has been such excellent judgment displayed that there is unusual distinctness while there is, also, more than ordinary fullness of information; and the facility for finding any name, which, by means of mar-

ginal letters, has been furnished in the system of cross-references, render these maps more than usually convenient for every-day reference.

We shall refer, hereafter, to other features of this work; contenting ourselves with the present general observation that it promises to become the most convenient, as it certainly is the handsomest, of all the Atlases with which we are acquainted.

CATALOGUES.—At this season of the year, when old-fashioned people, in the olden time, were accustomed to plant in order that they might, subsequently, reap, those of us who live "out of town" are beginning to think what shall grow in our gardens and orchards, and of what kinds, the old or the new. To facilitate the selection and to tempt the cultivator, the various nurserymen, seedsmen, and florists, send Catalogues of their respective wares; and, both because of their beauty and their usefulness, these Catalogues are, in themselves, worthy of a passing notice in this place. We notice those of them which we have received, therefore, under the names of their respective publishers, alphabetically arranged.

—*B. K. Bliss & Son's Illustrated Spring Catalogue and Amateur's Guide to the Flower and Kitchen Garden, 1873*, Octavo, pp. 8, 196, is one of the largest and finest of the number, presenting not only carefully prepared descriptions of the extensive stock of seeds, plants, etc., which is kept for sale by its publishers—nearly every page of it having been elaborately illustrated by our friend and neighbor, William Mombberger—but, also, a series of hints on the cultivation of Flowers, and ample instructions for the preparation and management of hotbeds. In the nomenclature of seeds and plants, this Catalogue is especially noteworthy. It is illustrated, besides the myriad of wood cuts, with a chromo-lithographic folding plate, representing a group of flowers, twenty-five in number; and is, generally, very attractive.—*B. K. Bliss & Son, 23 Park place, New York.*

—*Briggs & Bro. Illustrated*, large octavo, pp. 136, is a very beautiful specimen of book-making, elaborately illustrated with wood-cuts of great excellence, and beautified with a good chromo and two colored wood-cuts. Besides the careful description of its publishers' stock of seeds, flowers, etc., it contains an illustrated paper on *Parlor and Window Gardening* and one on *Flowers and their Cultivation*; and, in every respect, it is one of the best and handsomest of the issues of the season. It is to be continued quarterly.—*Briggs & Bro., Rochester, N. Y.*

—*Dreer's Garden Calendar, 1873, Philadelphia*, duodecimo, pp. 161, is a plain, old-fashioned Catalogue of the stock of a plain, old-fashioned man, who makes no attempt to win patronage except by his plain, old-fashioned integrity and his honest representation of the articles he offers for sale. While others may have surpassed him in the extent and variety of their stocks in trade and the elegance of their Catalogues, we incline to the belief that the publisher of this comparatively homely little volume is their peer, in all the elements which constitute an honest, old-fashioned tradesman.—*Henry A. Dreer, 714 Chesnut-street, Philadelphia.*

—*Descriptive Catalogue of the Columbus Nursery. R. G. Hanford, Proprietor*, octavo, pp. 54, and the *Spring Catalogue of New and Beautiful Plants, 1873*, * * * grown and offered for sale by *R. G. Hanford, Columbus Nursery, Columbus, Ohio*, octavo, pp. 60, are plain Catalogues of the stock in trade of this well-known Western nurseryman, embracing fruit and ornamental trees and shrubs, grape-vines, roses, evergreens, etc., in great variety. As a denizen of the "Great West," the stock of the publisher, described therein, may be supposed to be adapted to the Western market: and, as such, we invite our Western subscribers' attention to it.—*R. G. Hanford, Columbus, Ohio.*

—*Peter Henderson & Co's Seed Catalogue, 1873*, octavo, pp. 96, and *Peter Henderson's Spring Catalogue of New Plants for 1873*, octavo, pp. 72, are also very neatly illustrated Catalogues of the stock in trade of their excellent publisher. Without pretending to as much decoration as some others, nor to as much artistic beauty in their wood-cut illustrations, they are, nevertheless, very handsome specimens of book-making; and the well-established reputation of the senior member of the firm warrants the extension of our invitation to our readers to notice these works.—*Peter Henderson & Co., 35 Cortland-street, New York.*

—*Richardson & Nicholas' Descriptive Catalogue of Fruit and Ornamental Trees, Shrubs, Vines, &c.*, octavo, pp. 72, is another of those plain, but neat, descriptive-lists of a nurseryman's stock in trade, which are intended for the use of plain people, engaged in the plain but useful occupation of beautifying their country homes and adding to their comfort. It makes no pretence to elegance; but its usefulness, among those who have occasion to refer to it, will not be measured by its plain appearance.—*Richardson & Nicholas, Geneva, N. Y.*

—*Vick's Illustrated Floral Guide for 1873*, octavo, pp. 132, is, all things considered, the

handsomest of the Catalogues which we have seen, and one of the best. Its wood-cuts are better specimens of art and are better printed; its chromo-lithographic illustration is better finished; its introductory matter is more varied and better illustrated; and, generally, it wears the appearance of having enjoyed more care in the finish of its details and of being, as a whole, more elegant. The preliminary *Hints on Sowing Seeds and Transplanting*, on the arrangement and beautifying of *Rural Homes*, on *Plants for Special Purposes*, and on *Exhibiting Flowers* will be very acceptable, in many quarters; but those who pay particular attention to such matters will regret that more care has not been taken in the nomenclature of the seeds and plants, in which, as we have said, the Catalogue of Bliss & Son surpasses all others which we have seen. This Catalogue is published quarterly.—*James Vick, Rochester, N. Y.*

—*Washburn's Amateur Cultivator's Guide to the Flower and Kitchen Garden*, octavo, pp. 4, 128, is another of the more elaborate Catalogues of the collection, embracing, besides the descriptive list of the publishers' stock in trade, *Brief Directions for the Cultivation of Annual, Biennial, and Perennial Flower-seeds*, *Special Directions to Amateur Cultivators*, instructions for the *Construction and Management of Hot-beds*, and an article on the arrangement of *The Flower-garden*. It is liberally illustrated with wood-cuts and a chromo-lithographic plate of a group of flowers; but it lacks that careful, artistic finish, in some of its parts, which we find in some others. The descriptive list of seeds, etc., appears to be tolerably complete; and, as a whole, it will be very acceptable to those for whose especial use it has been printed.—*Washburn & Co., 100 Tremont-st., Boston.*

—*Wood & Hall's Seed Catalogue for 1873*, octavo, pp. 80, is a neat descriptive list of its publishers' stock of seeds, bulbs, etc., preceded with brief papers on *Culture*, *How to lay out the Flower-garden and to select Plants*, on *Every Woman her own Flower Gardener*, and the *Classification of Plants*. It makes no pretension to superior elegance; but it is, nevertheless, a very neat affair; and it will be very acceptable to those of our friends, in Central New York, into whose hands it may fall.—*Wood & Hall, Geneva, N. Y.*

—*The press of other duties has prevented us from resuming, in this number, our usual attention to recent additions to the literature of the country, of which a large pile is before us. We shall do so, however, in the number of May.*

THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. I. THIRD SERIES.]

MAY, 1873.

[No. 5.

I.—CONFEDERATE LOVE-TAPS.

GENERAL BRAXTON BRAGG AND THE GENERALS OF HIS COMMAND.

It has been the general fate of armies, in every service, to be racked with dissensions and feuds, more or less violent; and those dissensions and feuds, like all others, have generally produced more or less ill consequences, both to those who have personally participated in them and to the causes in which the armies, themselves, have been respectively engaged. With our referring to others, the anti-Schuyler combination of New England officers, the anti-Armistead party which forced its victim into treason, the anti-Stark clique which drove the gallant New Hampshire-man out of the regular service and led him to fight the Battle of Bennington as a *State* officer and not with a *Continental* commission; and the anti Washington party, in the Army and in the Congress, which disgraced Charles Lee, and Horatio Gates, and Thomas Conway, and Samuel Adams, are known to all who have carefully studied the history of that period; while General Scott's feud with General Brown, the disgraceful sacrifice of General Hull, and the troubles endured by Generals Miller, Izard, and Brown, during the War of 1812; the serious dissensions, during the War with Mexico, between General Scott, on the one hand, and Secretary Marcy and Generals Taylor, Wool, and Worth, on the other; and the combinations and intrigues which were directed against General McClellan and those who were regarded as his friends, to say nothing of less notable instances, in the recent Civil War, are well known, both in themselves and their consequences, the country over. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the Confederate States' Armies, also, should have had their local jealousies and their internal quarrels—more or less serious in their character and effects—and there is nothing, on that particular account, for which either of those Armies can reasonably be reproached as less fortunate than their neighbors, Confederate or Federal.

Among these Confederate love-taps—if we may be allowed to apply that term to those

family jars, among our Southern antagonists, which, even in their worst forms, failed to render those who participated in them a particle less vigilant or a whit less effective in their opposition to the common enemy—one of the most notable was that in which, suddenly, General Bragg became involved with the leading Generals of his command, in January, 1863, and, subsequently, that in which General John C. Breckinridge was engaged, in opposition to General Braxton Bragg, because of alleged inaccuracies in the official Report of the Battles before Murfreesboro', in December, 1862, and January, 1863, tending, as the former seemed to suppose, to the injury of his good name as a soldier and an officer. It is our purpose, therefore, to raise the curtain which, hitherto, has concealed the greater portion of those memorable quarrels from the public eye, and, from original papers which are before us and, generally, hitherto unpublished, to let the world into some of the secrets of other and more exciting times than these.

I.

THE FEUD BETWEEN GENERAL BRAGG AND THE GENERAL OFFICERS OF HIS COMMAND, JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1863.

It was the ill fortune of General Bragg, either with or without reasonable cause, to secure the ill-will of many of those, in command, with whom, from time to time, he was associated. His great abilities, as a soldier, were unquestionable; his personal courage was not impeached; his integrity, as a man, was not denied; but his rigidity, as a strict disciplinarian, his untiring energy, and his remarkable self-reliance very often created an undercurrent of bad feeling which sometimes found vent when a want of success, no matter from what cause, created a temporary feeling, in the popular mind, which was adverse to his reputation.

After the Battle of Shiloh and the subsequent evacuation of Corinth, General Beauregard surrendered the command of the Confederate States' Army of the Tennessee, because

of his ill-health; and General Bragg was appointed to succeed him. The movement of that Army into Kentucky, with even greater intentions, followed, with General Buell's counter-movement; and the action at Perryville, the retreat to Murfreesboro', the actions near the latter place, and the further retreat to Tullahoma—all of them now well known matters of history—filled the measure of the operations of General Bragg's command, during the latter portion of 1862 and the beginning of 1863.

It need not be supposed that, in the conduct of such a series of operations as these—at one time, buoyant with promises of eminent success and radiant with apparently well-founded hopes: at another and not distant day, embarrassed by unprovided-for disasters and chilled with disappointments, from unexpected, if not imaginary, sources—the judgment of such a General-in-chief as General Bragg was, could escape criticism, sometimes adverse criticism; and if those who were subordinate, thus informally adverse to him, sometimes compared notes and mingled their individual grievances and dissents, it need not, at any time, have been wondered at.

Under these circumstances, however, the disaffection could not be concealed from General Bragg, even if it had been desired to conceal it; and, on the eleventh of January, 1863, he boldly confronted the disaffected of his command, by addressing the following Circular-letter to his Corps and Division Commanders—we copy that which was addressed to General Breckinridge, *verbatim*, from the original, which is before us:

“HEAD QUARTERS ARMY OF TENNESSEE

“TULLAHOMA TENN January 11th 1863

“GENERAL:

“Finding myself assailed in private and public, by the Press in private circles, by officers and Citizens for the movement from ‘Murfreesboro’, which was resisted by me for some time after advised by my Corps and Division Commanders, and only adopted after hearing of the enemy’s reinforcements by large numbers from Kentucky, it becomes necessary for me to save my fair name, if I cannot stop the deluge of abuse, which will destroy my usefulness and demoralize this army. It has come to my knowledge that many of those accusations and insinuations are from Staff Officers of my Generals, who persistently assert that the movement was made against the Opinion and advice of their Chiefs, and while the enemy was in full retreat. False or true the soldiers have no means of judging me rightly or getting the facts, and the effect on them will be the same—a loss of confidence—and a consequent demoralization of the whole Army.

“It is only through my Generals that I can establish the facts as they exist. Unanimous, as you were in council, in verbally advising a retrograde movement, I cannot doubt that you will cheerfully attest the same in writing. I desire that you will consult your subordinate commanders, and be candid with me, as I have always endeavored to prove myself with you. If I have misunderstood your advice, and acted against your opinions, let me know it, in justice to yourselves. If on the contrary, I am the victim of unjust accusations, say so, and unite with me in staying the malignant slanders, being propagated by men who have felt the sting of discipline.

“Genl Smith has been called to Richmond, it is supposed with a view to supercede me. I shall retire without a regret, if I find I have lost the good opinion of my Generals, upon whom I have ever relied as upon a foundation of rock.

“Your early attention is most desirable and is urgently solicited.

“Most Respectfully

“Your Ob’t Serv’t

“BRAXTON BRAGG,

“Genl. C. S. A.

“Maj Genl BRECKINRIDGE

“I enclose copies of a joint note received about 2 o’clock A. M. from Maj Genl Cheat-ham and Withers on the night before we retired from Murfreesboro’, with Lt. Genl Polk’s endorsement, and my own verbal reply to Lt. Richmond, Gen Polk’s Aide-de-camp.

“BRAXTON BRAGG,

“Genl C. S. A.”

[ENCLOSURE.]

“A” 12-15 A M

“HEAD QURS IN THE FIELD

“MURFREESBORO TENN

“Jany 3^d 1863

“GENL

“We deem it our duty to say to you frankly that in our judgement this army should be promptly put in retreat— You have but *three* Brigades that are at all reliable and even some of these are more or less demoralized from having some Brigade Commanders who do not possess the confidence of their Commands. Such is our opinion and we deem it a solemn duty to express it to you. We do fear great disaster from the condition of things now existing and think it should be averted if possible.

“Very respectfully Yours &c

“B F CHEATHAM

“Maj Genl C. S. A.

“J M WITHERS

“Maj Genl &c

"To

"Genl B BRAGG

"Comdg &c

"A true copy.

"KINLOCH FALCONER,

"A. A. Genl"

[THE "ENDORSEMENT," BY GENERAL POLK,
AND GENERAL BRAGG'S "VERBAL REPLY,"
REFERRED TO, IN THE POSTSCRIPT OF GEN-
ERAL BRAGG'S CIRCULAR-LETTER.]

"B"

"Copy"

"1:30 A. M., January 3^d.

"MY DEAR GENERAL:

"I send you the enclosed
paper, as requested. And I am compelled to
add; that, after seeing the effect of the oper-
ations of to-day, added to that produced upon
the troops by the battle of the 31st, I very
greatly fear the consequences of another en-
gagement at this place on the ensuing day.
We could now, perhaps, get off with some
safety and with some credit, if the affair was
well managed. Should we fail in the medi-
tated attack, the consequence might be very
disastrous.

"Hoping you may be guided aright, what-
ever determination you may reach,

"I am, Very Truly, Yours,

"(Signed) L. POLK.

"Lieut Genl.

"I certify the above is a true copy.

"KINLOCH FALCONER,

"A. A. G.

"To this Genl Bragg replied through Lt.
Richmond 'Say to Genl Polk we shall hold
our own at every hazard.'"

It will be seen that, in fact, General Bragg had done nothing else, in his Circular-letter, than to ask those to whom it was sent for the means "to establish the facts" concerning the retreat from *Murfreesboro'*, by committing to writing what they had said, verbally, on that subject, when, prior to its execution, their advice was asked concerning it. He also asked them, in that Circular-letter, to consult their subordinates, on the subject submitted, and to be candid, in their replies; and, as far as we can understand his words, not a single subject beside that was submitted to them. Some of his Generals, however, conceived that he had also submitted to them and to those who were subordinate to them the determination of the grave questions of *his own capability to command* and the propriety of *his withdrawal from the command of the Army*; and some of them, under that erroneous impression, hastened to occupy, uninvited, the delicate role of witnesses against their Commanding General,

before himself, on the subject of his own character, as a soldier and an officer, and his fitness for the post of duty in which, by the orders of the Confederate States Government and his own acceptance, he had been placed. That error seems to have originated with General Hardee and his Division Commanders; and, it may be, much of the ill feeling which subsequently arose between General Bragg and that portion of his command may be traced to that cause.

One of the Corps Commanders, General Smith, had been ordered to Richmond, and so was not involved in this peculiar investigation; * but, on the day after the transmission of the Circular referred to, Lieutenant-general William J. Hardee, also a Corps Commander, replied to it, as follows—we copy from an official copy, signed by General "T. B. Roy, Chief of Staff: "

"TULLAHOMA TENN

"12th Jany 1863

"GENERAL

"I have the honor to acknowledge
the receipt of your note of yesterday in which
after informing me of the assaults to which
you are subjected, you invoke a response in
regard to the propriety of the recent retreat
from Murfreesboro and request me to consult
my subordinate Commanders in reference to
the topics to which you refer—

"You will readily appreciate the delicate
character of the inquiries you institute, but I
feel under the circumstances that it is my duty
to reply with the candor you solicit— not only
from personal respect to yourself but from the
magnitude of the public interests involved—

"In reference to the retreat you state that the
movement from Murfreesboro was resisted by
you for some time after advised by your Corps
and Division Commanders—

"No mention of retreat was made to me until
early on the morning of the 3^d of Jany when
Lieut Richmond of Genl Polk's staff read me
the General's note to you and informed me of
your verbal reply— I told him under the cir-
cumstances nothing could be done then— About
10 o'clock the same day I met you personally
at your quarters in compliance with your re-
quest. Lt Genl Polk being present— You in-
formed us that the papers of Genl McCook had
been captured and from the strength of his
Corps 18,000, it appeared that the enemy was
stronger than you had supposed— that Genl
Wheeler reported he was receiving reinforce-
ments heavily and after informing us of these
facts, suggested the necessity of retreat and
asked my opinion as to its propriety— Having
heard your statements and views— I fully con-

* General Bragg's Circular-letter of January 11, 1863.

"curred, and it was decided to retreat— No proposition was made by me or my Division Commanders to retreat, which was resisted by you for sometime— and I recall your attention to the fact— Afterwards in the evening about 7 O'clock we met to arrange details, and the retreat being still deemed advisable and having been partially executed, I concurred in an immediate movement in view of the heavy losses we had sustained and the condition of the troops—

"You also request me to consult my subordinate Commanders stating that Genl Smith has been called to Richmond with the view it was supposed to supersede you— and that you will retire without regret if you have lost the good opinion of your Generals upon whom you have ever relied as upon a foundation of rock—

"I have conferred with Major Genl Breckinridge and Major Genl Cleburne in regard to this matter and I feel that frankness compels me to say that the General Officers whose judgement you have invoked are unanimous in their opinion that a change* in the command of this Army is necessary— In this opinion I concur— I feel assured that this opinion is considerably formed and with the highest respect for the purity of your motives, your energy and your personal character— but they are convinced, as you must feel, that the peril of the country is superior to all personal considerations—

"You state that the staff officers of your Generals joining in the public and private clamor have within your knowledge persistently asserted that the retreat was made against the opinion and advice of their chiefs— I have made inquiries of the gentlemen associated with me and they inform me that such statements have not been made or circulated by them

"I have the honor, General, to assure you of my continued respect and consideration

"Your obt Sert

"W. J. HARDEE

"Lt Genl

"Official

"sg. T. B. ROY

"Chief of Staff"

The third Corps Commander, Lieutenant-general Leonidas Polk, was in North Carolina, when the Circular-letter of General Bragg was issued; and not until six days after its date did it reach him, in Asheville, in that State. With commendable caution, however, he immediately dispatched a messenger advising General Bragg of

his absence; but, at the same time, he informed the General that he would leave there "in two days;" and, on his arrival at the Headquarters of the Army, he would furnish the reply to the Circular-letter which the latter desired.*

Having, meanwhile, reached the camp, on the thirtieth of January, General Polk addressed the following note of enquiry to General Bragg:

"TULLAHOMA TENN

"Jany 30 1863

"GENERAL

"Your circular of the 11th was received by me at Asheville N C on the 17th I dispatched you immediately saying I would leave for your Headquarters in two days thereafter and would furnish you the reply you desired on my arrival

"There seemed to be two points of enquiry embraced in your note— First, whether the Corps and Division Commanders to whom it is addressed were willing to give you a statement in writing of the opinions and counsel which they gave you verbally as to the retreat from Murfreesboro— Second— whether you had lost the confidence of your General Officers as a military commander— From the structure of your note, the first of these enquiries seems to be its leading object; the second, though not so clearly and separately stated, nevertheless is to my mind plainly indicated—

"Upon inquiry I find this indication seems not to have been so clear to the mind of General Cheatham and such other of my subordinate officers as responded when they penned their replies. And since in your note you appeal to our official relations, and to our candor for a frank expression of our opinion, I feel to avoid being placed in a false position, that it is due to my subordinate Officers and to myself as well as to you, to ask whether the construction I put upon your note is that you design

"Very respectfully

"Your obt Sert.

"L. POLK

"Lt Genl

"Comdg

"General BRAXTON BRAGG

"Comdg Army of Tenn—"

To this note of inquiry General Bragg returned the following reply:

"TULLAHOMA Jany 30 1863

"GENERAL.

"I hasten to reply to your note of this morning so as to place you beyond all

* Thus written in the official copy; but undoubtedly intended for "change."

* General Polk to General Bragg, "TULLAHOMA, TENN., "Jany 30, 1863."

"doubt in regard to the construction of mine of the 11th inst.

"To my mind that Circular contained but *one* point of inquiry, and it certainly was intended to contain but one. And that was to ask of my Corps and Division Commanders to commit to writing what had transpired between us in regard to the retreat from Murfreesboro. I believed it to have been grossly and intentionally misrepresented—not by any one of them—for my injury.

"It was never intended by me that this should go further than the parties to whom it was addressed; and its only object was to relieve my mind of all doubt, whilst I secured in a form to be preserved the means of defense in the future when discussion might be proper.

"The paragraph relating to my supercedure was only an expression of the feelings with which I should receive your replies, should they prove I had been misled in my construction of your opinions and advice—

"I am General Very Respty &c.

"BRAXTON BRAGG

"Genl Comdg

"Lt Gen POLK

"&c &c &c."

Having thus informed himself, exactly and officially, concerning General Bragg's desires in the premises, General Polk addressed the following general reply to the Circular-letter of the former, to which we have referred :

"TULLAHOMA Jan'y 31, 1863

"GENERAL

"I am in receipt of yours of the 30th in reply to mine of the same date— In it you say you designed your circular should contain but *one* point of inquiry— and that was whether your Corps and Division Commanders would give you for future reference a statement of what transpired between us in regard to the retreat from Murfreesboro—

"I have therefore now to say that the opinions and counsel which I gave you on that subject prior to the retreat are those that are embodied in my endorsement of the note of my Division Commanders Genls Chentham and Withers of the 3^d of Jan'y which are in your possession; and I have to add that they were deliberately considered and are such as I would give again under the same circumstances—

"I have the honor to be

"Very Respectfully

"Your obt Svt

"L POLK

"Lt Gen Comdg

"Gen B BRAGG

"&c &c &c"

While the Corps Commanders were thus dealing with General Bragg's Circular-letter, the Division Commanders in General Hardee's command—Generals Breckinridge and Cleburne—were not idle; and they, too, seem to have inclined to censure the commanding General. They had already done so, formally, through their immediate commander, General Hardee, as will be seen by reference to the letter of the latter, already quoted,* but they seem to have resolved to make more emphatic replies, over their respective signatures. We copy the reply of General John C. Breckinridge thereto, from the original draft, in pencil, in the General's handwriting:

"HEAD QUARTERS BRECKINRIDGE'S DIVISION

"TULLAHOMA TENN January 12th 1863

"GENERAL

"In answer to your letter of yesterday I have the honor to state that in a Council at your Head quarters on the evening of the 3^d of January, at which Lt Gens Polk and Hardee, and Major Gen Cleburne were the other officers present, I advised you to retire from before Murfreesboro the same night. About 12 o'clock of that day Lt Gen Hardee informed me that a retrograde movement had been resolved upon, and as my Division was to cover the movement of his corps he authorized me to make preliminary arrangements, but directed me not to give a final order, and also desired me to be present at your Head quarters at 7 o'clock in the evening. During that afternoon the baggage and Ordnance trains were moved down the Shelbyville and Manchester turnpikes, as I understood, by your order.

"The question at the Conference on the evening of the 3^d was—not whether the Army should fall back—that movement had been determined on and in part executed, before I was called into Council—but whether the movement of the troops should be postponed for twenty four hours, to communicate with Brig Gen Wheeler (then supposed to be near Laverne) and more thoroughly to clear up our rear. I advised that the movement should take place that night; and it just to you to add that if I had been in consultation on the morning of that day when it was resolved to retire I would have approved the movement.

"I do not enter into the reasons which governed my advice, since your communication does not ask for them, but confines itself to the necessity of the retreat at the time it was commenced.

"In obedience to your wishes I have this day had a conference with the Brigade Com-

* Vide pages 259, 260, ante.

"manders of my Division—Gens Pillow and Preston, and Cols Trubue and Gibson. These gentlemen were not sure as to the points upon which you desired their views, since they were not called into Council on the question of retiring the Army; But after carefully reading your letter they supposed that you desired their opinion in regard to the retreat, and to the confidence, or want of it, in you as a Commander on the part of the officers and troops. Accordingly, acting with the candor which you invoke, they request me to say that in their opinion the Conduct of the military operations in front of Murfreesboro made it necessary and proper for our Army to retire. They also request me to say that while they entertain the highest respect for your patriotism it is their opinion that you do not Possess the confidence of the Army to an extent which will enable you to be usefull as its Commander. In this opinion I feel bound to state that I concur.

"You State as within your own knowlege that Staff officers of your Generals have persistently asserted that our retreat was made in opposition to the wishes of their chiefs. I can speak only for my own Staff, and have the honor to state that after thorough enquiry, I have reason to bleive that representations of the Character to which you refer have not been made by any member of my Staff.

"In closing, General, I have the honor to state that the Brigade Comdrs of my Division, spoke of you throughout, in terms of high personal respect, and to add that in this regard I fully share their feelings.

"Very Respectfully

"Your Obt Servt

"JOHN C BRECKINRIDGE
Major Gen

"Gen BRAXTON BRAGG
"C S A"

Major-general P. R. Cleburne made the following reply to General Bragg's Circular-letter:

"TULLAHOMA Jan'y 13th 1863

"GENERAL

"I have received your communication of the 11th inst, with enclosures, and will answer candidly as you desire.

"I understood the retrograde movement to have been decided upon, and partially executed, before we met in Council on Saturday night (the 3^d inst) and the only question presented to me and the only question before us there, to be, whether the movement should be suspended as far as practicable for twenty four hours— To this I replied, that in my opinion it could be suspended— I offered advice on no other point.

"Subsequently on learning fully the condition of Gen Polk's Corps, and General Breckinridge's Division, I felt it my duty to say to you, that in answering as I had just done, I had looked only to the condition of my own Division. that it had been successful in the fight, and notwithstanding its losses and weariness, was still capable of making a firm resistance: that I was also influenced by the fact that my men had had no sleep the previous night, having suffered and repelled a night attack of the enemy and immediately thereafter been moved from the extreme left to the right of the Army, which led me to fear that in case of a retreat, involving, as it must, the loss of another night's rest, large numbers of my men would fall out by the way, and I might in this manner lose as many as in an attack by the enemy in our then position— I further stated that in case the enemy attacked us, I believed the chances were in favor of our repulsing him, but that it might turn out otherwise, and that it was for you to decide whether our cause should be risked on a cast, the issue of which was doubtful that I believed the final success of our cause depended in a great measure upon the safety of this Army.

"I have consulted with all my Brigade Commanders at this place as you request— showing them your letter and enclosures, and they unite with me in personal regard to yourself, in a high appreciation of your patriotism and gallantry and in a conviction of your great capacity for organization, but at the same time they see, with regret, and it has also met my observation that you do not possess the confidence of the army in other respects, in that degree necessary to secure success.

"I have, General,

"the honor to be Respty

"Your obt Servt

"P R CELBURNE
Maj Gen

"Gen BRAXTON BRAGG
"Comdg Army of Tenn."

In the meantime, while his Generals were thus impeaching him before the tribunal of his own conscience, General Bragg seems to have sternly accepted the proffered issue and promptly made preparations for his defense. One of the letters which were sent to him, responsive to inquiries instituted by him, is before us; and we have pleasure in presenting a copy of it to our readers:

"TULLAHOMA Jan'y 13 1863

"Gen! BRAXTON BRAGG

"MY DEAR SIR

"During the Engagement at Murfreesboro I was in the City of Nashville a

"Close Observer of the Federal Movements in
 "Constant Association with leading & most
 "Reliable of our Southern Friends & I state
 "with perfect Confidence that the Universal Im-
 "pression was that on Thursday & Friday Genl
 "Rosecrans was reinforced by Twenty To Twen-
 "ty Five Thousand Troops
 "The larger portion of these were drawn from
 "the line of the Louisville & Nashville Rail
 "Road. Seven Thousand passed through the
 "City of Nashville on the Afternoon of Fri-
 "day & consisted of Three Regiments East
 "Tennessee Troops Two Regiments from Indiana
 "with a large number of Convalescents I also
 "heard from reliable & intelligent Federal Offi-
 "cers the above Statement repeatedly & Consist-
 "ently confirmed

"With great Respect

"General

"THOMAS YEATMAN"

We have no means for determining how long this unpleasant controversy continued; but from the fact that a letter was written by General Bragg, on the fifteenth of April, more than three months after the date of that portion of the correspondence already quoted—also for the purpose of obtaining information concerning the conferences of General Polk and other General Officers, at Bardstown and Perryville, months before—it is evident that the feud was not then healed. The reply to his enquiry—a copy of the original, verified by the autograph signature of General Buckner, himself—is before us and will serve to throw light on the temper of the officers, not only at the time of the conferences of the General Officers concerning which General Bragg desired information, but at that time, when General Buckner declined to communicate the desired information to his General-in-chief. That reply is in these words, printed, *verbatim*, from the verified copy referred to:

"HD. QRS. DEPT. GULF,

"MOBILE, April 26th 1863.

"GENERAL.

"Your letter of the 15th instant has
 "been recd. You ask me: 'if I deem it con-
 "sistent with my sense of duty' to inform you
 "how far I may have sustained Lt. Genl. Polk
 "in his acknowledged disobedience of orders in
 "his conduct at Bardstown and Perryville Ken-
 "tucky, as based upon the opinions of certain
 "councils assembled by his orders at those points.
 "At the first council alluded to in your note,
 "I was not present, but was with you at Lexing-
 "ton and Frankfort.

"My views of that portion of the Campaign,
 "you can probably recall; as in interviews at
 "each of those cities, I gave my opinion when

"sought by you with the candour I have ever
 "used towards my superior.

"I was present at the consultation of General
 "Officers at Perryville, and at the request of Lt.
 "Genl. Polk, who was my commander, gave my
 "views of what, in my opinion, was the proper
 "course to be adopted, under the circumstances
 "in which that portion of the Army found itself
 "at the time.

"Without obtruding my opinion upon him
 "more than I had done at other times upon
 "yourself I expressed it when called upon to do
 "so, with the same sincerity I have ever shown
 "towards you.

"With a desire to act in accordance with my
 "duty, and with proper deference to yourself,
 "I have considered for several days, the course
 "I should pursue in replying to your letter.

"While I have never sought responsibility, I
 "have certainly never shrunk from any which
 "appropriately belonged to me, and I desire to
 "avoid none which may now attach to any opin-
 "ion held, or expressed by me, on the occasion
 "to which you direct my attention.

"But I cannot, consistently with my sense of
 "propriety and self respect, and my regard for
 "the public interest, reply to your questions.

"My regard for you, personally, induces me
 "to assign a few reasons for my action.

"1st It is improper for me to reply categori-
 "cally to your questions, because my views were
 "given as a matter of duty, on the requirement
 "of Lt. Genl. Polk. They were used, or re-
 "jected by him at the time, on his own respon-
 "sibility, and therefore, any official demand for
 "information in regard to him, should be sought
 "through that channel.

"2nd. It is inconsistent with my feelings of
 "self respect to reply, because the subject may
 "become one of legal investigation; and I con-
 "sider it unworthy the commission I hold, to
 "make myself, in advance, a party either to aid
 "the prosecution of an officer, on the one hand,
 "or to defend a subordinate against the legiti-
 "mate authority of his superior, on the other.
 "All the facts within my knowledge, can be
 "elicited before the proper tribunal.

"3^d. It would be hurtful to the public inter-
 "est for me to reply, because, whatever state-
 "ment I may make to you, in reference to the
 "action of Lt. Genl. Polk, I must, as an officer,
 "and a gentleman, make equally to him, to-
 "gether with the occasion which calls upon me
 "to respond. Such a result would not tend to
 "promote that degree of harmony which should
 "always exist between the first and Second in
 "command, and in my opinion the public inter-
 "est has suffered sufficiently in consequence of
 "the unfortunate differences which have pre-
 "vailed in the army of Tennessee.

"Such are the chief reasons which have influenced the character of my reply. It has been made in no unkind spirit, but with a sense of what I think is due to you, to myself, and to the public interest.

"I cannot close this letter, General, without incurring the risk of appearing, perhaps obtrusive. Our acquaintance has been brief, and neither my military position, nor my personal relations, justify me in advising you. But the latter, though they have never been intimate, have not been unkind; and as your military subordinate, even when I may have differed with you officially, I have received every consideration at your hands, and have ever found you sensitive to the public good. It is therefore with a confidence that you will receive what I say, in the kind spirit in which it is urged, when I venture upon giving unsought advice.

"It was the remark of Turinne when acknowledging a military fault that: 'He must have made war but a short time indeed, who had not committed errors.' The remark is as applicable now as it was then; and every Officer in his distinct sphere of duty, must expect the legitimate criticisms of the public, and of military men. It is true that these criticisms may sometimes be urged with intemperance; but that should not the less prevent us from awaiting the matured verdict of public opinion, and of history.

"As to what may have occurred since the Kentucky campaign, I am not fully advised; but from my associations, with the General Officers of your Army in Kentucky, I feel warranted in stating that, while there were essential differences of opinion in regard to the general conduct of the Campaign, you were sustained in your authority by the whole weight of their character. There was a disposition amongst all with whom I was thrown, to lend their ability and their zeal to carry out successfully, the determination at which you arrived.

"I think they were alive to the difficulties which surrounded you, and did not view your actions in a critical or censorious spirit, even when their views may have differed from yours. From my knowledge of these gentlemen as soldiers of ability and distinction, I think I do not hazard too much in saying that you can, without difficulty still secure their earnest co-operation and support.

"In this view, I would consider it most unfortunate if I should take any step which might aggravate the feeling which public rumor imputes as existing between you and some of your subordinate commanders. I think the public interests which with every

"patriot should be superior to individual preference or fame, are deeply concerned in harmonious action between you and them.

"You have been sustained in your position, I understood, by the government. You, therefore, better than any one else, can afford to abide the judgment which history may pronounce on your actions. Whatever may be the asperities of feeling existing between you and your Generals, I feel assured from my personal knowledge of them, that they are as little disposed as you are, to set their own interests above the good of the Country. I believe that a frank, personal explanation with them, will be the means of removing any causes of dissatisfaction which may mutually exist; and at the expense of little personal pride on either part, result in public good.

"Though I have no claim to your intimacy, I profess to be sufficiently a patriot, and sufficiently your friend, to advise a course which would in my opinion, without any sacrifice of your personal dignity, redound so much to the advantage of the Republic.

"Believing that you will appreciate the motives which have induced me reluctantly to urge upon you these views; and that you will justify me in the candid manner in which I have conveyed them,

"I am General,

"Very respectfully & truly

"Your Obt. Svnt,

"S. B. BUCKNER.

"Maj. Genl. P. A. C. S.

"To

"Genl BRAXTON BRAGG

"Comdg Army of Tennessee

"TULLAHOMA,

"TENN."

Notwithstanding this unfortunate difference between the General-in-chief of the Army, and the General Officers of his command—a difference which, necessarily, was seriously detrimental to the usefulness of those officers, in that particular command, and as seriously antagonistic to the cause in which both they and their Commanding General were engaged—General Bragg was sustained by the President of the Confederate States and by those in authority, at Richmond; and not until the second of December following—and then only "upon renewed application to the President"—was he relieved from his command. In February, 1864, he was assigned to duty at Richmond and, under the direction of the President, charged with the conduct of all the military operations in the Armies of the Confederacy*—

* General Orders, February 24, 1864.

certainly the best evidence that, in his conduct of the military operations in Kentucky and Tennessee, he had met the entire approval of the Government, notwithstanding the distrust manifested by the General officers of his command, of which we have now recorded some of the evidence. Such of our readers who may, hereafter, have occasion to notice the details of the history of the military operations in Tennessee and Kentucky, during the recent War, will cheerfully bear witness to the great importance of that evidence.

II.

GENERAL BRECKINRIDGE'S DISAFFECTION BECAUSE OF GENERAL BRAGG'S REPORT OF THE BATTLE OF STONE RIVER, FEBRUARY 23D, 1863.

The transfer of the command of the Army of the Tennessee to General Bragg was followed by preparations for the movement of that Army into Kentucky, possibly as far as Louisville; and, at that time, his relations with General John C. Breckinridge were of the most agreeable character. To such an extent, indeed, was the friendship of General Bragg manifested, that he appears to have communicated to General Breckinridge his most private thoughts, concerning the approaching movement, and to have desired, especially, the personal association of that gentleman, as a General Officer, in his command. We have before us a note which was written by General Bragg, at that time; and, in order that the temper of that gentleman and his friendly regard for General Breckinridge may be understood by our readers, we copy it, *verbatim*, from the original manuscript:

"CHATTANOOGA, 8th Aug^t.

"MY DEAR GENERAL.

"Having but time for a note by Mr. Johnston, I must leave him to explain what he knows or suspects of the future.

"My Army has promised to make me 'Military Governor' of Ohio in 'Ninety days,' (Sewards time for crushing the rebellion) and 'as they cannot do that without passing your home, I have thought you would like an escort to visit your family.

"Seriously—I should be much better satisfied were you with me on the impending campaign. Your influence in Ky. would be equal to an extra Division in My Army, but you can readily see my embarrassment. Your Division cannot be brought here now. To separate you from it might be injurious, and even unpleasant to you, and not satisfactory to Genl. Van Dorn. If you desire it and Genl. Van Dorn will consent, you shall come at

"once. A command is ready for you, and I shall hope to see your eyes beam again at the command 'Forward' as they did at Shiloh in the midst of our greatest success.

"Genl. Lovell is disengaged and might replace you, or I would cheerfully give Genl. Van Dorn any one I could spare.

"It would also please me to see Genl. Preston along, but I fear to make too great a draft on your command.

"It is agreeable to yourself and Genl. Van Dorn you have no time to lose. We only await our train, and the capture of the forces at Cumberland Gap—both of which we hope to hear from very soon.

"Our prospects were never more encouraging.

"Most respectfully

"& truly yours,

"BRAXTON BRAGG.

"Maj. Genl. J. C. BRECKINRIDGE

"&c. &c. &c."

We have not seen General Breckinridge's reply to this cordial letter; but, on the twenty-third of August, General Hardee sent the following dispatch on the same errand as the letter of General Bragg. We copy from the original, now before us:

"SOUTH-WESTERN TELEGRAPH COMPANY.

"Aug 24th 1862

"By Telegraph from Chattanooga, 23rd 1862

"To General BRECKINRIDGE

"Come here if possible. I have a splendid Division for you to lead into Kentucky to which will be attached all the men Genl. Van Dorn can spare to bring with you.

"W. J. HARDEE

"Maj. Genl."

The desire of General Bragg to secure the personal association of General Breckinridge, as a General Officer in his command, seems to have been distasteful to General Van Dorn, who was, then, the immediate Commander of General Breckinridge; and we copy a private note of the former, written a few days after General Bragg's note was written to General Breckinridge, evidently for the purpose of discouraging the transfer of the latter to General Bragg's command. It is in these words, copied, *verbatim*, from the original manuscript:

"JACKSON, MISS.

"August 25. 1862

"To

"Genl. BRECKENRIDGE

"GENL—

"The enclosed dispatch from Bragg explains itself. you will not have time to reach him—Organize your

"Division as soon as possible and let us push on with Price— A brilliant feild is before us yet—
 "Let us start as soon as possible— Set your officers to work We have transportation sufficient
 "And everything necessary— I go to Vicksburg for a few days— Give any orders in my absence you may deem necessary— I have directed my Staff Officers to observe them—

"Yrs truly
 "EARL VAN DORN
 "Maj Genl."

It is very evident, however, that General Breckinridge preferred to join General Bragg, in his projected movement into Kentucky; and, notwithstanding the kindness of General Van Dorn and his evident desire to retain him, on the same day on which the note of the latter, already quoted, was written, he sent the following dispatch to General Hardee, accepting the Division which the latter had proffered to him, on the twenty-third, and promising to take the command of it, at an early day:

"JACKSON MISS.
 "Aug 25th 62

"Major Genl HARDEE
 "CHATTANOOGA.

"Reserve the Division for me—
 "I will leave here in a few days with a small force of Kentuckians and Tennesseans
 "JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE
 "Major Genl"

Two days afterwards, General Bragg addressed the following letter to General Breckinridge, which we copy, *verbatim*, from the original manuscript:

"CHATTANOOGA,
 "27th August, 1862.

"MY DEAR GENERAL,
 "We leave here tomorrow for your beloved home. Would that you were with us. Your Division is ready as soon as you join, but you must hurry up to overtake us. Buell is anxious apparently to get to Cincinnati before us, but we envy him the honor.

"Genl. Jones has orders to organise, arm and equip, all stragglers, recovered sick, and there from leave & have them ready to join you. The Quarter Masters Dept. has orders to be ready to send you on. Move with 100 rounds of ammunition and twenty five days rations.

"We go by way of Sparta & Burkesville, into the heart of Kentucky.

"Yours Most Truly,
 "BRAXTON BRAGG.
 "Genl. Comg.

"Maj. Genl. J. C. BRECKINRIDGE,
 "&c. &c. &c."

It appears, however, notwithstanding the anxiety of Generals Bragg and Breckinridge, that the latter was not enabled to leave Mississippi, to take his place in the Army commanded by the former, for several weeks after the date of General Bragg's letter, last quoted; and the following dispatchs—the first, copied from the original: the second also copied from the original, in pencil, in General Breckinridge's handwriting, will tell their own story:

I.

"SOUTH-WESTERN TELEGRAPH COMPANY.

"HOLLY SPRINGS Sept 17 1862

"By Telegraph from Glasgow Ky - - - 1862

"Via Chattanooga

"To Maj Gen. J C BRECKINRIDGE

"Relying on your co operation our spare arms were left to be escorted by you. We are sadly disappointed without them and Kentucky would be safe. I trust you are not sick

"BRAXTON BRAGG."

II.

"HOLLY SPRINGS MISS

"Sept 17 1862

"Gen BRAXTON BRAGG

"To be sent from Chattanooga.

"I have been detained by orders here. But I leave in a day or two, via Chattanooga, will bring your arms, and will move with great speed.

"JOHN C BRECKINRIDGE

"Major Gen C S A
 "copy & send dispatch to Chatt."

But General Breckinridge, after some delay, was relieved from his command, in Mississippi, and hastened to join General Bragg, then moving, northward, toward Kentucky. There can be no doubt that he was welcomed, as few others would have been; and, as his presence was regarded, by General Bragg, as an equivalent to the addition of a Division to the military strength of the invading Army,* there can be little reason for supposing that, at that time, there was not the most perfect harmony between him and his new Commanding General. How speedily and how completely that friendship was broken—we do not pretend to know by whom the first blow was struck against it—it is now our duty to notice.

It will be remembered that the Battle of Stone's-river, which was fought on Friday, the second of January, 1863, was followed by the withdrawal of the Confederates from their positions before Murfreesboro' to another, behind

* General Bragg to General Breckinridge, August 8, 1862—page 265, *ante*.

Duck-river; and it will have been seen, in the first part of this paper, that that retrograde movement was succeeded by an outburst of fault-finding, among the officers as well as the men, concerning the manner in which the Army had been handled by General Bragg, both before and after the Battle. This dissatisfaction with the Commanding General, it will be remembered, assumed, on its face, only a disagreement concerning the movement from Murfreesboro'; but, in reality, it was seated on earlier events; embraced the general conduct of the Campaign; and threatened the most serious results.

It will be remembered, too, that among those officers who hastened, on that occasion, when asked to give information considered necessary for the justification of General Bragg's conduct, to impeach their Commanding General of incapacity in the conduct of the Army, was General Breckinridge, who, a few weeks before, as we have seen, had enjoyed that General's peculiar confidence and regard; and it is fair to suppose that, at the time of which we write, there was not much friendship remaining, between General Breckinridge and the General commanding the Army.

While these disturbing elements were in full play, General Bragg collected the Reports of his subordinate officers and prepared his own Report, as General in command of the Army, of the operations before Murfreesboro', including the Battle of Stone's river and the subsequent retreat; and, bearing date the twenty-third of February, 1863, that important document was duly forwarded to Richmond. It was in these words, carefully reprinted from a copy, in the *Knoxville Register* of April 29, 1863, which is said to have been the first published copy of it:

"HEAD QUARTERS, ARMY OF TENNESSEE,
"TULLAHOMA, 23d Feb'y, 1863.

"SIR: On the twenty-sixth of December last, "the enemy advanced in force from Nashville, "to attack us at Murfreesboro'. It had been "well ascertained that his strength was over "sixty thousand effective men. Before night, "on that day, the object of the movement was "developed by our dispositions, in front, and "orders were given for the necessary concentration of our forces, then distributed as follows: "Polk's Corps and three Brigades of Breckinridge's Division—Hardee's Corps—at Murfreesboro'. The balance of Hardee's Corps "near Eagleville, about twenty miles West of "Murfreesboro'. McCown's Division—which, "with Stevenson's Division removed, constituted Smith's Corps—at Readyville, twelve miles "East of Murfreesboro'. The three Cavalry "Brigades of Wheeler, Wharton, and Pegram,

"occupying the entire front of our Infantry and "covering all approaches to within ten miles of "Nashville. Buford's small Cavalry Brigade "of about six hundred at McMinnville. The "Brigades of Forrest and Morgan, about five "thousand effective Cavalry, were absent, on "special service, in West Tennessee and Northern "Kentucky, as will be more fully noticed hereafter. Jackson's small Infantry Brigade was "in rear, guarding the railroad from Bridgeport, Alabama, to the mountains. On Sunday, "the twenty-eighth, our main force of Infantry "and Artillery was concentrated in front of "Murfreesboro'; whilst the Cavalry, supported "by three Brigades of Infantry and three Batteries of Artillery, impeded the advance of the "enemy by constant skirmishing and sudden, "unexpected attacks. To the skillful manner "in which the Cavalry, thus ably supported, "was handled, and to the exceeding gallantry "of its officers and men must be attributed "the four days' time consumed by the enemy in "reaching the battle-field, a distance of only "twenty miles from his encampment, over fine "macadamized roads.

"Fully aware of the greatly superior numbers "of the enemy, as indicated in my early Reports "from this quarter, it was our policy to await "attack. The position was selected and line "developed with this intention. Owing to the "convergence upon our depot of so many fine "roads, by which the enemy could approach, "as will appear from the enclosed Map marked "1, we were confined in our selection to a line "near enough the point of juncture to enable "us to successfully cover them all, until the real "point of attack should be developed.

"On Monday, the twenty-ninth, it was reported that heavy columns moved on both the "direct road from Laverne and on the one "leading into the Lebanon-road, by way of "Jefferson. But, on Tuesday, the thirtieth, it "was ascertained that the Jefferson-pike was "abandoned by a counter-march; and the whole "forces of the enemy were concentrated on and "near the direct road on the West of Stone's "river. The dispositions made for the unequal "contest will appear from the enclosed Map "marked '2,' and the copy of memoranda to "General and Staff officers marked '3.'

"These arrangements were all completed before the enemy crossed Stewart's-creek, nine "miles out; and the Infantry Brigades were at "once called in, and the Cavalry was ordered "to fall back more rapidly, having most gallantly discharged its duty and fully accomplished "the objects desired. Late on Monday, it became apparent the enemy was extending to his "right, to flank us, on the left. McCown's Division, in reserve, was promptly thrown to that

“flank, and added to the command of Lieutenant-general Polk. The enemy not meeting our expectations of making an attack on Tuesday, which was consumed in artillery-firing and heavy skirmishing, with the exception of a dash, late in the evening, on the left of Withers's Division, which was repulsed and severely punished, it was determined to assail him, on Wednesday morning, the thirty-first.

“For this purpose, Cleburne's Division—Hardee's Corps—was moved from the second line on the right to the corresponding position on the left; and Lieutenant-general Hardee was ordered to that point, and assigned to the command of that and McCown's Division. This disposition, the result of necessity, left me no reserve; but Breckinridge's command, on the right, now not threatened, was regarded as a source of supply for any reinforcements absolutely necessary to other parts of the field. Stone's river, at its then low stage, was fordable, at almost any point, for Infantry, and, at short intervals, perfectly practicable for Artillery.

“These dispositions completed, Lieutenant-general Hardee was ordered to assail the enemy, at daylight, on Wednesday, the thirty-first, the attack to be taken up by General Polk's command, in succession, to the right flank; the move to be made by a constant wheel to the right on Polk's right flank, as a pivot—the object being to force the enemy back on Stone's river, and, if practicable, by the aid of Cavalry, cut him off from his base of operations and supplies, by the Nashville-pike.

“The lines were now bivouacked at a distance, in places, of not more than five hundred yards, the camp-fires of the two being within distinct view. Wharton's Cavalry Brigade had been held on our left, to watch and check the movements of the enemy, in that direction, and to prevent his Cavalry from gaining the railroad in our rear, the preservation of which was of vital importance. In this he was aided by Brigadier-general A. Buford, who had a small command of six hundred new Cavalry. The duty was most ably, gallantly, and successfully performed.

“On Monday night, Brigadier-general Wheeler proceeded with his Cavalry Brigade and one Regiment from Pegram's, as ordered, to gain the enemy's rear. By Tuesday morning, moving on the Jefferson-pike, around the enemy's left flank, he had gained the rear of their whole Army, and soon attacked the trains, their guards, and the numerous stragglers. He succeeded in capturing several hundred prisoners and destroying hundreds of wagons loaded with supplies and baggage. After clearing the road, he made his way entirely around, and joined the Cavalry on our left.

“The failure of General McCown to execute, during the night, an order for a slight change in the line of his Division, and which had to be done the next morning, caused some delay in the general and vigorous assault by Lieutenant-general Hardee. But about seven o'clock, the rattle of musketry and roar of artillery announced the beginning of the conflict. The enemy was taken completely by surprise; General and Staff-officers were not mounted; Artillery-horses not hitched; and Infantry not formed. A hot and inviting breakfast of coffee and other luxuries to which our gallant and hardy men had long been strangers, was found upon the fire, unserved, and was left, whilst we pushed on to the enjoyment of a more inviting feast, that of captured artillery, flying Battalions, and hosts of craven prisoners, begging for the lives they had forfeited by their acts of brutality and atrocity. Whilst thus routing and pushing the enemy, on his front, Lieutenant-general Hardee announced to me, by a messenger, that the movement was not being as promptly executed by Major Cheatham's command, on his right, the left of General Polk's Corps, as he expected; and that his line was consequently exposed to an enfilade fire from the enemy's artillery, in that front. The necessary instructions for prompt movement at that point were immediately dispatched; and, in a short time, our whole line, except Breckinridge's command, was warmly engaged. From this time, we continued to drive the enemy, more or less rapidly, until his line was thrown entirely back, at right angles to his first position, and occupied the cut of the railroad, along which he had massed his Reserves and posted very strong Batteries. A reference to the Map No. 2. will show this second and strong position.

“The enemy's loss was very heavy, in killed and wounded—far exceeding our own, as appeared from a critical examination of the field, now almost entirely in our possession. Of artillery alone we had secured more than twenty-five pieces.

“Whilst the Infantry and Artillery were engaged in this successful work, Brigadier-general Wharton, with his Cavalry command, was most actively and gallantly engaged on the enemy's right and rear, where he inflicted a heavy loss in killed and wounded; captured a full Battery of Artillery endeavoring to escape; and secured and sent in near two thousand prisoners.

“These important successes and results had not been achieved without heavy sacrifices on our part, as the resistance of the enemy, after the first surprise, was most gallant and obstinate.

"Finding Lieutenant-general Hardee so formidably opposed by the movement of the enemy to his front, reinforcements for him were ordered from Major-general Breckinridge; but the orders were countermanded, as will hereafter appear, and Polk's Corps was pressed forward, with vigor, hoping to draw the enemy back, or route him on the right, as he had already been on the left. We succeeded in driving him from every position, except the strong one held by his extreme left flank, resting on Stone's-river, and covered by a concentration of artillery of superior range and calibre, which seemed to bid us defiance. The difficulties of our general advance had been greatly enhanced by the topography of the country. All parts of our line had to pass in their progress over ground of the roughest character, covered with huge stones, and studded with the densest growth of cedar, the branches reaching the ground, and forming an almost impassable 'brake.' Our artillery could rarely be used, while the enemy, holding defensive lines, had selected formidable positions for his Batteries and this dense cover for his Infantry, from both of which he had to be dislodged by our Infantry, alone. The determined and unvarying gallantry of our troops, and the uninterrupted success which attended their repeated charges against these strongholds, defended by double their numbers, fully justified the unbounded confidence I had ever reposed in them, and had so often expressed.

"To meet our successful advance and retrieve his losses in the front of his left, the enemy early transferred a portion of his Reserve, from his left to that flank, and, by two o'clock, had succeeded in concentrating such a force in Lieutenant-general Hardee's front, as to check his further progress. Our two lines had, by this time, become almost blended, so weakened were they by losses, exhaustion, and extension to cover the enemy's whole front. As early as ten o'clock, A. M., Major-general Breckinridge was called on for one Brigade, and soon after for a second, to reinforce or act as a reserve to Lieutenant-general Hardee. His reply to the first call represented the enemy crossing Stone's-river, in heavy force, in his immediate front; and on receiving the second order, he informed me that they had already crossed, in heavy force, and were advancing to attack his lines. He was immediately ordered not to await attack, but to advance and meet them. About this same time, a report reached me that a heavy force of the enemy's Infantry was advancing on the Lebanon-road, about five miles in Breckinridge's front. Brigadier-general Pegram, who had

been sent to that road, to cover the flank of the Infantry with his Cavalry Brigade—save two Regiments detached with Wheeler and Wharton—was ordered forward immediately to develop any such movement. The orders for the two Brigades from Breckinridge were countermanded; whilst dispositions were made, at his request, to reinforce him. Before they could be carried out, the movement ordered disclosed the fact that no force had crossed Stone's-river; that the only enemy in our immediate front, then, was a small body of sharpshooters; and that there was no advance on the Lebanon-road. These unfortunate misapprehensions on that part of the field, which, with proper precaution, could not have existed, withheld from active operations three fine Brigades until the enemy had succeeded in checking our progress, had re-established his lines, and had collected many of his broken Battalions.

"Having now settled the question that no movement was being made against our right, and none even to be apprehended, Breckinridge was ordered to leave two Brigades to support the battery at 'A,' on his side of Stone's river, and with the balance of the force to cross to the left and report to Lieutenant-general Polk. By the time this could be accomplished, it was too late to send this force to Lieutenant-general Hardee's support, who was unable to make further progress, and he was directed to maintain his position. Lieutenant-general Polk was directed, with these reinforcements, to throw all the force he could collect upon the enemy's extreme left, and thereby either carry that strong point, which had so far resisted us successfully, or, failing in that, at least to draw off from Hardee's front, the formidable opposition there concentrated.

"The three Brigades of Jackson, Preston, and Adams were successively reported for this work. How gallantly they moved to their task, and how much they suffered in the determined effort to accomplish it, will best appear from Reports of subordinate Commanders and the statement of losses, herewith. Upon this flank, their strongest defensive position resting on the river-bank, the enemy had concentrated not less than twenty pieces of artillery, masked almost entirely from view; but covering an open space in front, of several hundred yards, supported—right, left, and rear—by heavy masses of Infantry.

"This position proved impracticable; and, after two unsuccessful efforts, the attempt to carry it by Infantry was abandoned. Our heaviest batteries of artillery and rifled-guns of long range were now concentrated in front

"of their fires, opened upon this position. "After a cannonade of some time, the enemy's fire slackened, and finally ceased, near night-fall. Lieutenant-general Hardee had slightly retired his line from the furthest point he had attained, for better position and cover, without molestation from the enemy.

"Lieutenant-general Polk's Infantry, including the three reinforcing Brigades, uniting their front with Hardee's right, and extending to our extreme right flank, formed a continuous line very nearly perpendicular to the original line of battle, thus leaving nearly the whole field, with all its trophies—the enemy's dead and many of his wounded, his hospitals and stores—in our full possession. The body of Brigadier-general Sill, one of their Division commanders, was found where he had fallen, and was sent to town and decently interred, though he had forfeited all claim to such consideration, by the acts of cruelty, barbarity, and atrocity, but a few days before, committed under his authority, on the women and children and old men living near the road, on which he had made a reconnoissance.

"During the afternoon, Brigadier-general Pegram, discovering a hospital and large numbers of stragglers, in rear of the enemy's lines, and across Stone's-river, charged them with his Cavalry, and captured about one hundred and seventy prisoners.

"Both Armies, exhausted by a conflict of full ten hours' duration, rarely surpassed for its continued intensity and heavy losses sustained, sunk to rest with the sun; and perfect quiet prevailed for the night.

"At dawn, on Thursday morning, the first of January, orders were sent to the several commanders, to press forward their skirmishers, feel the enemy, and report any change in his position. Major-general Breckinridge had been transferred to the right of Stone's-river, to resume the command of that position, now held by two of his Brigades. It was soon reported that no change had occurred, except the withdrawal of the enemy from the advanced position occupied by his left flank. Finding, upon further examination, that this was the case, the right flank of Lieutenant-general Polk's Corps was thrown forward to occupy the ground for which we had so obstinately contended, the evening before. This shortened our line, considerably, and gave us possession of the centre battle-field, from which we gleaned the spoils and trophies, throughout the day, and transferred them rapidly to the rear.

"A careful reconnoissance of the enemy's position was ordered, and the most of the

"Cavalry was put in motion for the roads in his rear, to cut off his trains and develop any movement. It was soon ascertained that he was still in very heavy force all along our front, occupying a position strong by nature and improved by such work as could be done at night by his Reserves.

"In a short time, reports from the Cavalry informed me that heavy trains were moving towards Nashville, some of the wagons loaded, and all the ambulances filled with wounded. These were attacked, at different places; many wagons were destroyed; and hundreds of prisoners paroled. No doubt this induced the enemy to send large escorts of Cavalry, Artillery, and Infantry, with later trains; and thus the impression was made on our ablest Commanders, that a retrograde movement was going on.

"Our forces, greatly wearied and much reduced by heavy losses, were held ready to avail themselves of any change in the enemy's position; but it was deemed inadvisable to assail him as there established. The whole day after these dispositions was passed without an important movement, on either side; and was consumed by us in gleaning the battle-field, burying the dead, and replenishing ammunition.

"At daylight, on Friday, the second, orders to feel the enemy and ascertain his position were repeated, with the same result. The Cavalry-Brigades of Wheeler and Wharton had returned, during the night, greatly exhausted from long-continued service, with but little rest or food to either man or horse. Both Commanders reported the indications from the enemy's movements the same. Allowing them only a few hours to feed and rest, and sending the two detached Regiments back to Pegram's Brigade, Wharton was ordered to the right flank, across Stone's-river, to assume command in that quarter, and keep me advised of any change. Wheeler, with his Brigade, was ordered to gain the enemy's rear again, and remain until he could definitely report whether any retrograde movement was being made.

"Before Wharton had taken his position, observation excited my suspicions in regard to a movement having been made by the enemy across Stone's river, immediately in Breckinridge's front. Reconnoissances by several Staff-officers soon developed the fact that a Division had quietly crossed, unopposed, and established themselves on and under cover of an eminence marked 'B' on the Map number 2., from which Lieutenant-general Polk's line was commanded and enfiladed. The dislodgment of this force or the withdrawal of Polk's line was an evident necessity. The latter involved consequences not to be entertained. Orders were

“accordingly given for the concentration of
 “the whole of Major-general Breckinridge’s
 “Division in front of the position to be taken.
 “The addition to his command of ten Napoleon
 “guns, twelve-pounders, under Captain F. H.
 “Robertson, an able and accomplished Artillery-
 “officer, and for the Cavalry forces of Wharton
 “and Pegram, about two thousand men, to
 “join in the attack on his right. Major-gen-
 “eral Breckinridge was sent for, and advised
 “of the movement and its objects—the securing
 “and holding the position which protected
 “Polk’s flank, and gave us command of the en-
 “emy’s, by which to enfilade him. He was
 “informed of the forces placed at his disposal,
 “and instructed with them to drive the enemy
 “back, crown the hill, entrench his artillery,
 “and hold the position.

“To distract their attention from our real ob-
 “ject, a heavy artillery-fire was ordered to be
 “opened from Polk’s front, at the exact hour at
 “which the movement was to begin. At other
 “points, throughout both lines, all was quiet.
 “General Breckinridge, at half past three, P.M.,
 “reported he would advance at four. Polk’s
 “Batteries promptly opened fire, and were soon
 “answered by the enemy. A heavy cannonade
 “of some fifteen minutes was succeeded by the
 “fire of the musketry, which soon became gen-
 “eral. The contest was short and severe—the
 “enemy was driven back and the eminence
 “gained; but the movement, as a whole, was a
 “failure; and the position was again yielded.
 “Our forces were moved, unfortunately, so far
 “to the left, as to throw a portion of them into
 “and over Stone’s-river, where they encountered
 “heavy masses of the enemy; whilst those
 “against whom they were intended to operate,
 “on our side of the river, had a destructive en-
 “filade on our whole line. Our second line was
 “so close to the front as to receive the enemy’s
 “fire, and returning it, took their friends in the
 “rear. The Cavalry-force was left entirely out
 “of the action. Learning, from my own Staff-
 “officers, sent to the scene of the disorderly re-
 “treat being made by General Breckinridge’s
 “Division, Brigadier-general Patton Anderson’s
 “fine Brigade of Mississippians, the nearest
 “body of troops, was promptly ordered to his
 “relief. On reaching the field and moving for-
 “ward, Anderson found himself in front of
 “Breckinridge’s Infantry, and soon encountered
 “the enemy’s light troops close upon our Artil-
 “lery, which had been left without support.
 “This noble Brigade, under its cool and gallant
 “chief, drove the enemy back, and saved all
 “the guns not captured before its arrival.
 “Captain F. H. Robertson, after the disabling
 “wound received by Major Graves, General
 “Breckinridge’s gallant and efficient Chief of

“Artillery, took the entire charge of the Artil-
 “lery of the Division, in addition to his own.
 “To his gallantry, energy, and fearlessness, is
 “due the smallness of our loss, sustained before
 “the arrival of support, only three guns. His
 “Report, herewith, marked ‘4,’ will show the
 “important part he played in this attack and
 “repulse. Before the end of the whole move-
 “ment, it was quite dark. Anderson’s command
 “held a position next the enemy, corresponding
 “nearly with our original line; whilst Breckin-
 “ridge’s Brigade Commanders collected their
 “scattered men, as far as practicable, in the
 “darkness, and took irregular positions on An-
 “derson’s left and rear. At daylight, in the
 “morning, they were moved to the front, and
 “the whole line re-established, without opposi-
 “tion. During the night, Major-general Cle-
 “burne’s Division was retransferred to its
 “original position, on the right, and Lieutenant-
 “general Hardee directed to resume his com-
 “mand there, and restore our line. On Saturday
 “morning, the third, our forces had been in
 “line of battle five days and nights, with but
 “little rest, having no Reserves; their baggage
 “and tents had been loaded, and the wagons
 “were four miles off; their provisions, if cooked
 “at all, were most imperfectly prepared, with
 “scanty means; the weather had been severe
 “from cold and almost constant rain; and we
 “had no change of clothing, and, in many
 “places, could not have fires. The necessary
 “consequence was, the great exhaustion of both
 “officers and men, many having to be sent to
 “the hospitals, in the rear; and more still were
 “beginning to straggle from their commands,
 “an evil from which we had, so far, suffered but
 “little. During the whole of this day, the rain
 “continued to fall with little intermission; and
 “the rapid rise in Stone’s-river indicated that it
 “would soon be unfordable. Late, on Friday
 “night, I had received the captured papers of
 “Major-general McCook, commanding one Corps
 “d’Arme of the enemy, showing their effective
 “strength to have been very nearly, if not quite,
 “seventy thousand men. Before noon, reports
 “from Brigadier-general Wheeler satisfied me
 “that the enemy instead of retiring, was receiv-
 “ing re-inforcements.

“Common prudence and the safety of my
 “Army, upon which even the safety of our
 “cause depended, left no doubt, in my mind, as
 “to the necessity for my withdrawal from so un-
 “equal a contest. My orders were accordingly
 “given, about noon, for the movement of the
 “trains and for the necessary preparation of
 “troops.

“Under the efficient management of the dif-
 “ferent Staff departments, everything had been
 “secured and transferred to the rear, including

"prisoners captured, artillery, small-arms, subsistence, means of transportation, and nearly all of our wounded able to bear moving. No movement of any kind was made by the troops, on either side, during the most inclement day, until just at night, when a sharp skirmish occurred between Polk's right and the enemy's left flank, resulting in nothing decisive. The only question with me was, whether the movement should be made at once or delayed twenty-four hours, to save a few of our wounded. As it was probable we should lose, by exhaustion, as many as we should remove of the wounded, my inclination to remain was yielded. The whole force, except the Cavalry, was put in motion at eleven o'clock, P.M., and the Army retired, in perfect order, to its present position, behind Duck-river, without receiving or giving a shot. Our Cavalry held the position before Murfreesboro' until Monday morning, the fifth, when it quietly retired, as ordered, to cover our front.

"We left about one thousand, two hundred badly wounded, one half of whom, we learn, have since died from the severity of their injuries; about three hundred sick, too feeble to bear transportation; and about two hundred well men and medical officers as their attendants. In addition to this, the enemy had captured about eight hundred prisoners from us. As the twelve hundred wounded are counted once, under that head, among our losses, they should be excluded in the general total. As an offset to this loss, we had secured—as will appear from the Report of my Inspector-general, herewith, marked '5'—considerably over six thousand prisoners, had captured over thirty pieces of artillery, six thousand stand of small arms, a number of wagons, ambulances, mules, and harness, with a large amount of other valuable property, all of which was secured, and appropriated to proper uses. Besides all this, seemed, we had destroyed not less than eight hundred wagons, mostly laden with various articles, such as arms, ammunition, provisions, baggage, clothing, medicines, and hospital-stores. We had lost three pieces of artillery only, all in Breckinridge's repulse. A number of stands of colors, nine of which are forwarded with this Report, were also captured on the field. Others known to have been taken, have not been sent in. The list marked '6' is herewith transmitted.

"A tabular statement of our forces, marked '7,' is herewith submitted, showing the number of fighting-men we had on the field, on the morning of the thirty-first of December, to have been less than thirty-five thousand, of which about thirty thousand were Infantry and Artillery. Our losses are also reported in

"this same comprehensive table, so as to show how much each Corps, Division, and Brigade suffered; and in the case of Breckinridge's Division, the losses are reported, separately, for Wednesday and Friday. These Reports are minute and suggestive, showing the severity of the conflict as well as where, when, and by whom it was sustained.

"Among the gallant dead the nation is called to mourn, none could have fallen more honored or regretted than Brigadier-generals James E. Rains and R. W. Hanson. They yielded their lives in the heroic discharge of duty; and leave their honored names as a rich legacy to their descendants. Brigadier-generals James R. Chalmers and D. W. Adams received disabling wounds, on Wednesday, I am happy to say not serious, but which deprived us of their valuable services. Having been under my immediate command since the beginning of the War, I can bear evidence to their devotion, and to the conspicuous gallantry which has marked their services, on every field.

"For the sacred names of other heroes and patriots, of lower grades, who gave their lives, illustrating the character of the Confederate soldier, on this bloody field, I must refer to the Reports of subordinate Commanders and to the list which will be submitted. Our losses, it will be seen, exceeded ten thousand—nine thousand of whom were killed and wounded.

"The enemy's loss, we have no means of knowing, with certainty. One Corps, commanded by Major-general Thomas L. Crittenden, which was least exposed in the engagement, reports over five thousand killed and wounded. As they had two other Corps and a separate Division, third of a Corps, and their Cavalry, it is safely estimated at three thousand killed and sixteen thousand wounded, adding the six thousand, two hundred, and seventy-three prisoners, and we have a total of twenty-five thousand, two hundred, and seventy-three.

"Lieutenant-generals L. Polk and W. J. Hardee, commanding Corps, Major-generals J. M. Withers and P. R. Cleburne, commanding Divisions, are specially commended to the Government, for their valor, skill and ability, displayed by them throughout the engagement.

"Brigadier-general J. Patton Anderson, for the coolness, judgment, and courage with which he interposed his Brigade between our retreating forces and the enemy largely superior to him, on Friday evening, and saved our artillery, is justly entitled to special mention.

"Brigadier-generals Joseph Wheeler and John A. Wharton, commanding Cavalry Brigades,

"were pre-eminently distinguished, throughout the action, as they had been, for a month previous, in many successive conflicts with the enemy. Under their skillful and gallant lead, the reputation of our Cavalry has been justly enhanced. For the just commendation of other officers, many of whom were pre-eminently distinguished, I must refer to the Reports of their more immediate commanders.

"To the private soldier, a fair meed of praise is due; and, though it is so seldom given and so rarely expected that it may be considered out of place, I cannot, in justice to myself, withhold the opinion, ever entertained and so often expressed, during our struggle for independence—in the absence of the instruction and discipline of old armies and of the confidence which long association produces between veterans, we have had, in a great measure, to trust to the individuality and self-reliance of the private soldier. Without the incentive or the motive which controls the officer, who hopes to live in history; without the hope of reward; and actuated only by a sense of duty and patriotism, he has, in this great contest, justly judged that the cause was his own, and gone into it with a determination to conquer or die, to be free or not to be at all. No encomium is to high, no honor too great, for such a soldiery. However much of credit and glory may be given, and probably justly given, to the leaders in our struggle, history will yet award the main honor where it is due—to the private soldier, who, without hope of reward, and with no other incentive than a consciousness of rectitude, has encountered all the hardships, and suffered all the privations. Well has it been said: 'The first monument our Confederacy rears, when our independence shall have been won, should be a lofty shaft, pure and spotless, bearing this inscription, 'To the unknown and unrecorded dead.'"

"The members of my Staff, arduously engaged in their several duties, before, during, and since the prolonged engagement, are deserving a mention in this Report. Lieutenant-colonels George G. Garner and G. W. Brent, and Captain P. H. Thompson, Adjutant and Inspector-general's Department.

"First Lieutenants Towson Ellis and F. S. Parker, regular Aids-de-Camp.

"Lieutenant-colonel Beard, Inspector-general; Lieutenant-colonels A. J. Hays and P. A. May, Majors James Strainbridge, Louisiana Infantry, and William Clarelate, Seventh Alabama Volunteers, Acting Assistant Inspector-generals; Lieutenant-colonel L. W. O'Bannon, Chief Quarter-master; Major M. W. McMicken, Assistant Quarter-master; Major J. J. Walker,

Chief Commissary; Majors F. Molloy and G. M. Hillyer, Assistants; Lieutenant-colonel H. Aladowski, Chief of Ordnance; Captains W. H. Warren and O. T. Gibbs, and Lieutenant W. F. Johnson, Assistants; Captain S. W. Steele, Acting Chief of Engineers, and Lieutenants H. C. Forie, H. H. Buchanan, and J. R. P. McFall; Lieutenant-colonel J. H. Hullonquist, Acting Chief of Artillery; First Lieutenant R. H. S. Thompson, Assistant; Surgeon A. J. Foard, Medical Director; Surgeon E. A. Flewellen, Assistant Medical Director; Acting Surgeon T. G. Richardson, attendant on myself, Staff, and escort; Colonels David Urquhart, of Louisiana, J. Stoddard Johnston, of Kentucky, and St. Leger Grenfell, of England—the two former volunteer Aids, long on my Staff—served me most effectually. Major E. W. Baylor, Assistant Quarter-master; Major B. C. Kennedy, Assistant Commissary of Subsistence; and Lieutenant William M. Bridges, Aid-de-camp to the late Brigadier-general Duncan, reported just before the engagement, and joined my Staff, on which they served through the battle.

"Colonel M. L. Clark, of the Artillery, P. A., being in Murfreesboro', on temporary service, did me the favor to join and serve on my Staff, during the engagement. His Excellency, Isham G. Harris, Governor of Tennessee, and the Hon. Andrew Ewing, member of the Military Court, volunteered their services and rendered me efficient aid, especially with the Tennessee troops, *largely in the ascendant in the Army*. It is but due to a zealous and efficient laborer, in our cause, that I here bear testimony to the cordial support, given me, at all times, since meeting him, a year ago, in West Tennessee, by His Excellency, Governor Harris. From the field of Shiloh, where he received, in his arms, the dying form of the lamented Johnston, to the last struggle at Murfreesboro', he has been one of us, and has shared all our privations and dangers, whilst giving us his personal and political influence, with all the power he possessed, at the head of the State Government.

"To the Medical Department of the Army, under the able administration of Surgeon Foard, great credit is due for the success which attended their labors. Sharing none of the excitement and glory of the field, these officers, in their labors of love, devote themselves, silently and assiduously, to alleviate the sufferings of their brother soldiers, at hours when others are seeking repose.

"The Reports of subordinate commanders have been specially called for, and are soon expected, when they will be promptly forwarded.

"During the time the operations at Murfrees-

"boro' were being conducted, important expeditions, under Brigadier-generals Forrest and Morgan, were absent in West Tennessee and Northern Kentucky. The Reports already forwarded show the complete success which attended these gallant Brigadiers and commend them to the confidence of the Government and gratitude of the country.

"I am, Sir, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"BRAXTON BRAGG,

"General Commanding.

"Gen. S. COOPER, Adj't Gen.,

"RICHMOND, VA."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

II.—AN ESSAY ON THE UNIVERSAL PLENITUDE OF BEING AND ON THE NATURE AND IMMORTALITY OF THE HUMAN SOUL AND ITS AGENCY.—

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 196.

BY ETHAN ALLEN, ESQR.

CHAPTER I

SECTION I

Of the essence of the soul, and of cogitative and incogitative entity in general.

It may be matter of doubt whether the wisdom of man, in this weak condition of being and action, is able to elucidate so intricate a subject as that of the essence of the soul; but as human science and knowledge is progressive, we can not determine to what attainments it may or may not arrive. A candid examination therefore into any part of nature, cannot be disservisable to us. If we make any new discoveries, we are wiser than we were before; and if we do not succeed in the investigation of the nature of the soul, or of universal entity, we shall have done the most that we could do to discover the truth, and shall have the satisfaction of reflecting, that had we not been thus inquisitive we should not have improved so far in knowledge as to have known but that we might have gone farther: we will therefore proceed with our enquiry into the essence of the soul.

The question, as we shall manage it, will not be whether the soul be material or immaterial, but whether the soul is a real substance or not. common sense assures us that those parts of entity that come within our observation, which we call matter, does not think, but is by nature incapable of reflection and consciousness; and since the soul is by nature capable of these intelligent exertions, we may with certainty infer

that the soul is not material; and if not material why not immaterial. In a strict sense it may be immaterial, or void of matter, but not in such a sense as to exempt it from substance; since, without substance, it would be incapable of possessing or Occupying place; which, if true, it could not possess or Occupy the Body, which we know to be in fact true.

That there is a union between soul and body, is a fact that none that have souls and bodies will dispute; but that an animal body should be united with a soul or spirit of no substance, is contradictory and impossible. It is the same as to join or unite nothing with something, which is manifestly absurd. But it may be premised, that the soul, though void of substance, is nevertheless intelligent, but such a querie as this would be begging the question, for that intelligence implies being as much as anything else. None will dispute but that the soul is intelligent, but the dispute is whether it is a real substance or not. The point to be proved on the part of my opponents, if I shall have any, is, that the soul may exert it self intelligently, or consciously, without substance, or that an intelligent being may be, and that its essence may be void of substance, which appears to me to be the same as to suppose that nonentity may exert or do acts of intelligence and consciousness; for there can be no attribute, property, or quality, to a premised being or soul, void of substance; any more than to nonentity. for instance we will examine into the manner of the existence of such a premised being. Is it local or boundless; has it a whereness or ubiquity: admitting it to be local, it must of necessary consequence have a circumference, and a circumference necessarily implies a real extension, and extension a substance, however inconceivable to us, (by reason of its subtile purity,) to occupy the contents of that extension, as nonentity could not do it. And on the contrary to ascribe ubiquity or omnipresence to it, would be a contradiction to its finitude or locality, as none but the infinite mind can be omnipresent, (of which more will be observed in its order.) From hence we infer that an intelligent finite being, perfectly exempted from all manner or kind of substance, can be neither bounded or unbounded and therefore could have no real existence, since there can be no being that has a positive existence but must come within one or the other of the descriptions of bounded or unbounded existence, (the latter of which is only applicable to God,) for there can be no third description of existence in the universe, that does not belong to the character of Either bounded or unbounded, limited or unlimited; and since the soul has a conscious knowledge of a finite existence, we infer, that its essence must exist of

some real substance though it be ever so ethereal, electrical, subtle, vivid and pure, or of what ever quality, property, or attribute we ascribe to it, and however imperceptible to our external senses, and incomprehensible to our understandings.

Though we are conscious of the existence and exercise of reflection, memory, contrivance, judgment and volition, with other exertions of the soul, which manifest its entity and agency, yet this our consciousness, does not make known to us the question now before us, whether the soul is a substance or not, nor is it in nature possible for our bodily senses, to have any perception of a soul, or mere spirit, whether that of our own or of others, therefore the question under consideration, concerning the substance of the soul, must be investigated by reason, if at all, since it is not from our mediate or natural sensations of things, nor from our immediate consciousness of the entity of our own souls, or of others, or from our agency and complicated modes of intelligent action, that we shall be able to investigate the intrinsic nature of the soul, for if we had senses nice enough to perceive the soul, or spiritual beings, they would with external objects in general, come within the knowledge of our perceptions, and thereby we should have been able to have conceived of their existence, as of external things, which would have rendered our present logical speculations unnecessary, or if our consciousness of a spiritual existence extended to the manner of its being we might thereby have understood whether the soul is a substantial, or an unsubstantial being or not, but since our senses perceive nothing of the soul, or of such kind of beings, and as our consciousness of such existences, does not extend to the manner of their existence, so far as to inform us relative to the substance of the soul, we must investigate the subject (if possible,) by reason.

Our senses discover to us that we have an organized Body, with its figure, size, and proportion, and we are conscious of intelligent being and agency, within the circumference of the body, and by experience know that (according to the Law of nature,) we can move and actuate ourselves at pleasure; yet we do not understand the intrinsic cause, or spring of motion in our bodies; so as to explain the manner of it, or to solve all questions concerning it: so that it remains a mystery to us how, from a mere volition of mind, our hands and feet obey us; for we cannot conceive of the manner of the operation of our spirits, or our Organized sensitive Bodies, yet since we know it to be a fact, we cannot but conclude, that the soul or active being in our compound nature has a real substance, since it produces

real motion in us, and since nonentity could not do it, any more than it could be capable of Existence. From hence we infer, that there is a pure cogitative substance in the nature of man, that performs those astonishing actions, of mind and body, which in its nature is not material and which we call by the name of Soul, mind Spirit &c. Thus, as all finite cogitative beings must have a place, if they have a real existence, and must be local, and have certain dimensions, and consist of some mysterious substance, to render them capable of occupying place (which to us seems to be absolutely essential, in order to have an existence) as a real existence must be somewhere if at all, since an existence no where is a manifest contradiction.

Furthermore, the essence of the soul, having been considered as a pure vivid substance, bids us of the before argued absurdity, of a union of a soul of no substance, to an animal and material body, which in its consequences is the same, as to unite nothing to some thing, and though this is impossible, it is not impossible to unite, a vivid, pure, cogitative substance, to a body of incogitative matter: such a union of different sorts of substances, one cogitative, and the other material, implies no contradiction, and at the same time constitutes the property of place to the soul, without which its entity could not be conceived of. That the soul resides in the body in this life we have an intuitive certainty, we therefore infer, that as it occupies space in this manner of being it must do the same in all and every circumstance and progression of its existence, whether we can perceive or understand the manner of its occupying space or not. If a human soul is premised to be in China it could not be in America at the same time, and if it has not a Capacity of possessing place, but is void of whereness, it could not be in China or in America or any where else, which according to our notion of things would preclude it from a real existence.

Furthermore, a premised soul that is by Nature incapable of possessing a place, would also be incapable of motion. It could not move from one Country or place to another, for motion implies real entity of something that is capable of possessing a certain local part of space, which constitutes the being or thing that moves, for nonentity is as incapable of motion as of existence.

When I think of China my soul is not in that Country but in my body, an historical knowledge of China has been communicated to my mind, which retains a remembrance of it, by the recollection whereof I am enabled to reflect thereon at pleasure, but neither my soul or body was ever in the Country of China,

nor is it yet four hundred years since the learned European part of the World, has known that there was such an antient and populous Nation in the World. The Portugues who first sailed round the cape of good-hope, made the first discovery of that great and powerful nation. From this and such like experimental discoveries we infer, that human souls do not rove about at random from their bodies, from place to place, or from Country to Country, for if they did the western part of the World, would have made a discovery of China, previous to the Portugues sailing (with their bodies and souls) round the Cape of good-hope, and exploring the Country. Furthermore, all circum-navigators and travellers have explored the several parts of the World by the united exertions of their souls and bodies; and since the soul is possessed of existence in this life, and does not separate, rove, or move from the body till Death, we infer, that it resides there till that period, is by nature a real substance and is propagated by natural generation with the body; as the apparent similitude of the genius of Children to their parents and near relations may witness, and though an animal body is necessary in Order to its propagation and continuance in this life, or mode of being, yet it is not essential to be continued with the soul during its existence, for if so, the soul could not survive the body, which will be farther considered in its proper place. Was it not that the soul was of some mysterious substance or other (to us,) it could not have been propagated with, and united to the body, or separated from it at Death. To be separated from the body or leave it, seems to us the same as to move from the wreck of the body, which without a real substance it could not do. And though the substance of the soul and its motion from the body at Death, to the region or place of its destined retribution, is to the survivors in life imperceptible, yet as the same soul occupied the body in life in an imperceptible manner as before argued, it must occupy space in its premised passage to its place of retribution, and at that place, and in all places of its existence it must Occupy space.

From hence we infer, that had not the soul been resident in the body in this life, it could not have been separated from it at death; and had it not been by nature a real substance, it would have been incapable of either a union with, or separation from the body; or a survival of it, however imperceptible and mysterious intellectual beings are to us in this frail condition of being.

When we endeavour to give a definition of a spiritual being, by placing certain ad-

jectives, to wit, subtle, etherial, electrical, vivid, pure and the like, before the word substance which is a substantive; we do not suppose that they give a true and perfect description of the essence of the soul, or of cogitative being in general; such a knowledge is undoubtedly beyond our perception, yet such like definitions may serve to shew negatively, that we do not mean to express in our Idea of the substance of the soul, that elementary fluxility of matter, which we denominate to be stupid or senseless. For though we cannot form a Just Idea of the nature of moral beings, yet we may and ought to preclude in our Idea of them, that kind of senseless matter which we ascribe to incogitative beings.

Having thus excluded matter from the Essence of the soul, which we are intuitively certain is a thinking being, we still proceed to query what is thought. It is the act of the soul. And what is the soul. Here our knowledge in great measure fails us for though our consciousness extends to the thoughts, (which are the exercises) of the soul, it does not extend to its essence; yet those actions of the soul of which we are conscious demonstrate the existence of the soul, since without an existence it could not act or display a rational nature. It may be premised that thought or reflection is the soul itself, or that its essence consists in thinking. Admitting this definition of the essence of the soul, and it affords no manner of solution to the question of the substance of the soul, for the same question will recur, whether there is any substance in thought or not. To say that the essence of the soul consist merely in thought, without determining whether thought is a substance or not, is saying nothing to the point at issue concerning the Essence of the soul.

Admitting the position that mere thought constitutes the essence of the soul, it alters not the force of the preceeding arguments; for if we call the soul by the name of thought, we must admit its entity and union with the body, and disunion from it at Death, and passage or motion from the corps to its place of retribution, in these and all other circumstances of being and action, thought or the soul, must occupy space as before argued. So that calling the soul by the name of thought, or by any other name, alters not the Arguments concerning the essence of the soul; or afford any solution to the subject matter of our inquiry. Finally though we can have no Just perception or comprehension of the essence of the soul; or of spiritual beings, yet we may understand from logical reasonings that they must be of some specific substance mysteri-

ous to us, so as to constitute their entity, and render them capable of possessing place. To suppose that any species of entity has no place, is a contradiction to the doctrine of entity it self, for that if it be in no place it would be no where, and if no where, it could not be entity but nonentity. From the foregoing conclusion we infer, that we are able to reason farther on this subject than our external senses can extend, as we have demonstrated that intelligent beings must exist or consist, of some specific substance, though our senses are utter strangers to it, and though our reflections and consciousness can not comprize its intrinsic essence.

Undoubtedly it was for wise and good purposes, and to ultimately promote our happiness (all things considered), that our Creator has in this life, restricted our perception of external Objects by the laws of our organized senses, and the knowledge of our own intelligent nature, by our immediate consciousness of it, and thereby concealed from us the understanding of the essence of a pure spiritual substance or being. Our senses are incompetent to give us any perception of such a being, and therefore our reflections predicated thereon cannot comprize it, nor does our immediate consciousness of our own rational nature, contain in it; a complete Idea of its essence, so that we are thereby able to fully comprehend it. The notions that we have of intelligent entity, we derive not only from the consciousness that we have of it in our selves, but from the inferences of it in others which we perceive by the external signs of it in them.

Furthermore, our neighbours and others of our species with whom we are sociable, by language inform us, that they are also rational beings, the reality of which is fully evinced to us by their intelligent conversation as well as by writing, and other external behaviour, but we are not conscious of each others consciousness, yet we can not be mistaken in the conclusion that we and they are rational beings. The knowledge therefore that we have of our own intelligent nature, is from our respective immediate consciousness of it: but the knowledge that we have of this specific kind of entity in Others, we mediately derive from the intelligent communication which we have with them. And as to our evidence of the Divine intelligence, we deduce it from that of our own, for we can not but know that God is an intelligent being, because he has made *us* so, and his power wisdom and goodness is displayed *to us* in the Creation, regulation and support of the Universe, or of such parts of it, as comes within our notice and Observation. Thus it is from our own rational nature, and

from external things in general that we deduce the knowledge of the being of a God and of his perfections.

This is a concise summary of the most direct and certain evidence, that we have of intelligent entity. Furthermore, we have a rational evidence of the existence of inconceivably numerous Orders of finite intelligent beings interspersed through the universe; but the evidence of the existence of those Orders of beings is deduced from a more extensive circle of argumentation, and though morally certain, and sufficiently apparent to such minds as are improved in science, and have extended the amplitude of their speculations beyond this World, yet it does not urge itself upon the common understanding of mankind, nor even on the most enlightened, with that ample degree of certainty, that we have observed of our own intelligent entity, or that of the Divine nature.

When we contemplate on the orbs of the solar system, and others in the expanse of heaven that are visible merely to the eye, and on others still more remote, which are discovered by the instrumentality of telescopes, and also contemplate on the Eternity and Infinity of God, we are naturally apt to conclude that the Author of that stupendous part of Creation that falls under our Observation, has extended his Creation co-extensive with the Infinity of his nature and absolute perfection; and consequently that there is no limitation to it, but that those Worlds of motion or rest throughout the universe; are every of them possessed by intelligent agents, since there could have been no object for the display of Divine wisdom and goodness, in an immense Creation of mere senseless beings, void of intelligence and incapable of enjoyment.

Furthermore if we reason from the analogy of God's providence, in replenishing this globe with rational agents, it would follow, that he has uniformly displayed his providence and goodness throughout his unlimited Creation.

It is too romantic a notion to promise, that God has Created Worlds to our conception innumerable, placed or moving in harmonious order and perfect natural decorum, abstractedly considered from intelligent beings, to whom only they could be servisable. It could not have been a matter of mere curiosity in God, to have made an essay of skill in the Creation and harmonizing a senseless universe, such exertions were not necessary for the improvement of infinite perfection since it could receive no enlivenment: for that very reason that it was infinite: And as such a creation and harmony of mere natural things,

destitute of sensibility and incapable of enjoyment, could not be profitable or instructive to God, it could not be advantageous to itself, or display any wisdom, goodness or providence in God, for want of a capacity of reflection and consciousness, we may therefore with a well grounded judgment determine, that a mere stupid creation has never taken place: And since creation has a being, we may infer, that intelligent creatures have been interspersed co-eval and co-extensive with it.

Thus far we reason on the plenitude of finite intelligent agents, from principles of almost the highest moral certainty, but when we reflect on the temperatures of those Worlds, situated, or moving in the boundless expanse of heaven, and on the amazing diversity that is possible to subsist between the specific Orders of intelligent beings who inhabit them, their various modes of existence (inconceivable to us,) with their diverse organization and interchangeable methods of sociability, we are lost in conjecture and admiration, and readily perceive that our faculties of sensation and reflection, are very inadequate to conceive of the specific and intrinsic difference that there is, or may be, in the universal entity of either natural or moral beings.

We mortals who by nature have but five senses, know not but that there may be in the eternal and infinite creation and providence of God, a greater diversity of sorts of senses, and consequently of sensations of different objects, than we are able to innumerate, by which the specific, or distinct Orders of intelligent agents in the universe, may obtain the Idea of equally numerous and distinct kinds of entity, of which we with our five senses can make no discovery, any more than a man born blind could of colours. The short of the matter is this, all finite beings are limited, we have five senses, and the other numerous Orders of finite rational beings before alluded to, may have to us, an inconceivable diversity of distinct senses, some may have ten in stead of five senses, or any other number to which we are utter strangers. From hence we infer, that it would be great weakness in us to conclude; that in this weak condition of being, we can perceive or comprehend the specific kinds of entity in general, as well may the blind and deaf conclude that they can do it. We may nevertheless have a rational assurance, that there can be no species or manner of entity whatever, but what Possesses, or exists of some sort of real substance as before argued, for if we do not admit this position, we only substitute in its room castles in the air, and conceit that our souls and most other beings are mere nothing.

The arguments advanced by some philosophers, of the infinite divisibility of an atom of (what they call solid) matter, may serve to illustrate the invisibility of the soul, since mere matter may be divided so small, as to be imperceptible to our senses, and yet have a real existence. I am not of Opinion that such an atom is capable of an infinite division or subdivision of parts, for if so, the constituent parts of the atom merely by the divisions of its parts, would fill immensity with its premised infinity of parts, yet if we premise that the divisions and subdivisions of it, be continued as far as in nature it is possible, or as far as Omnipotent perfection could separate or divide it, and then premise that all its parts be brought together again and congealed as before, and it would constitute the same atom, in stead of filling immensity with its contents, for though mere division of matter cannot annihilate it, if the operation be carried on as far as possible, nor divest it of its entity, so on the other hand mere division could not add to its quantity or kind of entity, for the dividing of matter cannot add to, or diminish from its respective quantity, bulk or sort of entity. The gross matter of the universe which by nature is capable of division or separation of its particles, could not and does not more than fill the universe, (nor is it probable that it composes any very considerable part of it,) how then could the divided parts of an atom do it. From hence we infer, that an atom of matter is not infinitely divisible.

The solution of the dispute concerning the divisibility of matter, does not in its event respect the subject of the present enquiry, any more than other systems of philosophy. The imperceptible divisions that are possible to an atom of incogitative matter, may however serve to illustrate our position of the imperceptible substance of the essence of the soul: not that incogitative matter could (by omnipotence it self,) be made capable of thought, reflection or consciousness, merely by division, or by all and every method of composition, modification or constitution; since in all its parts, it is by nature destitute of intelligence or consciousness, which could not be imparted to it merely by the art of modifying or composition of its parts, for omnipotence cannot make that being to be rational, which by nature is not so. Composition or constitution, might vary an incogitative and organized being all possible ways, but could not make an addition of any power faculty or nature, which the component parts of the machine was by nature destitute of, or superadd intelligence to that thing, which complexly considered was intrinsically void of it, since modification or

composition is the work of formation, but not of creation, and cannot extend to any thing more than mere formation. Yet as the subtile ether and some other substances of mere matter, are not perceptible to our senses, (of which we shall observe in its order,) and yet have a real existence, we may therefore infer, that an intelligent being, who is by nature conscious of existence, must exist of such substance as we cannot perceive by the senses; and which is specifically distinct from matter.

Our Organized senses are not so acute in the discovery of external objects, as (without experiments) we are apt to imagine. Let us observe the rays of light shining into a House through a breach or window, and in the limit of their direction we may discover a countless number of atoms or particles of matter, which out of the limit of the sun-shine (in the room), could not be perceived by the eye. Furthermore, human invention in constructing microscopes, telescopes and other kinds of glasses discover to us, a numerous succession of mites and atoms in the airy region, which without the help of glasses escape the notice of the eye, and opens to our view an astonishing variety of Worlds in the expanse of heaven, which the unassisted eye could not have discovered. But when we reflect within the limit of our own atmosphere, what a wonderful succession of creatures, really possessed of animal life are brought into view, merely by the use of those artificial instruments. How surprisingly small to our gross conception of little, (which we compute merely by the eye,) are those animals; whose existence to our coarse senses are made perceptible by the feeble efforts of human art, and how much smaller still must be the component parts of those animals, whose circumference escapes the natural perception of human sight, and yet occupy such a considerable part of space, as to have a competency of room, to exert all the functions of an animal body. Furthermore, the globules of blood which impart to these (glass conceptioned) animals vital heat and strength, must every of them be compounded of an inconceivable number of still smaller particles of blood, which are still compounded of others, and so on we know not how far in the imperceptible degrees of small.

Abstracted from curious experiments and logical reasonings we are apt to think, that the natural perception of our external senses, represent to our minds a Just Idea of great and small, and therefore substitute them as the criterion, or standard of the degrees of the size of external objects, and of strength and weakness, solidity and subtilness, but when we examine into our own notions of great and small, strength and weakness, solidity and subtilness,

we find them to be merely comparative. A Whale we apprehend to be great, and a Cat we apprehend to be small, yet a Cat is large compared with a Mouse, and the Whale appears to be small compared with a Mountain, and the Mouse large compared to an atom, and the Mountain small compared with the World, and the World nearly lost compared with immensity.

The extremes of great and small are not perceptible to our senses, nor comprehensible to our understanding, hence we infer, that we have no standard whereby to ascertain the true Idea of great or small, and as our senses and Ideas are inadequate to form a Just conception of great and small, they are likewise inadequate to form a just Idea of the substance, or Essence of the soul, or of mere spiritual beings. Nevertheless it is demonstrable that they must exist of some specific substance, or not be at all, since nonentity could not give being either to the soul, or to the extremum of small, as there can be no reality or size of either great or small, to the absence of all kind of being. Therefore whatever specific or intrinsic difference there may be between incoognitive and cogitative beings, yet in both kind of natures and existences, there must be something, which is the same as substance, which must constitute all entity; or nonentity must have excluded entity, which if true would have prevented all disputes about it.

Our notions of Strength and weakness, solidity and subtilness are also comparative and imperfect.

The Wolf we apprehend to be strong, and the sheep to be weak, but the sheep is strong compared with a snail, and the Wolf weak compared with a Lion. Furthermore strength seems to terminate in power and Wisdom, and implies an ability to perform something great and wonderful, and weakness the contrary. What Power and Wisdom is displayed to our finite understanding, in the periodical revolutions of the Orbs of our solar system! but when we reflect on the Creation and harmony of the universe in general, we are lost in wonder and amazement, and are unable to form a Just Idea of that strength or power which is infinite.

With respect to solidity and subtilness, our Ideas are also comparative: nor are we possessed of any criterion or standard whereby to ascertain what is absolutely solid or subtile. Every of the specific sorts of Wood we denominate to be solid, though some sorts are more solid than others. Malleable bodies of various densities are also denominated solid, though it is manifest that some of them are more solid than others, but these are comparative Ideas and do not give us an Idea of solidity in the abstract, nor do we know that there is any such thing in na-

ture. Hard and ponderous bodies which to us appear to be smooth and on which we bestow the term and attribute of solid, will appear to be rough, uneven and full of coarse pores when inspected through the medium of certain glasses, and the ladies who appear exquisitely beautiful to the eye, will have their defects when surveyed through such mediums.

The notions that have commonly been received of entity, is that which is generally apprehended of solidity. solidity is thought to exclud a vacuum, and consequently to constitute entity, but if the doctrine of solidity is closely attended to, we shall find as we have before observed, that we have no conception of it, nor of any premised entity which may have been predicated thereon. Such specific sort of things as we can have a conception of through the medium of our senses, we are certain has an existence, but for us to found our notions of entity on the vulgar apprehensions of solidity, of which our senses and Ideas are incompetent to understand, or form any Just conception, is to amuse ourselves with visionary apprehensions of things, that have no other existence (as we know of) but in our fertile imagination.

We must conceive of things as they are in nature, or else we deceive our selves. Nature will not conform to our notions, traditions, parties or prejudices, but we must in our conceptions and Judgment of things conform to nature, which is the standard of truth and reality. We know but little of things, yet with candour, application, and a sincere desire after truth, we may improve our understandings in the knowledge of nature; much farther than at our commencing students we could have Imagined. Undoubtedly in a bar of Iron there are vacuums not repiete with Iron, but a vacuum of nonentity is impossible to be. The particles of ponderous mallable matter or substances, which to our senses appear to be closely conjealed, which we call solid, are through the medium of glasses found to be full of pores and the vacuums in Iron or in other such like substances, between the particles, form little valleys, while the gross particles swell comparatively into little hills. These concavities or vacuums in conjealed bodies, do not constitute nonentity, for if there was nothing between the respective particles, they would touch each other and become solid, and could not be crouded any closer together by the application of a hammer to it, for if a bar of Iron was perfectly solid, (though we cannot conceive of it to be really so,) it could not admit of a vacuum for, perfect solidity would excluds it. We may premise a real solidity, and abstractedly reason on such a thesis, though at the same time it is to us uncertain or improbable, that there should be any such thing in the Uni-

verse. And since by Human art, (which is very far from discovering the internal essence of things), we perceive by our senses the rough uneven surface of the hardest and most conjealed substances that we are acquainted with; and as the vacuums therein discovered or premised to be, can contain nothing, consequently they contain something, whatever it is, or however out of the discovery of our senses. We are apt to confound our notion of entity, when speculating of a premised Surface of Iron, or other ponderous substances, by concluding that the vacuums in Iron, are by consequence vacuums in entity, which is not so. It is true there are vacuums in Iron entity, but not of all kinds of entity, for nonentity is the absence of entity, which negative of being could not keep any bodies or parts of bodies apart, but as we have before observed, all dense bodies would necessarily touch, so as to constitute a perfect solidity of all its parts, since mere nothing could not separate them or keep them apart. But it may be said that there is more entity in a piece of Iron, than in a piece of wood of the same dimentions, as the Iron will out-Weigh the wood. but when we nicely consider these specific kinds of substances, we shall find as we have before observed, that the whole contents of the piece of Iron does not consist of Iron only, as there are vacuums in it of other entity besides that of Iron; the same may be observed in wooden entity, that the piece before aluded to, does not consist merely of wood, since there are larger vacuums in it than in the piece of Iron of equal dimentions, and consequently pertaks more of other invisible specific entity than the piece of Iron, as the vacuums in wood are larger than those of the Iron, hence we infer, that the known and unknown specific sorts of entity, or being, are so internixed or intersperced together; that they cannot be by us comprehended seperately or distinctly. It is true that according to our common notion of weight, the piece of Iron will outweigh the piece of wood and admitting that some specific sorts of entity that are perceptible to our senses, are heavier than others of the same bulk or dimentions, yet it would not follow *from hence*, that there would be more entity in the piece of Iron than in the piece of wood for mere weight can have no reference to entity in general. Some sort of beings wholly escape the perception of our senses, which through the medium of glasses become visible, and yet are incapable of weigh or measure by our kind of scales or measures, nor is it at all improbable that there should be, millions of specific or distinct sorts of real entity, (of the incogitative nature) that not only are imperceptible to our senses but to our senses assisted by instruments of human art, which we may readily perceive to

be inadequate sorts of beings to Operate on the beam of a steelyard or scales, as well as intelligent entity in general. We may as well measure a triangle by sound, as to weigh every of the specific sorts of being in the universe, though some sorts of beings are by nature capable of weight and measure. There are a great variety of articles of barter and sale, which by nature are capable of being calculated and estimated by the pound, as in the instance of Lead or Silver, but as has been observed before, the space that is possessed by these and such like bodies ; to the limit of their respective circumferences, is not replete with Lead or Silver, & the like is true of all other dense bodies. If the Lead or Silver is premised to be absolutely solid, it would exclude all other specific or different natured entity from the limit of their respective circumferences, which might rightly be denominated Lead, or Silver entity, as there could be no alloy of other sort of being, within their contents but as Silver or Lead is, (in its present state), there are vacuums not replete with either Silver or Lead, within the circumferences of those bodies, these vacuums compose no part of the one or the other of those bodies, and consequently do not exist of Silver or Lead, yet they exist of something if they exist at all, for that to exist of nothing is a contradiction, and to exist of some thing, is the same as to be, or possess entity, which excludes the notion of (an empty) vacuum, and establishes the Doctrine of a plenum in the premised circumferences of the bodies of Silver and Lead before mentioned, and from the same parity of reasoning, would do the same throughout the universe.

Should we premise a certain void in the creation of a greater or less circumference, yet we should be obliged in our Idea of it, to bound it on the edge of entity or of being or not limit it at all, for a premised line of circumference in nonentity could be no where, for space or place are relative Ideas, and have no other existence than what is derived from the possession or occupancy of real being, (of some sort or other) to which they are relative. To imagine a place or space in nothing is an idle phantom of the brain without reality, for mere nothing is incapable of place or extension, so that there could not be either a great or less circumference in it. We may and have premised such a circumference as before observed upon, but when we come to reason on the abstracted position of it, we find that there can be no positive existence of place or space abstractedly considered from being or entity to which they refer, nor can there be any possible degrees in nothing, so that a greater or less circumference in nothing is but a mere chimera of the mind. It

is the same as a great nothing, which can not be bigger than a little nothing, since neither of them have any real existence, therefore there must be a plenum of real entity throughout the universe.

The definition of the word space, is "the distance between any two bodies or points," but this distance is not in nonentity, but in the atmosphere or ethereal regions, which has its different degrees of subtileness, that part which is contiguous to the surface of the globe is thicker and heavier than that which is more remote from it. Those who have endeavoured to cross some part of the Andes in South America, the Highest Mountains in the known World, have part of them perished in consequence of the subtilty of the air, which in stead of heaving the vital bellowses, passed through the little perspiring pores of the body, and deprived them of life, while others of the party, advancing not quite so high on the Mountain, but perceiving in themselves distress in the act of breathing, went down the Mountain again, till they came to a proper medium of air, where they could breathe as usual, and found by experience, that such labours as we are, was by nature incapable of inhabiting the ethereal regions.

The ether which is much finer, or rarer than Air, in which animal life cannot subsist as before observed commences from the limit of our atmosphere, and extends we know not how far in the heavenly space, (not nonentity,) nor are we able to conceive of the different degrees of rarefaction, which by nature it is capable, or really possessed of any more than we are able to conceive of perfect solidity. We may however be certain that neither ether or any other substance, can be so thin or subtle, as not to be, which excludes the notion of nonentity and consequently of a vacuum from the universe, and establishes the doctrine of a universal plenum.

Furthermore, there must be a universal plenum of intelligent being, abstractly considered from that of the material, otherwise God could not be omnipresent, for if there is a vacuum of all being, in any part of the universe, it would not only exclude the entity of matter, but of spirit, and consequently circumscribe the infinity of God. That God should be included in any place, or excluded from any place, is a contradiction to his being every where present. The infinity and omnipresence of God does not imply his being every thing, but every where, consequently his essence must needs pervade all nature, and possess all space, as well as possess all knowledge power goodness and absolute perfection. To suppose that God is all things, would exclude his creation, and make us with other things rational and irrational, to be parts or members of God, or to

be included in his essence, which is absurd since on such a position, God would be weaker miserable and sinful; we must therefore abstract the Idea of the essence of God from the essence of his creation, and conceive of him to be the author of nature, but not nature it self, and however inconceivable the Divine nature is to us, we must ascribe absolute perfection to it, for if we limit the perfection of God, in our conception of him, we un-God him, and since in Order that God should be perfect he must be unlimited in his perfections, and as a premised exclusion of him from a vacuum, or from any part of space however small (according to our comparative Idea of it,) would infringe on his attribute of infinity or actual possession of every part of the universe, therefore we infer an absolute plenum of intelligent entity.

Our senses and understandings are so imperfect in the just conception of material or moral entity, that we are more or less perplexed in our apprehension of the existence of matter, of various densities and qualities; and at the same time to conceive of the universal existence of God, since we are accustomed to some kinds of congealed substances being impassible to others; so that they cannot (from ocular demonstration) be both in one and the same place at the same time, such sort of material existences can not pervade each other, but does it follow from hence that the pure and perfect essence of God can not pervade such bodies, or any others in the universe, undoubtedly God was wise enough, to have so constituted his Creation, as not to have precluded his own omnipresence whether we understand it or not.

And if those bodies we denominate to be dense or congealed, are no obstruction to the omnipresence of the Divine nature, then human souls or other finite intelligences could be no hindrance of its extension, nor would it interfere with their local existence. The Divine essence as we have already observed, being different from all others with the rest of its perfections, must be capable of, and actually pervade the creation. We do not know whether it is necessary or possible for two distinct human souls to occupy or possess the same place, or identical part of space at the same time or not, yet we readily perceive it to be requisite to an infinite spiritual being, not to be included in any place, nor exceled from any place, and therefore must possess all space, and consequently pervade not only the essences of finite intelligences, but the universal creation, or it could not be omnipresent and consequently not a God, for as we have argued that a mere finite intelligent being, must exist some where if any where at all, so likewise the Divine essence must exist every where if at all, or it could not be omnipresent;

for as a limited intelligent being, in Order to have a place, must have some mysterious sort of substance (to us) to enable it to possess or occupy the same, and give entity to it, so from the same parity of reasoning, we must admit that an infinite intelligent being, implies some pure substance of which the Divine essence exists, and by which it is Omnipresent.

And though we cannot comprehend this infinite manner of existence, yet it implies no contradiction, as it does on the part of my opponents to suppose an infinite being of no substance, who existed no where, should pervade all nature and be absolutely omnipresent; and give being to human souls of no substance; who exist no where.

Christian tradition has undoubtedly been the means of misguiding the minds of those who have been therein educated; on the subject of the Divine omnipresence. When we can once be perswaded that a God could become incarnate, and live a number of months in the circumference of a womb, occupy an human organ, be born, & continue in a State of humanity about thirty years, we loose sight of his omnipresence, and at once conceive of him to be local. And when we consult the Theology of Moses, we find that he ascribes motion to God saying, "and the Lord came down upon Mount Sinai," and again, "and the Lord came down to see the City, and the Tower which the children of men builded," and in another place he describes an interview which he had with the Lord, when he graciously gave him a peep at his back parts from a crevice of the rock as he passed by "that I will put thee in a cleft of the rock, and will cover thee with my hand while I pass by, and I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see my back parts, but my face shall not be seen." The perfection of omnipresence in God is inconsistent with motion in him. Local beings only are by nature capable of motion, which as necessarily excludes them from one place, as it introduces them into another, but for a being who is every where present, to come "down upon mount Sinai," or to pass by Moses, or to move from place to place, is impossible and unnecessary, since he possesses all places. Such traditions which are believed to be from God, have a natural tendency to prejudice the mind against the progressive discovery of truth or science, and fix it down to whatever tradition it may have received as sacred, however ridiculous and chimerical.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

—Lenore Uncas, aged seventy, Indian, lately dead at Willimantic, Connecticut, is spoken of as the veritable "last of the Mohicans."

III.—A SKETCH OF THE OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH OF THE SACRED HEART, AT CONEWAGO, PENNSYLVANIA.

By M. REILY, Esqr.

[The following paper, descriptive of the history of the ancient Church, at Conewago, Pennsylvania, originally appeared, in an imperfect form, in the *Spectator*, published at Hanover, Pennsylvania; and, in that form, it was copied, because of its interest to Catholics, by other papers, in different parts of the Union.

Mr. Reily having exercised great care in the preparation of his paper, he, naturally enough, desired to have it correctly reported. If it was reported at all; and, after having carefully corrected and revised it, he sent it for publication, in the form in which he desired it to appear, to *The Catholic Mirror*, from which paper we take it.

It will be found interesting to those who care anything for either the local history of Pennsylvania or the history of the Catholic Church in America.—EDITOR.]

In compliance with your request that I would furnish you some data in regard to the history of the Church of the Sacred Heart, at Conewago, permit me to premise the expression of my regret that no record of the establishment and subsequent history of the said Church has been preserved, here; and, therefore, what I may now attempt to give you must be taken and inferred principally from the baptismal and matrimonial Registers of the Church, as well as from what I have learned from some of the inhabitants of the vicinity, living and dead, and may be able to recall from my personal knowledge and recollections.

From what I can glean, from all these sources, it seems that the Catholics of Conewago settlement built a small log Church, with two rooms attached, on or near the site of the present edifice, between the years 1740 and 1745; that to conform to, and not violate the letter, if not the spirit, of the stringent Penal laws that then existed in the Colonies, enacted by our good old stepmother, England, against Dissenters, the said Church was constructed so as to be and appear like unto a private dwelling, as it would seem that no Catholic-church, at least, was tolerated here, unless so constructed; and that, so shaped and erected, Catholics were *suffered* to worship therein, provided services were conducted in a private, unostentatious, humble manner. Otherwise, our Maternal Judge graciously feared her Catholic and dissenting subjects might be tempted to imitate, if not rival, her Majesty, in the splendor and pomp of divine worship, and, possibly, thereby and therein, degenerate to ways and customs that might give scandal and seem Pharisaical; which would be more than enough to break her tender, motherly heart.

For some time after the log "Church" was established, as above mentioned, there was no

resident Priest here; and, at stated times, probably once a month, Conewago was attended by the Priest who resided at what is now called the "Hickory," in Harford-county, Maryland.

The first Priest stationed at Conewago, was known by the name of Mathias Manners, S. J., a German; but whose proper name was Sittensperger.

Why he officiated under an assumed name does not appear; but it may have been to avoid the interference of relations, in the old country, who might have opposed his conversion, or *perversion*, in their estimation, as was the case with sundry other Priests in this country. Moreover, as it was customary, in those days, both in Europe and here, to translate one's name into the language of the country of his adoption, Father Sittensperger may have thought it *mannerly* as well as customary to Anglicise his name, since "*Sitten*" in German, is equivalent to "*Manners*" in English.

Father Manners was succeeded by Father Frombach, S. J., and assisted by Father Detrich, S. J., a Frenchman, and probably by Father Pellentz, S. J., whose name appears among the official records, as early as 1758. During the ministrations of these Fathers, the log Church was enlarged; but to what extent and appearance I have been unable to learn.

Next, as Superior, came Father Pellentz, S. J., who built the stone Church, in the shape and appearance of a Church, in the year of Grace, 1787, some years after our "Revolutionary Fathers" had interfered with and relieved our over-burdened mother, England, of the solicitude and stringent care and regard with which she had been *lording* it over her beighted Colonies, beyond the great waters, from their infancy.

This Father's memory is still, and will ever be, affectionately and gratefully cherished by the Pastors and Congregation of Conewago, as one of the most liberal, charitable, and zealous of men and benefactors; and as a shepherd who laid down his life for his flock, here, at the advanced age of seventy-seven years (in the Winter of 1800), after many weary years of incessant and successful labor, in erecting and perpetuating a Church in which thousands and tens of thousands were expected and destined to worship their Maker and save their immortal souls.

Father Pellentz was assisted by Father D. A. Gallitzin, a Prince of the Gallitzin family of Russia, from the year 1795—when he was ordained, in Baltimore, by Bishop Carroll—until 1799, about which time he commenced his ever-memorable and arduous Mission at Loretta, on the Alleghany mountains of Pennsylvania, where he died after forty-one years of incessant labor.

At the decease of Father Pellentz, I understand his place was filled either by Father Sewell, S. J., or Boarman, S. J., who both had been his co-laborers, for several years immediately preceding his death.

The next Superior was Father Brosius, S. J.; who was assisted by Fathers Cerfoumont, Manly, Zockley, S. J., and others, and followed, as Superior, by Rev. Louis DeBarth, a German Prince, whose real name was Wallbaugh (brother of General Wallbaugh, who died some years ago, at Baltimore), and who may have changed his name in order that he might live more obscurely and securely from the annoyance of friends and foes, at home; as it was suspected that he expatriated himself from his native land, in consequence of having incurred the displeasure of his country or kin, or both, by embracing the Catholic faith and in offering sacrifice on Catholic altars. I remember having seen him, frequently, when I was quite a youth, as well as of having both feared and loved him, for he was stern in manner and mien, yet affable and kind, in a remarkable degree, to all who endeavored to perform their duties, and especially so to children, whom he always "suffered" and loved to "come unto" him. He remained at Conewago until about the year 1828, assisted by Father Matthew Leken, S. J., and others, when he was removed to Baltimore city, to St John's church, on Saratoga street, where the magnificent church of St. Alphonsus has since been erected; and where he remained for, perhaps, ten years, when, becoming superannuated, he was called to that good asylum, Georgetown college, where he was "dismissed," like Simeon of old, about 1843, full of years and grace, and greatly loved and revered by all who knew him.

Father Leken succeeded Father DeBarth, as Superior, and was assisted by numerous clergymen, among whom were Fathers Michael Dougherty, an Irishman, Paul Kohlman, Helias, Steinbacher, Kendler—Germans—and V. H. Barber, an eloquent, pious, and highly accomplished American convert from the Episcopalian church, of which he had been an eminent and eloquent Minister, for several years.

In 1843, Father Leken embarked for his native Belgium, where he died some ten years afterwards; when Father Nicholas Steinbacher, S. J., became Superior, and ministered in that capacity, for several years; and was followed by Father Tuffer, S. J., for a short time, when the present much respected incumbent, Rev. Joseph Enders, S. J., succeeded him, and has acceptably and efficiently officiated, as Superior Pastor, ever since, with the exception of an interval of about twelve years, during which period he labored in the vineyard at Leonardtown, in St. Mary's-

county, Maryland, while his place here was supplied by Fathers Cattani, who died here, F. Moore, S. J., Dompieri, B. Villiger, Bellwalder, and others, in turn.

Father Enders has done more for the Church and Congregation of Conewago than any other Priest, except, perhaps, Father Pellentz, who built the stone Church at the expense of great exertions and costs, at a time when the Congregation was both poor and insignificant in numbers, compared with its present status.

In the years 1850 and '51, Father Enders greatly enlarged and beautified the Church, which ever since has been ample for the accommodation of the large and increasing congregation. It is in cross form, forty-five feet wide to transept (which is eighty-five feet), one hundred and twenty-five in depth, and thirty-eight feet high from floor to ceiling. The interior is adorned with numerous and beautiful paintings, representing the *Last Supper*, *Sacred Heart of Jesus*, *His Blessed Mother*, the *Passion* and *Crucifixion of our Savior*, and other solemn and edifying scenes connected with His life and death. These were executed by Francis Stecher, a German artist; who died soon after their completion, in his native land, whither he had gone to visit his parents, expecting soon to return to America to prosecute his laudable profession. His memory and contributions should never be forgotten by those worshipping at Conewago.

Father Enders had just capped the climax of his numerous and laudable enterprises and improvements in the erection, on the Church, of a steeple, which is now completed, eighty feet in height from the comb of the roof to the base of the cross that surmounts it. It is one of the most beautiful steeples I have ever seen on a country edifice, and reflects great credit on the architect and builder. Mr. Elias Roth, of New Oxford, who undoubtedly stands at the head of his particular branch of mechanism, besides being one of the most unassuming and agreeable of gentlemen.

Father Enders is assisted by Fathers P. Manns, S. J., and F. X. Denecker, S. J., who cannot be surpassed in untiring industry and zeal in the cause of disseminating heavenly knowledge and of saving souls. While Father B. Villiger, S. J., was Superior, here, he established three or four parochial schools, which are now under the special care of Father Manns, and number three hundred pupils of both sexes. Father Denecker has charge of a select and higher school, wherein those who are suitable for and may desire a classical or commercial education can obtain either or both, at a trifling expense.

The front of the Church and that of the parsonage adjoining are built of an excellent quality of cut brown stone, which was quarried

near East Berlin, in this County, and baulced here, a distance of ten miles, by the then scanty members of the Congregation, who were assisted, however, as I am happy to learn, generally and *generously*, by their Protestant neighbors. The Church is eligibly located on the Eastern banks of the Plum and little Conewago-creeks, near their confluence; and its elevated site, especially its tower, affords a most extensive and varied view of the surrounding country—of the never-to-be-forgotten *Gettysburg* with its "Round Tops" and ramparts; and the South-mountains, in the back-ground, twelve and twenty miles to the West and South of West; of the beautiful village of New Oxford and the Pigeon-hills, four miles to the North and North-east; of Hanover, with its numerous steeples and turrets, three miles to the East; and of old "Peter Littlestown," and that magnificent and fertile valley of the Conewago intervening, six miles to the "sunny South."

There are about six hundred acres of excellent lime-stone land attached to the Conewago-church, which is laid off in two farms of nearly equal size, and are, respectively, advantageously tilled, and improved, with houses and ample "Pennsylvania barns" as well as "other out-buildings," as the saying goes. The net income of these farms is not expended here, but goes to the general or common treasury of the members of the "Society of Jesus," to be laid out in erecting Churches, founding and supporting Colleges and free-schools, and for kindred praiseworthy and charitable purposes, wherever it can thus be employed and invested, so as "to do the greatest good to the greatest number."

Various Missions have been established, from time to time, and attended by numerous Clergymen stationed here, mostly within the last forty years; several of which have grown to be large congregations, thereby obviating the over-crowding of the mother-church, and accomodating those residing at convenient surrounding distances from Conewago. Notwithstanding all these, the congregation of Conewago proper must number not less than three thousand souls.

ABOUT BATTLE FLAGS.—Major-general William T. Sherman tells of a striking incident during his European travels: Dining with the officers of a noted English Regiment, he noticed upon their colons the words "Lexington" and "Breed's-hill," battles in America in which their predecessors were engaged nearly a century ago. In England, the battle on the seventeenth of June, 1775, was called by the name above given, instead of "Bunker's-hill," as it is called on this side of the Atlantic.—*Boston Transcript*.

IV.—EARLY RECORDS OF TRINITY-CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 222.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, NOW FIRST PRINTED.

[* The words, *in italics*, enclosed in brackets, are those words, in the original manuscripts, which were *erased*: the words, *in Roman*, enclosed in brackets, are those words, in the original manuscripts, which have been *obliterated* by time or accident.]

Citty of } Att A Meeting of y^e: Rector
New Yorke } ss Church Wardens & Vestry men
of Trinity Church on Munday
the 9th day of May 1698

Present The Reverend Mr William Vezey Rector
Thomas Clarke Church Warden
Will Merrett Esq^r
Ebenzer Willson
William Morris
William Anderson
John Crooke
James Evetts
Jeremiah Tothil
Giles Gaudineau
Michael Howden
Will Sharpas

Ordered that Mr Samuell Burte have A Right to halfe y^e: pew N^o 40 he paying for itt: Equall to what Nathaniel Marston hath Given.

Ordered that John Geddes & James White have the Pew Numbered 2 they paying 20 for y^e: Same.

Ordered that Mr James Evetts with Either of the Church Wardens doe take Care that the Communion Table in Trinity Church be forthwith made with the Rales & other things that will be Convenient for y^e: Same.

Ordered that Cap^t William Morris Capt Thomas Clarke Major William Merrett Mr William Anderson & Capt Jeremiah Tothil or Any four of them be A Committee to Collect y^e: Arrearage of Subscriptions Given for the Carrying on the building of Trinity Church & also to Gett what New Gifts or Subscriptions they Can for the better Carrying of y^e: Said Building & that they make Reporte of their Acting therein to this board this day Month.

Order'd that Either of y^e: Church Wardens & Mr Evett doe take Care that the Door Att y^e: West End of the Church be forthwith made & *(that)* Also that the Windows att y^e: East & West Ends of the Church be forthwith put up.

Order'd the Church Wardens purchase

Bookes for the use of the Church for y^e:
Keeping y^e: Church Acets & also for y^e:
keeping A Register for Christnings and
Burials.

At a meeting of the Rector Church wardens &
Vestry men of Trinity Church the 5th of June
1698

Present the reverand William Vesey Rector	
Thomas Wenham	} Church Wardens
[Robert Lurting]	
William Merrett	} Vestry men
William Morris	
Jeremy Tothill	
Will Anderson	
Ebenzar Wilson	
Rich ^d Willet	
Giles Gaudineau	
James Evetts	
David Jamison	
Robert Lurting	

Mr Vesey having informed the board that he has
received from His Excell Rich^d Earl of Bello-
mont a parcell of books of Divinity sent over by
the Right reverend Henry Lord Bishop of Lon-
don for the use of Trinity Church for which he
has given a receipt to his Excell a list whereof is
produced

It is ordered the books remain in the custody of
Mr Vesey—untill further order & that the Cl
do register the catalogue of the books in the
Vestry book

Ordered tht Mr Wenham do use his endeavours
wth the Assembly to have the priviledges &
powers of the Charter of Trinity Church con-
firmed & established by an act of Assembly

Resolved the Church Wardens & Vestry do meet
every Sunday after the afternoon Service

Ordered Mr Rich^d Willet & Mr Rob^t Lurting do
collect the voluntary offering in the Church for
the next four Sundays

Ordered the Same persons that were appointed
last month for getting in the arrearage of Sub-
scriptions & getting fresh Subscriptions doe con-
tinue in the S^d Service the next ensuing month

Ordered Cap^t Ebenezer Wilson do employ a joyn-
er to Build a Sett of pews in the Church

Att A Meeting of y^e: Rector
Church Wardens & Vestry men
of Trinity Church on Sunday y^e:
12th June 1698

Present The Rector

Thomas Wenham	Church Warden
Will Merrett Esq ^r	Will Anderson
Eben Willson	Giles Gaudineau
James Emott	Thomas Burroughs

David Jameson	Will Huddleston
Will Morris	Richard Willett
John Croke	Mich Hawden
James Evetts	Will Sharpas
Jeremiah Tothill	
Rob ^t Lurting	

Mr Lurting & Mr Willett Informe y^e: board
they Collected in the Church of Voluntary
Contributions y^e: Sum of four pounds
thirteen Shilings & Nine pence & Deliver-
ed the same to Mr Wenham who is Acc^t.

The Rector delivered Likewise to Mr Wen-
ham the sum of two pounds twelve Shilings
& three Collected at the Communion.

Order'd Mr Wenham pay to Mr Evetts the
Sum of two pounds & Six pence for y^e:
Communion Table.

At a meeting of the Rector
Church Wardens & Vestry of
Trinity Church the 3^d of July
1698

Present The Rector

Tho Wenham	} Church wardens
Tho Clarke	
William Merritt	Will Huddleston
Robert Lurting	Mich Howdon
John Croke	Nath Marston
Rich Willett	David Jamison
Jeremiah Tothill	

Ordered Mr Lurting Mr Willet & Mr Morris
do pay in their money collected to Mr Wen-
ham who is to receive the same & *pay the*
give in an account of it agst next Sunday.
Paid by William Morris [*the C*] & partner
to Cap^t Wenham [25[£]] £26: 16: 4½ [*when*
of the] being money collected by them on
Sundays

Ordered Mr Huddleston & Mr Jamison collect
next four Sundays

Ordered Cap^t Clerk Cap^t Tothill & Mr Wil-
let do get in the arrearages of Subscrip-
tions & to get new ones the next 4 [*Su*]
weeks

Citty of } ss Att A Meeting of y^e: Rector
New Yorke } Church Wardens & Vestry men
of Trinity Church on Sunday y^e:
24th July 1698

Present the Reverend Mr William Vesey Rector
Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens
Thomas Clarke }

Eben Willson	
Will Morris	
David Jameson	
Will Anderson	

Rich ^d Willett	} Vestry men
W ^m Huddleston	
Giles Goudineau	
Thomas Burroughs	
Jerem Tothill	

Order'd that John Bowen be bell ringer of the Church y^t he be Allowed A Sallary of fourty Shilings p^r Annum to Commence from y^e: first of May Last past

Order'd that M^r Wenham pay to y^e: S^d John Bowen the Sum of ten Shilings in full of one Q^r Sallary due to him the first of Aug^t Next.

Paid by W^m Huddleston to M^r Thomas Wenham the Sum of three pounds & three pence w^{ch} was this day Collected in the Church.

Order'd M^r Wenham pay to Will Welch y^e: Sexton the Sum of one pound ten Shilings parte of itt being Money by him Disbursed for Cleaning y^e: Church & Carying the Rabish out of the Steeple & parte for his own labour in y^e: S^d service.

Ordered that Bills be putt up to Give Notice that the Kings farme is to be lett to farme & that the Church Wardens be A Committee to farme the Same & what they Shall doe herein Reporte to this board with y^e: first Conveniency.

Order'd that the pews of the North Side of y^e: Church be built with white pine if Wainscott Cannot be had & that the front of y^e: pews Next y^e: Isle & the Rales be Wainscott & that M^r Clarke & M^r Morris be A Committee to See the Same forthwith perfected.

Order'd that M^r Wenham pay to Nathaniel Marston Cl of Trinity Church y^e: Sum of five pounds Current Money of New Yorke in full of one Q^r Sallary due & Ending y^e 1 []th Instant.

City of } ss	Att A Meeting of y ^e : Rector
New Yorke }	Chmch Wardens And Vestry men
	of Trinity Church on Munday
	the 28th day of Nov ^r Anno
	Dom 1698

Present	The Reverend M ^r William Vezey Rector
	Capt Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens
	Capt Thomas Clarke }

Matthew Clarkson Esq ^r	} Vestry men
Capt Eben Willson	
Capt Will Morris	
M ^r David Jameson	
M ^r John Croke	
M ^r Robt Lurting	
M ^r William Anderson	
Capt Jeremiah Tothill	
Will Sharpas	
James Evetts	
Thomas Burroughs	
Michael Hawdon	

In Consideration that Coll Caleb Heathcote hath Relinquished the parte of the Pew Assigned him with Major William Merrett in Trinity Church & Matthew Clarkson Esq^r Secretary of this Province Not being yett Seated in the Said Church itt is therefore Ordered by this Board (Nemine Contra Dicente that the Same be Assigned to the Said Matthew Clarkson According to Such method & manner as other pews are Assigned & Alotted to the rest of the Congregation he paying the halfe Charge of the Building of the Same.

[John Croke & William Sharpas]

This day the board [Balanced Accts.] Accounted with M^r Direck Vanderburgh And there Appears to be due unto him by Ballance the Sum of two hundred Ninety four pounds Nine Shillings & Seven pence Current Money of New Yorke for Workeme Labourers & Money &c: by him Expended for the Building of Trinity Church & the Steeple, and in Consideration that he hath been long out of his Money & No Interest for the Same itt is Resolved & Ordered by this Board Nemine Contra dicente that A Silver Tankard of the Value of twelve pounds be presented unto him and to be paid for out of the publick Stock of Trinity Church and that till the Said Sum of two hundred & Ninety four pounds Nine Shillings & Seven pence be paid he be Allowed from this day Interest for Such Sum as Shall be behind & not paid att y^e: Rate of Seven pounds p^r Cent p^r annum

Capt Eben Willson & M^r Thomas Burroughs are Appointed to Collect the Contributions in the Church for four Sabbath days following

City of } ss	Att A Vestry held in Trinity
New Yorke }	Church on Tuesday in Easter
	week being the 11 th day of April
	Anno Dom 1699

Present the Reverend M^r Will Vezey Rector
Thomas Wenham Church Warden

Will Merrett	} Vestry men
James Emott	
W ^m Huddleston	
John Croke	
Jeremiah Tothill	
Thomas Burroughs	
Ebenezer Willson	
Richard Willett	
David Jameson	
Michael Howdon	

Pursuant to the Directions of y^e: Charter for y^e Incorporating the Inhabitants of the City of New Yorke in Communion of the Church of England as by Law Established the Inhabitants of the Said City in Communion as Aforesaid did this day Convene together in Trinity Church According to

publick Notice and did then Elect and Choose the Persons hereafter Named to Serve in the Respective Offices of Church Wardens & Vestry men of Trinity Church within the City of New Yorke for the Year Ensuing Viz'

Thomas Wenham	} Church Wardens
[Laurence Reade]	
Thomas Clarke	
Col ^l Will Merrett	
[Laurence Reade]	
John Crook	} Vestry men
[Thomas	
Mich Hawdon	
Will Morris	
John Hutchins	
David Jameson	
Jeremiah Tothill	
Ebenezer Willson	
John Guest Esq ^r	
William Anderson	
William Nicoll	
Rob ^t Lurting	
W ^m Huddleston	
James Emott	
Lancaster Syms	
James Evetts	
Richard Willett	
Thomas Burroughs	
Matthew Clarkson	
Thomas Jves	

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

V.—REV. MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH'S REASONS PROMPTING HIM TO LAY DOWN HIS PASTORAL OFFICE.

[Since my *Memoir of Rev. Michael Wigglesworth*, of Malden, the author of *The Day of Doom* and *Meat out of the Eater*, was published, I have been presented by the Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., with several documents relative to that author and his family. I copy, for the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, the following paper, which confirms some of the opinions expressed in my Memoir. This document must have been written between the Summer of 1686, when Rev. Thomas Cheever was dismissed from Malden, and the fourth of September, 1690, when Mr. Wigglesworth's wife, Martha, died.]

When I published my book, I was unable to give the date of Mr. Wigglesworth's marriage to his last wife, Mrs. Sybil (Sparhawk) Avery. I have recently met with it, in a transcript of the record by Rev. Moses Fiske, of Braintree, Massachusetts, of marriages solemnized by him. The entry is: "Michael Wigglesworth of Malden and "Lydia Avery of Dedham, June 23, 1691." The error in the christian name of Mrs. Avery may have been a mistake of the copyist.

I stated in my memoir of Wigglesworth that I had not been able to learn whether the MS. of the poem, by him,

entitled *God's Controversy with New England*, which was used by Rev. Alexander W. McClure, D.D., in compiling his memoir for the *Bi-Centennial Book of Malden*, in 1850, was then in existence or not. I am happy to state that it is still preserved and was presented, in May, 1871, while my book was in press, to the Massachusetts Historical Society, by Rev. Lucius R. Paige, D.D., of Cambridgeport, in behalf of Rev. Thomas J. Greenwood, of Malden, who had received it, some years previous, from Rev. Lemuel Willis, to whom it had been presented by the family of the late Charles Ewer, Esq., the first President of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society. The poem is printed, entire, in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, where may also be found an interesting letter from Mr. Wigglesworth, to the Church at Malden, written in 1658, also presented to the Historical Society, by Doctor Paige for Mr. Greenwood.

JOHN WARD DEAN.

Boston, July 13, 1872.]

[Page 1.]

Some grounds & Reasons for laying down my official Relatio

- 1 Two callings so different in their nature. & both so weighty are too heavy for one mans shoulders, especially one so weak. They cannot both be attended as they should.
- 2 I have found my strength & Health not only hazzarded, but often much impaired, & my body kept in a weak & languishing condition by my ministerial Labours, tho: undertake but now & then; w^{ch} is greatly prejudiciall to me, tho: not so beneficiall to them bec: I cannot make them any constant supply.
3. In case I should by continuing in their service so far weaken my body as to be thereby disabled frō any other employment, I can expect small succour (or rather none at all) from them in a weak & unserviceable estate: Therefore I judge it best & most safe both for me & them to be disengaged from each other in Time.
4. If Practise should fail me here, as it doth at Present. I cannot see a Possibility, but that I must follow it: For it is that calling w^{ch} I mainly & almost wholly depend upon under god for an outwd subsistance.
5. They will be somewhat better able to incourage another, when I have laid down, & they take no further care for me.
6. It may be they may sooner be supplied, & have anoth^r settled amongst them. At leastwise I have heard more than once, that it is y^e apprehension of some that they shall not be supplied so long as I am in office amongst them. Therefore I desire not to be any longer either their reall or supposed hindrance.
- 7 I finde that of late the more I have laboured for their good the worse I am requited,

espically by most unjust & hard censures past upō all my Administratiōs and Actiōs, so that I see no place for doing them any furth^r good.

8. My way is obstructed & quite blockt up, so y^t I can no longer perform office-Duties (neith^r do I see any probability that those Greivāces will be removed) therefore it is in vain to stand any longer in office Relatiō which fores^d grievāces I chuse to suppress rath^r then to express for their peace & quietness

9. In o^r Late Renewed Covenant we solemnly engaged our selves to set upō y^e work of Reformation, & in p^ticular to oppose to o^r uttermost sundry provoking evils: But finding no sp^t for Reformatiō, but rath^r such oppositiō as leaves me wthout hope of doing any good; I desire to be set at Liberty frō those bands y^t my office Relatiō doe kinde me withall, that I may keep a good conscience, & neith^r be troublesome to others nor they to me.

10. Tho: I have not wrought for hire nor served men, but christ; yet I cannot chuse but take notice that of late yeers their incouragements have been real discouragem^{ts}, as holding forth contempt or at least a very low esteem of my ministry, and (in some) a will to be rid of it, rather than longer to enjoy it.

11. I have long desired to be at liberty, hoping that I might by that means recover some further degree of health and strength.

12. I finde my strength so exceedingly impaired by the trouble & disquietments w^{ch} I have met with lately, that I see no possibility of long cōflicting wth y^e same, or y^e like; and therefore desire to be Released, & so freed frō an unwelcome burden

13. If they will Detain me, they must maintain me (w^{ch} I am far frō desiring) But they cannot maintain me; Therefore must not Detain me.

[Page 2.]

14. I discern such an envious and spiteful dispositiō in some towds my wife (& those not of y^e meanest neith^r) as argueth little love or respect for me, The old Proverb is, love me & love my Dogg; w^{ch} if it be true, certainly they do not love me y^t hate my wife; & are glad w^h any dirt is cast upō her or affrōt offered to her. And indeed I see not how there can be any living amōgst such, where th^s are thus. & such th^s & Persons countenāced & incouraged to more & more boldness. Therf. I desire a Place for me & my wife, where we may sit wth less envy & wthout molestation

HIS. MAG. VOL. I. 19.

15. I am verily Perswaded y^t sōe of y^e church desire my room rath^r than my company: whose desires because they concur wth mine (tho: upon different grounds) I am willing for this once to gratify.

VI.—“THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS” OF VERMONT.

MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THEIR
CONVENTIONS.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 27.

NOW FIRST PRINTED, WITHOUT MUTILATION, ALTERATION, OR INTERPOLATION, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

N Hampshire Grants	} January 15 th 1777
West Minister Court House	} Convention opened
	According to Adjournment

PRESENT the following MEMBERS

Capt. Joseph Bowker in the Chair

- 1st Voted Doct^r Reuben Jones Clerk P.Tempor.

Bennington....	Nathan Clark Esq ^r
	Capt. John Burnham
	M ^r Nathan Clark Jun ^r
Manchester....	Lieut Martin Powell
Castleton.....	Capt John Hall
Williston.....	Col ^o Tho ^s Chittenden
Colchester	Capt Ira Allen
Rutland.....	Capt Joseph Bowker
.....	Capt Heman Allen
Dummerston	Lieut Leonard Spalding
Putney.....	Lieut Dennis Lockland
Westminster	Nath ^l Robinson Esq ^r
	M ^r Joshua Webb
Townshend....	Capt Samuel Fletcher
Chester.....	Col ^o Thomas Chandler
Rockingham	Doct ^r Reuben Jones
	Lieut Moses Right
Windsor.....	M ^r Ebenezer Hoxington
Hartford.....	M ^r Stephen Tilden
Woodstock....	M ^r Benjamin Emmons
Norwich.....	Major Thomas Moredock
	—Jacob Buton
Pomphret.....	By a Letter from s ^d Town
	Voting for a New State
Bernhard	By Ditto & Ditto
Royalton	By Ditto & Ditto

- 2^d Voted to adjourn this Convention to eight o'clock to Morrow Morning at this place.

Thursday 8 o'clock Convention opened according to Adjournment

Major Joseph Williams & Lieut Nathl Seeley from Pownal took their Seats

- 3^d Voted Doct Reuben Jones be an Assistant Clerk to Capt Ira Allen he at this time being present.
- 4th Voted that Lieut Leonard Spalding Mr Ebenezer Hosington & Major Thomas Moredock be a Committee to examine into the Numbers that have Voted for the District of the N Hampshire Grants to be a Seperate State from N. York and how many is known to be against it; and make Report to this Convention as soon as may be.

Report of s.^d Committee

We find by Examination that more than three fourths of the People in Cumberland and Gloucester Counties that have Acted are for a New State the Rest we view as Neuters.

by Order of Committee

Ebenezer Hosington } Chairman

- 5th Voted to adjourn this Convention one hour at this place

Convention opened at time and place.

- 6th Voted N. C. D. that the District of Land commonly called and known by the name of the New Hampshire Grants be a New and Seperate State and for the future to Conduct themselves as such.
- 7th Voted that Nathan Clark Esq^r, Mr Ebenezer Hosington, Capt. John Baunham, Mr Jacob Burton & Col^o Thomas Chittenden be a Committee to prepare a Draught for a Declaration for a New & Seperate State; and Report to this Convention as soon as may be.
- 8th Voted that Capt. Ira Allen, Col^o Thomas Chandler, Doct^r Reuben Jones, Mr Stephen Tilden & Mr Nathan Clark Jun^r be a Committee to draw a Plan for further Proceedings; & Report to this Convention as soon as may be.
- 9th Voted to adjourn this Convention to eight o'clock to Morrow Morning at this place.

Friday Morning Convention open'd according to Adjournment.

The Committee Appointed to bring in a Draught of a Declaration setting fourth the Right the inhabitants of that District of Land commonly called and known by the Name of the New Hampshire Grants have to form themselves into a State or Independent Government do make the following Report to the Honorable Convention Conven'd at Westminster January 15th A D. 1777. (viz)

Right. 1.

That whenever Protection is with-

held, no Allegiance is due, nor can it of right be demanded.

- 2^d That whenever the Lives and Properties of a part of the Commnty have been Manifestly Aimed at by either the Legislative or Executive Authority of such Community, Necessity requires a Separation. Your Committee are of Opinion that the foregoing has for many Years past been the conduct of the Menapilizing Land Traders of the Colony of New York, and that they have not only been Countenanced but encouraged by both the Legislative and Executive Authorities of said State or Colony:

Many Overt Acts in evidence of this Truth are so Fresh in the minds of the Members that it would be Needless to recite them.

And whereas the Congress of the Seviral States did in Congress on the 15th May 1776 in a Simular case pass the following Resolution viz.

“Resolved therefore that it be recommended to the respective Assemblies and conventions of the United Colonies, where no Government is Sufficient to the Exigencies of their Affairs has been hereterefore established such Government as shall in the Opinion of the Representatives best conduce to the Happiness & Safety of their constituents in particular and America in General,,.

Extract from the Minutes

Charles Thompson Sec^y

Your Committee having duly deliberated on the Continued conduct of the Authority of N York before recited, and the Equitableness on which the Aforesaid Resolution of Congress, and considering that a just Right exists in the People to Adopt Measurs for thier own S curity, not only to enable them to Secure thier Rights against the Usurpations of Great Britain but Also against that of N York, and the Several Other Governments claiming Jurisdiction of this Territory do Offer the Following declaration. viz^t

This Convention (whose Members are duly Chosen by the Free Voice of their Constituents in the Seviral Towns on the N Hampshire Grants) in public Meeting Assembled, in our own Names and in behalf of our Constituents. Do hereby Proclaim and Publickly declare that the District of Territory comprehending and Usudly known by the Name and description of the N Hampshire Grants of Right ought to be and are hereby declared forever hereafter to be considered as a Seperate Free and Independant Jurisdiction or State by the Name & to be forever hereafter called and known and dis-

tinguished by the Name of New Connecticut Alias Vermont and that the Inhabitants that at present, or that May hereafter May become residents either by procreation or Emigration within said Territory shall be Intitled to the same priviledges, Immunities and Infranchisements as is Allow'd, and on such Conditions and in the same Manner as the present Inhabitants in futur shall or may enjoy: which are and forever shall be considered to be such priviledges and Immunities as the free Citizens, and Denisons which May at any time hereafter be Allowed to any such Inhabitants of any of the Free and Independant Statrs of America. And that Such Priviledges and Immunities shall be regulated in a Bill of Rights and by a form of Government to be Established at the Next Session Adjourn'd of this Convention.

10th Voted N. C. D. to Accept of the above Declaration.

To the Honorable the Chairman & Gentlemen of the Convention.

Your Committee appointed to take into Consideration what is further Necessary to be Transacted at this Present Convention.

Beg leave to Report, (viz)

That proper information be given to the Honorable Continental Congress of the United States of America the Reason why the New Hampshire Grants have been Declared a free State and Pray the s^d Congress to Grant said State a Representation in Congress; and that Agents be appointed to Transfer the same to the said Congress; or the Committee be Filled up that are already Appointed; and that a Committee be appointed to Draw the Draught. That a Committee of War be appointed on the East side of the Mountains to be in Conjunction with the Committee of War on the West side of the Mountains to Act on all Proper occasions. That some suitable Measures be taken to Govern our Internal Police for the time Being Until more suitable Measures can be taken. That some suitable way be taken to Raise a Sum of money to defray the expenses of the Agents that is to go to Congress; and for Printing the Proceedings of this Convention which we are of opinion ought to be Printed.

All which is humbly submitted to the Convention by Your Committee

By Order of Committee

Thomas Chandler } Chairman

11th Voted N. C. D. to accept of the above Report.

12th Voted that the Declaration of NEW CONNECTICUT be inserted in the News Papers.

13th Voted that Capt Heman Allen, Col^o Thomas Chandler and Nathan Clark Esq^r be a Committee to Prepare the Declaration for the Press as soon as may be.

14th Voted that Doct^r Jonas Fay Col^o Thomas Chittenden Doct^r Reuben Jones, Col^o Jacob Bailey & Capt Heman Allen be the Delegates to Carry the Remonstrance & Petition to the Honbl^e Continental Congress and further to Negotiate Business in behalf of New Connecticut.

16th Voted that Major Thomas Chandler, Mr Stephen Tilden Mr Ebenezar Hosington, Mr Joshua Webb, Lieut Dennis Lockland, Mr Jethram Biglow, Col^o Thomas Johnson, Mr Elijah Gates & Nicholas White be a Committee of War to Act in Conjunction with the Committee of War already Chosen.

17th Voted that it is Recommended to each Town in [] and Gloucester Counties to Choose new Committee's of Safety where the Towns are disaffected with the Committee's; and in other Towns to let the Committee's stand for the time Being.

18th Voted that Capt Heman Allen, Doct^r Jonas Fay, Mr Joshua Webb & Major Thomas Moredock be a Committee to Procure each one hundred Dollars for to defray the expenses of the Delegates that are appointed to go to the Continental Congress according to the Report of the Committee of Proceedings.

19th Voted that Mr Ebenezar Hosington, Mr Benj^a Emmonds, Lieut Leonard Spalding & Mr Stephen Tilden be a Committee to draw a Letter Forbidding the Delegates from Cumberland County sitting in the Honbl^e Provincial Congress of the State of New York.

20th Voted that the Committee that are to make the above Draught are empowered to annex the Chairmans name by order of the Convention.

21st Voted that it is the Ardent wish of this Convention that each Town in this State would send Delegate or Delegates to the Convention at their next Sitting. Those Towns that have not chose any, to choose and send.

Westminster 17th Jan^y. 1777

Gentlemen

The General Convention consisting of Delegates from the several Counties & Towns through the Tract of Land known by the name of the New Hampshire

Grants have Met according to adjournment at Westminster the 16th Inst and have Resolved and Declared the above District of Land shall hereafter be a distinct State or Government and the Inhabitants thereof have full Authority to make such Laws as they shall from time to time think fit.

The s.^d Convention therefore desire and Request that You will on sight hereof with draw Yourselfs from the Convention of the State of New York and appear there no more in the Character of Representatives for the County of Cumberland; as you were not Chosen by a Majority of the People at large.

Gentlemen I am your most Obedient
Hum^{bl} Servant

Ebenazar Hosington } Chairman
 } Sub Committee

Mess^{rs}. John Sessions & Simeon Stephens

By order of Convention

Joseph Bowker } Chairman

22^d Voted to adjourn this Convention to the first Wednesday of June next to be held at the Meeting House in Windsor at nine o'clock in the forenoon.

By Order of Convention

Joseph Bowker } Chairman

Attest Ira Allen } Clerk

A true Copy from the Original

Compared by

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VII.—WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA, IN 1779.

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER FROM C. A.
FOWLER TO THOMAS GATES.*

COMMUNICATED BY W. H. EGLE, M.D. OF
HARRISBURG.

PITTSBURGH,
ON THE BEAUTIFUL OHIO,
25th July, 1779.

DEAR SIR :

I write you this letter at random, not knowing where to direct to you. Wherever I may find you I hope I will find you in good health. Nothing could afford me more pleasure than that of seeing you here, and from what you proposed on my leaving you at Marble Head, I thought it must have happened long before this time. But perhaps you have again launched into the

* This letter was written by C. A. Fowler, "an Auditor of the United States Army," to Thomas Gates, Esq., of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. It was communicated by our friend, Doctor Eggle, by whom it was copied from the original manuscript.—Editor.

busy world and preferred trade to a retired grotto—riches and anxiety, to competency and control, care and bustle, to peace and tranquility. I will not however anticipate such reflections, and shall still flatter myself with the pleasant hopes of your being my neighbour in Pennsylvania, or if possible on the more pleasant banks of the Ohio. What can be so agreeable to a rational mind—to a man who has seen the servility, folly, depravity and wickedness of the world,—as retirement? But I mean not, my dear friend, in retirement to be inactive. Agriculture, the first of sciences, as well as first and pleasantest of professions, will not only afford me employment, but profit and pleasure; and the conversation of a few, a very few, neighbours like yourself in a winter's evening by a good fire, to enjoy and partake of a jug of browne ale, the produce of my own hands and my own industry, would complete all that I wish for on earth. Thus, then, you see my friend, the completion of my happiness, and I now hope to obtain it; for besides my purchase near Philadelphia I have a fine tract of land about eight miles from this place, which I soon expect to have a comfortable home upon and a plentiful stock of all kinds. I shall want your advice much in laying out this farm, as well as in many other things.

Farming in this country differs essentially from that in your country and mine. There the farmer must not only pitch upon his best land to produce tall grain (I mean wheat) but must fallow and manure this land at vast labor and expense without which he cannot expect a crop. Here the farmer looks out for the poorest of his land for that produce, and without fallow, without manuring of any kind he still finds his land for two or three crops too rich and luxurious. The very tops of the hills here afford the most delightful pasturage and plentiful crops of hay, with no other trouble than by sprinkling over the ground a little clover and timothy seed; and the same land produces black and white walnut, white and red oak, ash, hickory etc. in the greatest abundance, as well as plums, mulberrys, grapes, and hops of a quality fit for use as the cultivated. A gentleman who carries on a brewery there to a considerable extent collects most of the hops he uses in the woods. * * *

I dare say, my good friend, you will readily allow that in the Situation I left England my adventure to this country was a bold one. But he is a coward, indeed, that would not venture his all to get rid of insult and oppression, servility and shackles. Who would not risque much to get from a land of slavery to a land of freedom? I know you will tell me, every man that inherits that freedom of spirit which ought to be inherent in the breast of every Briton, none but the sycophant and servile can now either

strive or even breathe in our degenerate and alas! fallen country. Accursed be they who have been the cause of it.

Pay, my friend, write me, and as I am now in retirement in the solitary but beautiful and pleasant woods, give me all your news, foreign and domestick.

Our finances and the credit of our currency is all we have now to combat with, but while our foreign as well as our internal enemy are open as well as secret foes, the servile avaricious, ambitious and depraved are using every wicked manner to depreciate, the combat will be difficult, and until some plan is adopted, or perhaps examples made, the virtuous, I am afraid, will find appreciation impracticable. Taxing, which congress seems to confide much upon, may be a partial remedy. But we should not only have a radical cure but a speedy one; and a foreign loan well applied is the only one, in my poor and humble opinion, we have left us.

In the course of this Summer the frontier settlers in this country have suffered much, particularly those in Westmoreland, in the province of Pennsylvania, but from the mode now adopted of sending out small ranging parties to waylay and surprise, I am in hope their savage career will soon be at an end. However if the Indians are humbled and a peace concluded with them it will be necessary to keep a regiment or two compleat always in this department for the protection of the frontiers; for the faith of an Indian is only to be depended upon while he is afraid to break it, and this might be done at a very moderate expense, though it is not the case at present. Strange to say, public virtue seems in a few years to have abandoned this country. Money getting and fortune making is now the cry. Put money in my purse no matter by what means, should it be even the destruction of my country, I'll serve you. While but a few years ago how reverse and different the scene. Every peddler, every retailer of rum and molasses seemed endued with the spirit of Cato and the liberality and bravery of an Alexander. May the same spirit, liberality and bravery, soon return to the deluded citizens of America from north to south. Happy world it would be for all! We should then not only enjoy liberty but peace, not only peace but independence.

I am sorry to say that in many instances from seeing things through a false mirror, some of the best friends of America have acted an impolitic part, and have been blind to her interest and in none more than placing a dependence on shadows, the honor of interested men, by not timorously forming a system, or regulation, to oblige those entrusted to account for publick money, in which in many departments there has been a shameful and lavish waste.

It's probable that in the latter end of September or beginning of October the army in this department may visit the Mississippi. This would be a fine opportunity and a safe one for you to see the interior parts of the country, and I shall have it in my power to accommodate you to your liking, and would also accompany you on the excursion; and as I am allowed a boat, you would be at no expense, nor would your residence at this place; for while I have a cott, then hospitality shall reside and gratitude shall bid my home and freinds a welcome. As such, Sir, I must ever esteem, and as such I flatter myself you'll now allow me the pleasure at least of hearing from you. Indeed, I think, setting aside pleasure, that it would be your interest, and highly so, to visit this country. Here you may please yourself; you would have your choice of land as well as situation to such a degree that your fancy would be bewildered, and you would be almost as much at a loss where to fix, as where a London woollen draper's pattern card is displayed to you to fix on the color of your coat.

Mrs. Fowler is anxious to see you here, and desires to be affectionately remembered to you, and I am with regard and esteem, dear sir,

Your faithful friend

and humble servant

C. A. FOWLER.

VIII.—“VERMONT CONTROVERSY.”—
CONTINUED FROM PAGE 227.

A SERIES OF UNPUBLISHED PAPERS, CONCERNING THE RELATIONS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE AND THE EARLY VERMONTENSE, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

18 — *Letter from the Council and Assembly of New Hampshire to the Delegates from that State in the Continental Congress, concerning “the pretended State of Vermont.”*

EXETER Aug^t 19th 1778

SIR

By order of the Council & Assembly of this State I am to Inform you that the pretended State of Vermont not contented with the limits of the New Hampshire Grants (so called) on the West side of Connecticut River, have Extended their pretended Jurisdiction over the River and taken into Union (as they Phrase it) Sixteen Towns on the East side of Connecticut River part of this State and who can have no more pretence for their defection than any other Towns in the State, the circumstances of which you are well Acquainted with & great pains is used to persuade other Towns to follow their Example. Enclosed I send you the Copy of a

Letter from Mr Estabrook who stiles himself Chairman of the Convention of Committees from Several Towns &c also the Copy of a Resolve of the S^d nominal State of Vermont, on which you will make your own Comments.

By the best Information I have from that County *about one third nearly one half* of the People in the defective Towns are averse to the proceedings of the majority, who threaten to confiscate their Estates if they dont join with them, and I am very much Afraid the affair will end in the Shedding of Blood Justices of the peace have been appointed, & Sworn into Office in those Towns under the pretended authority of S^d Vermont and persons sent to represent them there— I must not omit to let you know that Col^o Bedel who has rec^d great Sums from Congress or their Generals under pretence of pay^g men for service they never did, (as I am informed) by the Influence of s^d money has Occasioned a Great Share of the disorders in those Towns— I am directed to desire you on receipt of this to advise with some of the members of Congress on this affair & proceed as you May Judge expedient after Advising as afores^d, to Endeavour to Obtain the Aid of Congress, if you think they can with propriety take up the Matter. Indeed Unless Congress Interferes (whose Admonition only I believe will be Obeyed) I know not what consequences will follow, very probable the Sword will decide it, as the Minority in those Towns are Claiming protection from this State, and they then themselves bound by every tie to afford it, and you know every condescending Method that could be invented, has been Offer'd in the begining of the Seism, and was rejected, I doubt not of your Application, and Efforts in this matter which if Effectual will Exceedingly serve the State & probably prevent numberless Calamities to the People—

J—

HON^{ble} JOSIAH BARTLETT
& JOHN WENTWORTH Esqrs

[ENCLOSURE.]

*Letter of the Convention of Town Committees,
from Towns East of the Connecticut river, to
the President of New Hampshire.]*

OXFORD June 25th 1778

HON^{ble} SIR

The Convention of Committees from the several Towns mentioned in the inclosed Copies take this opportunity to transmit to you as President of the Council of the State of New Hampshire a Resolve of the Assembly of the State of Vermont relative to a union of said Towns &c with them, by which you will be avaid of the political Situation of these United Towns & others on the Grants who may comply

with said resolve We hope that Notwithstanding an entire seperation has now taken place between your State and these Towns an amicable settlement may be come into at a proper time between the State of New Hampshire and those Towns on the Grants that Unite with the State of Vermont relative to all Civil and military affairs transacted in connection with the State of New Hampshire since the commencement of the present War to the time of the Union so that amity and Friendship may Subsist and continue between the Two States.

Am Sir in behalf of the said Convention
With Respect your most obedient

Humble Servant

NENEEMIAH ESTABROOK Chairman

To the Hon^{ble} M. WEARE Esq^r }
President of the Council of }
N Hampshire—

[ENCLOSURE IN THE ABOVE LETTER.]

Proceedings of the General Assembly of Vermont relative to the proposed union of Towns East of the Connecticut river, with "the pretended State of Vermont," June 11, 1778.]

IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY June 11th AD 1778.

STATE OF VERMONT }
BENNINGTON ss }

On the Representation of a Committee from the New Hampshire Grants (so called) east of Connecticut River, that the said Grants are not connected with any State with respect to their internal police, and that sixteen Towns in the northwestern part of said Grants have assented to a union with this State agreeable to articles mutually proposed by this Assembly and a Committee from the Grants east of said River, as by said Articles on file more fully may appear. Therefore, Voted & Resolved that the sixteen Towns above referred to viz^t Cornish, Lebanon, Enfield, Dresden, Canaan, Cardigan, Lime, Orlord, Piermont Haverhill, Bath, Lyman Gunthwaite, Apthorp, Londoff & Morristown be and hereby are received into union with this State and are entitled to all the privileges and immunities vested in any Town within this State.

Also Voted and Resolved that any Town on the Grants east of Connecticut River contiguous to any of the Towns above mentioned, and which has not yet assented to a union with this State, shall be received, on their exhibiting to the Assembly a certificate of a vote of a major part of the Inhabitance of such Town in favor thereof; or on their appointment by a major part of the Inhabitants of such Town of a member to represent them in the Assembly of this State, and that they shall thereby become entitled to all the Rights appertaining to any Town

within this State agreeable to the Rules prescribed in the Constitution—

Attest: BENJA BALDWIN JUNR Clerk

A true Copy of Record compared

THOS CHANDLER JUNR Secy

[19.—*Proceedings of the General Assembly of Vermont, on the proposed union of Towns East of the Connecticut-river with the proposed State of Vermont, October 21, 1778.**]

WINDSOR October 21st 1778.

Assembly met According to Adjournment. the following Questions were Proposed, and answered as herein Stated (Viz)

Question 1st Whether the Counties in this State, Shall Remain as they were E-stablished by this Assembly as their session in March last.

Yeas 35.

Nays 26.

Question 2nd Wheather the Towns East of the River included in the Union with this State, Shall be included in the County of Cumberland.

Yeas 28.

Nays 33.

Question 3rd Wheather the Towns on the East sid of Connecticut River, who are included by Union within this State, Shall be erected into a distinct County by themselves.

Yeas 28.

Nays 33.

[20.—*Protest of Members of the Council and General Assembly of Vermont against the action of the latter, October 21, 1778.*]

STATE OF VERMONT ss WINDSOR

October 22nd 1778.

Wee whose names are under written, members of the Council and General Assembly of Said State, beg Leave to lay before the Assembly the following as our protest and Declaration against their proceeding on wednesday the Twenty first instant in passing the three following Votes, or Resolutions (Viz)

1st " That the Counties in this State Shall Remain as they were Established by the Assembly of this State in March last. 2nd " The Towns on the East side of the River included in the Union with this State, Shall not be included in the County of Cumberland. 3rd That the Towns on the east Side of the River Shall not be erected into a Distinct County by themselves.

(as by Said Votes on the Journals of the House may appear) which Votes we illegal, and in Direct Violation of the Constitution of this State, and the Solemn Engagements, and public faith Pledged by the Resolutions of said Assembly, as by the following Observations plainly Appears (Viz)

1st That as the Towns on the east side of Said

River were never annexed to any County in Said State, they are Consequently by said votes intirely excluded the Liberties, privileges, Protection, Laws and Jurisdiction of Said State, all which were Granted them by the State, by an Act or Resolve of Assembly Passed at Bennington in June Last, Containing the Union and Confederation of the State, and Said Towns by which act or Resolve of Assembly every Town Included in the Union Received by a Grant from the then State of Vermont, all the right, powers and privileges of any Other Town in Said State, which they Cannot be Deprived of without their Consent, as it is a maxim that the Grantor, or Grantors cannot Resume their Grant without the Surrender of the Grantee or Grantees.

2nd That Said Votes are in Direct opposition to a Solemn Resolution of the Assembly Passed the 26th Instant, Establishing the Report of the Committee of both houses, in which Report the Assembly have solemnly covenanted to Defend the whole of the State entire as it then was, including Said Towns.

3rd That by the Constitution of the State, especially the Sixth Article in the Bill of Wrights Government is Instituted, or Declared to be a right of every part of the Community, and not a part only—said Votes are therefore a violation of the Constitution.

4th That so far as the Assembly have power, they Have by said Votes totally Destroyed the Constitution of the State, by Depriving those Towns included in the Union of the Exercise of Jurisdiction, power or Privilege Granted them, and the Confederation by which the Towns in the State are Combined and held together as one body—and as no political Body can exercise a partial Jurisdiction by Virtue of a Confederation or agreement for the people to Exercise Government over the whole—it is therefore either Void or Destroys both the Confederation.—

Wee do therefore hereby publicly declare and make Known that we cannot consistent with our oaths, and Engagements to this State (so long as said Votes Stand and Continue in force) exercise any office, or Place Either Legislative; Executive or Judicial in this State, but look upon our selves as being thereby Discharged from any and every former Consideration and association with this State—

ICHAB ORMSBEE

JOSEPH MARSH D. G.

REUBEN FOSTER

PETER OLCOTT ES^t

JOHN WHEATLEY

THOS MOREDOCK ES^t

JOHN NETTING

NEHEMIAH E-TABROOKS

ELIJAH PAYNE

ABNER CHANDLER

ISRAEL MOREY

BENJAMIN BALDWIN

JAMES BAILEY

FRA^c CIS SMITH

JOHN YOUNG

ELIJAH OLVORD

JOSEPH HATCH

* Slade's State Papers of Vermont 90-93.—W. F. G.

JOSEPH PARKEURST
BENJAMIN SPAULDING

ABEL CURTIS
ALEX^d HARVEY
BELA TERNER
JONA FREEMAN
DAVID WOODWARD
BEZA WOODWARD
STEPHEN TILDEN
THO^s BALDWIN

[21.—*Letter from Governor Chittenden of Vermont to the President of New Hampshire, concerning the proposed union of the Towns East of the Connecticut river to the proposed State of Vermont.*

STATE OF } WINDSOR 23^d Oct^r 1778
VERMONT }
SIR

I am directed by the Council and Assembly now Sitting, Acquaint Your honor that they have had under consideration, the Subject of your Letter to me, dated the 22^d day of august Last. Whereupon they have resolved that no additional exercise of Jurisdictional authority be had (by this State) east of Connecticut River for the time being: on which Resolution the Members who appeared to represent those Sixteen Towns east of the said River, said to be united to this State, have entered their dissent to Such Resolution on the minutes of the house, and withdrawn, under which Circumstance they can have no pretensions to my claim of Protection from this State, who are so far from a disposition to interfere on the Rights of New Hampshire as to Gratefully acknowledge their Generous, and timely assistance at the important Battle of Bennington, by which means this Infant State was Preserved.

This Assembly of this State have appointed his honor Ira Allen Esq^r to wait on your honour & Council with this express who will doubtless be able to give any further satisfaction in the premises

I am Sir with due Respect your
most Obed^t Hum. Servant
THO^s CHITTENDEN

Hon^{ble} MESHECH WARE Esq^r

[22.—*Letter from Ethan Allen to the President of New Hampshire, on the same subject.*]

STATE OF } WINDSOR 23^d October 1778
VERMONT }

SIR,

In Conformity to my Engagement to Col. Bartlet, one of the Members of Congress from New-Hampshire, I am Induced to write to your Honor, Respecting a Number of Towns to the Eastward of Connecticut River, which Inadvertantly by Influence of Designing men have lately been brought into Union with the State of Vermont, which in my Opinion is Now entirely Desolved, I Engaged Col. Bartlet,

to use my Influence at this Assembly for that Purpose, The Governors Letter to your Honour, Together with what Squire Allen, the Bearer will Communicate, will Set this Matter in its True Light. —

The Union I ever view'd to be Incompatible with the Right of New Hampshire, and have Punctually Discharged my Obligation to Col. Bartlet, for its Dissolution, and that Worthy Gentleman on his part assured me, that he had no Directions from the Government of New-Hampshire, to extend their Claim to the westward of Connecticut River, to Interfere with the State of Vermont, and I hope that the Government of New Hampshire will Excuse the Impolicy of Vermont, in the matter of the Union, I apprehend Col. Payne had a Principal Influence in it, and it was with Difficulty that this Assembly got rid of him. —

I am Appointed by the Assembly to act as Agent for the State of Vermont at Congress, where it shall shortly repare, and Depend that New-Hampshire will Acceede to the Independency of the State of Vermont, as the late Obstacles are Honourably removed. —

I am with Due Respect

Sir your Very Humble Serv^t

ETHAN ALLEN

Hon^{ble} MESHECH WEAR Esq^r—

[23.—*Draft of the reply of the President of New Hampshire to the letter from Governor Chittenden.*]

STATE OF NEW }
HAMPSHIRE } EXETER Novem^r 5th 1778
SIR,

Your Letter of the 23^d Ult^o was delivered me by Mr Allen, and hath been laid before the Gen^l Assembly of this State, who have directed me to Observe that, the Resolution of the Representatives of your People, which you Mention Viz—“ That no additional Exercise of Jurisdictional Authority be had (by this State) east of Connecticut River for the time being,” is not an Explicit determination to break off all connection as a Distinct political Body, with the Towns East of Connecticut River, but is so Ambiguously Expressed, as to Shew nothing of your future intentions on the Subject.

However as you refer us to Mr Allen the Bearer for “ further Satisfaction in the Premises” That Gentleman has with openness & Candour Informed us that some particular Circumstances in your affairs has hindered a more particular and Explicit Declaration on the Subject, Yet assured us that, he had no doubt but a Considerable Majority of Your People, would totally reject any further Connection with the people East of Connecticut River as a Political Body.

On which State of the matter we shall depend as that only can hinder Difficulties arising between the State of New Hampshire and the People settled on the New Hampshire Grants—(so called) west of Conn^t River—
HON^{ble} THOMAS CHITTENDEN

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

IX.—PLOTS AM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.]

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—ED. HIS. MAG.]

THE ANNEKE JANS ESTATE—COPY OF THE ORIGINAL RECORD.

The following is a copy, from the original Letters Patent, on file in the office of the Secretary of State, at Albany, of the original confirmation of the Trinity Church property, to Anneke Jans:

"A confirmation of a parcel of land on Manhattan's Island granted to ye children of Anneke Bogardus.

"RICHARD NICOLLS, Esq., etc. Whereas there is a certain parcel of land lying on this Island, Manhatans, towards the North River, which in the year 1636 was the land and Bowery of Anna Bogardus, to whom and her husband, Roeloffe Jansen, it was then granted by the then Dutch Govr. Wouter Van Twiller, at which time the said Roeloffe Jansen first began to manure the said lands, and to build thereupon, the Limits whereof did then begin from the fence of the house by the strand side so running north-east to the fence of Old JAN's land, its in length two hundred and ten rod, then going along the fence of the sd old JAN's land south east, it reacheth to a certain swamp, and is in breadth one hundred rod, and striking along ye swamp south west, its in length one hundred and sixty rod, and from the swamp to the strand going west its in breadth fifty rod, the land lying on the south side of the house to ye fence of the land belonging to the Company, and so the east side begins at the fence and goes south to the posts and rayles of the Company's land without any hinderance of the path, its in breadth sixty rod, in length on the south side along the posts and rayles one hundred and sixty rod, on the East side of the entrance of the Chalkie Hooke in breadth thirty rod, and along the said Chalkie Hooke on the north side to the

fence of the land before mentioned, going west is in length one hundred rod.

"Amounting in all to about six & two acres, for which said parcel of Land ANNEKE JANS, the widow and relict of DOMINI EVERARDUS Bogardus had heretofore a patent or ground brieft in the late Dutch Governor, PETRUS STUYVESANT, bearing date to the 4th day of July, 1654, Now for a Confirmation unto the child en and heires of the said ANNEKE BOGARDUS in their possession and enjoyment of the premises.

"Know yee that by vertue of the Commission and Authority unto mee given by his Ryal Highnesse, I have Ratified, Goddard and Granted and by these puts do Ratify, Confirm and Grant unto ye Children and heires of ANNEKE BOGARDUS dec'd, the afore recited parcel of land & prmisses with all and singular their appurtenances *To have and to hold* the said parcel of land and prmisses unto ye children and heires of the said ANNEKE BOGARDUS, their Heires and Assignes unto the proper use, and behoofe of the said children and heires their heires and assignes forever Rending & Paying, &c.

"Dated the 24th March, 1667.

"R. NIC. LLS."

HOW OUR SECRETS LEAKED OUT DURING THE WAR.

No doubt it will surprise many to learn that the plans of some of our most important political and military movements were revealed, during our late Civil War, to the leaders of the Southern rebellion, through the agency of Henry Wilson, now Vice-President of the United States.

When the rebellion was in its earliest stage, no less a person than General Thomas Jordan, now of Cuban notoriety, but then a rebel officer, made an arrangement with the notorious Mrs. Greenhow (who was afterward arrested) whereby she was to forward to the Headquarters of the Southern Army, such facts as would be of import for them to know.

Mrs. Greenhow immediately proceeded to become intimate with the Hon. Henry Wilson, then Chairman of the Military Committee. This she successfully accomplished; and the honorable gentleman was so thoroughly manipulated that every plan and every projected movement which was known to him was also known by her. The design of the advance of the troops to the Battle of Bull Run was got by her from him before the fact, and forwarded to the rebel Headquarters through the agency of Tom Huette, the brother of Mrs. A. H. Mason, the lady who was a witness in the French arms investigation. As fast as the vigilance of the Government could

detect the leak and arrest its secondary agents, others would take their place. After Mrs. Greenhow's early arrest stopped that line of communication, another took her place.

The Prince de Joinville, in his defence and vindication of McClellan's Campaign of the Peninsula and his movements around Centreville, speaks as follows: "All of McClellan's plans 'were foiled by a clever woman, who did the 'work of espionage for the Confederate chief, 'who, upon receiving notice of McClellan's 'plan of advance, as given by him, before the 'Military Committee, forwarded it to the Head- 'quarters of the Southern Army. Upon this 'information, Lee fell back out of the net and 'established himself upon the Rapidan."

The question is, did this information also come through Henry Wilson, now Vice President of the United States?—*San.*

ANECDOTE OF TOM CORWIN.—When the late Tom Corwin was quite a young man, he was elected a member of the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, and early in the Session he brought in a Bill for the destruction of the public whipping-post. He made an earnest speech in favor of the measure, to which an elderly member replied as follows: "Mr. Speaker: The gentleman is not as 'old as I am, and has not seen as much of the 'practical operation of the system of punishment which he desires to abolish. When I 'lived in Connecticut, if a fellow stole a horse 'or cut up other antics, we used to tie him up 'and give him a real good thrashing; and he 'always cleared right out, and we never seen 'anything more of him. It's the best way of 'getting rid of the rogues that was ever tried, 'and without expense to the State." Mr. Corwin, who never failed to carry his point by a joke, if argument was against him, only made a brief reply: "Mr. Speaker: I have often been 'puzzled to account for the vast emigration 'from Connecticut to the West; but the gentleman last up has explained it to my satisfaction."

It is almost needless to say that Mr Corwin's Bill passed by an overwhelming majority.

WASHINGTON AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.—How Washington watched the Civil Service, seventy-five years ago, may be seen by the following letter, recently brought to light, and published in the *Brunswick* (N. J.) *Telegraph*:

"PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 12, 1793.

"DEAR SIR: By a recurrence to the Acts of 'the last Session of Congress, you will find one 'for disposing of the ungranted land North-

"west of the Ohio, and for appointing a Survey- 'or-general for the purposes therein mentioned; 'and you may have heard that Mr. De Witt, 'who was Geographer to the Army, at the close 'of the War, after the decease of Mr. Erskine, 'and at present the Surveyor-general of the State 'of New York, (a man of profound knowledge 'in mathematics, and sufficiently skilled in as- 'tronomy,) was nominated to that office, and 'has declined the acceptance of it.

"It is yet vacant; and you have been men- 'tioned to me as a gentleman to whom it 'might be acceptable. Without taking then, 'a circuitous route to ascertain this fact, I shall 'apply immediately to yourself, for informa- 'tion; and will frankly ask, because I am sure 'you will candidly answer (if the appointment 'should meet your wishes), whether your knowl- 'edge in mathematics, practical surveying, and 'so much of astronomy as is useful to a skil- 'ful exercise of the latter, for discovering the 'latitude, meridian, etc., now are or easily 'could be made familiar to you. These ques- 'tions are propounded because affirmative qual- 'ifications are essential.

"As the season and circumstances begin now 'to press for an appointment, and as my con- 'tinuance here and the road I shall travel back 'to Virginia (for the purpose of returning with 'my family for the Winter) are somewhat un- 'certain, I request the favor of you to put your 'answer to this letter under cover to the Secre- 'tary of State, who will be directed to open it 'and fill up the blank commission which I shall 'deposit in his office with your name, if you 'are disposed to accept it; or with that of an- 'other gentleman who is held in contemplation 'if you do not. You may, if it is not too 'troublesome, address a duplicate to me at 'Mount Vernon, to remain in the Post-office at 'Alexandria, until called for.

"With great esteem and regard,

"I am, Dear Sir,

"Your very H^{ble} Servant,

"G. WASHINGTON.

"The Honble JAMES BARNARD."

THE BOSTON MASSACRE.—MR. EDITOR: As Hon. C. F. Adams, Jr., in his Oration on the fourth instant unqualifiedly remarks, "With the 'memorable event of March 5, 1770, through 'which the names of five rioters, in an obscure 'provincial town," etc., permit me to refer the Hon. Mr. Adams to the testimony of a leading North-ender, Mr. Jonathan Carey, in course of the *Trial of the British Soldiers*, which states that Maverick "was at my house that night at 'supper with some young lads"—among which 'young lads' was my late father, who, in

frequently referring to the "massacre," remarked "that while in the midst of an entertainment given by the 'Carey boys' the town bells rang, which we presumed was what is called 'a fire alarm;' and, in the fulness of our youthful zeal, rushed from Mr. Carey's house, in then neighborhood of Cross-street, and, proceeding on our course, rapidly emerged from Royal Exchange-lane into King-street, without the least suspicion of the events then occurring; and immediately, without facing the soldiers, Maverick was mortally wounded," exclaiming, as he staggered and fell, 'Jo, I 'am shot.'"

Young Maverick, of highly exemplary character, and bearing the name of one of the oldest and most respectable families in New England, was an innocent victim of this "Boston Massacre," and not a rioter; and it is hoped that future orators, historians, etc., will manfully redeem his memory from that odium with which, for many years past, it has been so unjustly branded.

BOSTON, July 6, 1872.

G. M.

A CURIOUS STORY ABOUT LT. COLN. DAVIS, TAYLOR, AND ANDERSON.

A highly interesting scrap of history has recently come to light, in relation to Mr. Lincoln. Upon the authority (so we are informed) of one of the early settlers of Illinois, Mr. Dixon, the founder of the City of Dixon, Lee-county, it is stated that, about the year 1832, while General Z. Taylor, afterward President of the United States, was in command of the fort at Dixon's-ferry, near where Dixon now stands, Jefferson Davis, who was a Lieutenant in the United States service, at that time, and serving under General Taylor, administered the oath to Abraham Lincoln, then a Captain in the Volunteer Militia of the State. It is also stated, upon the same authority, that General Robert Anderson, of Fort Sumter fame, was a Lieutenant and present at the time. How different the lives of these three men.

SCRAPS.—Lynn was one of the earliest towns in the establishment of the woolen manufacture in Massachusetts. The *Essex (Salem) Gazette*, of the first of May, 1770, says: "Last Thursday, the premium of four guineas on 'the best piece of Broad Cloth bro't to Edes & Gill's Printing Office, in Boston, for sale, of twelve yards long and seven quarters wide, was adjudged to Mr. Toby Cambridge & Co., of Lynn, who, from the first of June, 1779, to the first of May, 1770, have made 'upwards of five hundred yards of Broad

Cloth, and upwards of three thousand yards 'of Narrow Cloths, from the first of April, 1769, to the first of April, 1770."

—Colonel Robert Tyler—son of the late President Tyler—denies, *in toto*, the statements in the *Historical Record* about his father, who, he asserts, was not a bankrupt when he became President; he did not husband his means, while in office; and saved nothing from his salary when President. He never received, directly or indirectly, a dollar from his second wife's estate. He happened to own some Kentucky coal lands, which became profitable after his retirement from the Presidency, and enabled him, by judicious investments, to live comfortably during his latter years.

—Kittery is delighted with the latest antiquarian showing, that tea was first drunk in the State on Cutts Island, about one hundred and fifty years ago. A daughter of Major Cutts was returning from school at the "Hub," with a daughter of Governor Vaughan, and drank tea at the Governor's table at Port-mouth. She afterward purchased a pound of tea for a guinea; sent to Boston for cups and saucers; and thus introduced the first tea and tea-set into Maine.

—There is a Deed in the possession of the Jennings family, conveying a piece of land, consisting of one hundred and fifty acres, in Grantham, New Hampshire, to Evarista Jennings. It was a present from the Crown; the said Evarista Jennings having been the first male child born in that town. The Deed is dated in 1773.

—Norwich University, at Northfield, claims to have furnished more officers during the War, than any other College in the country—ending out five Major generals, seven Brigadiers, and twenty seven Colonels, besides numerous officers of lower grades.

—Fittsford voted, at her recent town-meeting, to erect a monument to the memory of Caleb Houghton, who was killed by the Indians, near Fort Vengeance, July 15, 1770.

—The editor of the *Gospel Banner* thinks that the ancient church in the Walpole District, Bostol, is the only one in Maine, built a century ago, which retains precisely its original form.

—The old Governor Trumbull House, on the corner of Grove and Prospect streets, Hartford, Connecticut, has been sold to parties who intend to fit it up as a lager-beer saloon.

—Houlton, the shire-town of Aroostock-county, Maine, was incorporated in 1831, taking its name from one of its settlers.

--The *Whig* says that Major William Z. Clayton, of Hampden, Maine, has, in his possession, a rebel battle flag which once floated over the ramparts of Fort McAllister. This flag was made by the ladies of Savannah and presented to Major Anderson, commander of Fort McAllister.

X--NOTES.

HONOR TO WHOM HONOR IS DUE.—Our city authorities may not be aware, though our Railroad authorities certainly must be, that railroads, the world over, owe their prosperity more to one of our live Boston mechanics than to any one or twenty men, living or dead. No engineer will dispute us when we inform him that we refer to the inventor of the soft metallic compound with which the journal-boxes of locomotive and car-wheels are lined—the cartilages of the iron horse. Without it, a speed of twenty miles an hour would be very expensive and even unsafe, on account of the heat and wear and tear of friction. This deadly foe of all heavy machinery, in rapid motion, *friction*, has been, to all practical intents and purposes, met and conquered by a Boston mechanic. All Presidents and Treasurers of Railroads know whom we mean. And they know, too, that his invention was not a fortunate hap hazard hit, but the result of profound knowledge and exquisite skill in metallurgy, theoretical and practical.

Perhaps it is, and indeed we trust it is, a work of supererogation for us to hint to these gentlemen that the individual to whom we refer should not be forgotten, but have a prominent place in the coming celebration. Our guests from abroad have a right to see him, as one of the living lions of this railroad age and city. Besides, we should be proud to show him, because he is one of the Jonathans whom it will do John Bull's heart good to see. If our suggestion borders on the obtrusive or impertinent, the gentlemen who have the direction of matters will please excuse us in consideration of the inveterate habit which present generations always manifest of neglecting their living prophets while they build the tombs of their dead ones; and the individual in question, about whom we write, without his knowledge or consent, will also please excuse us, because his public benefits have, in some sense, made him public property.

The invention we speak of, which may be said to give wings to the rail-car, peculiarly deserves to be rewarded with honor, because it is peculiarly liable to be defrauded of its reward in money. It is true that the inventor has not been without a comfortable pecuniary reward, having received twenty thousand dollars from the United States Government, for its use in the

national works, and also considerable sums from certain railroads; but in far more numerous instances, it has undoubtedly been pirated without paying a penny. If the invention were as capable of protection by patent-law as some others, the owner of the patent would not have to live long to die a millionaire.

The above article is from the Boston *Commonwealth* for September 16, 1851.

The celebration alluded to was the three days Railroad Jubilee, at Boston, September 17-19, 1851; which was attended by the President of the United States.

The "Boston mechanic," who is spoken of here, was the late Isaac Babbut, inventor of the well known Babbut-metal, then residing in that city.

BOSTON.

J. W. D.

BAKED BEANS, ON SUNDAY, IN NEW ENGLAND.

Charles D. Warner writes in regard to the moral uses of baked beans: "Not to have baked beans, on Sunday, is still, in some parts of New England, a fracture of the twelfth Commandment.

"The bean figures largely, in the economy of the old Bay State. It has its moral as well as its official uses. It is given to the inmates of the State Prison, at Charlestown; and is made a moral test of character. In the kitchen, there, I have seen rows of convicts seated at a long table, sorting over the beans, for next day's dinner—throwing away the black and imperfect ones. This is the first step toward awakening, in these degraded beings, the distinction between good and bad. When they have learned to sort out the bad beans, they have taken one step in the formation of a moral character. So solicitous is this State of the morals of all her children."

An anecdote used to be related about a place, in the eastern part of Connecticut, called Beanhill, forty or fifty years ago, that a man riding into town, early one Sabbath-morning, found a negro man chopping wood, at a man's door. The gentleman reproved the servant for thus violating the Sabbath; when the latter replied, triumphantly, "It cannot be Sunday, for we did not have *baked beans* for supper, last night."

STATESVILLE, N. C.

E. F. R.

THE CHAPLAIN OF COLONEL PREBLE'S REGIMENT.

Rev. Ebenezer Cleveland, Chaplain of Colonel Preble's Regiment, was born at Canterbury, Connecticut, 1725. He entered Yale-college in 1744; and was expelled the same year, for

attending services held by some of Whitefield's followers. He was, however, subsequently, enrolled in the Class of 1748.

He preached in Chebacco, a parish of Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1746; and, in 1751, removed to Sandy Bay, now Rockport, where he was settled, in 1758. He then accompanied his brother, Rev. John Cleaveland, of Ipswich, who was Chaplain of the Third Regiment of Provincials; and, as Colonel Pible's Chaplain, a Mr. Little, failed to come on, he was appointed Chaplain of the Falmouth troops. He, also, served three years, as Chaplain, in the Revolutionary War; and died at Rockport, Massachusetts, on the fourth of July, 1805. His tombstone says, "A faithful pastor and a godly man."

GORHAM, MAINE.

I. B. CHATEL.

GIFT-MAKING, TO PUBLIC OFFICERS, FORTY YEARS AGO.

The following letter, while it serves to illustrate the character of Chief Justice Taney, who was a *poor* man, will serve, also, to illustrate the ideas then entertained by prominent office-bearers, concerning the acceptance of gifts from others.

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

WASHINGTON, June 28, 1834.

"DEAR SIR: Some weeks ago, I received two boxes of cigars, and, as I had no letter of advice on the subject, I was at a loss to know from what quarter they came. A short time afterwards, Mr. Smith, the Register of the Treasury, asked me if I had received them; and in answer to my inquiry to whom I was indebted for them, he told me they were sent by you, and that they were intended as a token of your good will to one who had been the neighbor of your family in Maryland, and with whom you had yourself formed a friendly acquaintance in your late visit to Washington. I sincerely thank you for this proof of your kindness; and you must not feel mortified at what I am about to say. *I cannot accept the cigars from you, as a present.* But I will be glad to keep them and pay you the market value of them. And I must ask the favor of you to say how much they are worth, that I may send you the money. I meant to say this to you before, as I heard that you had sent them. But a thousand official engagements, continually pressing on me, left but little time to attend to anything else. Now I am a private citizen and have more command of my time.

"I repeat that you must not feel any mortification at my refusal to accept the cigars as a present. *But it has been a fixed rule with me to accept of no present, however trifling, from*

any one the amount of whose compensation for a public service depended on the Department over which I presided. You will, perhaps, smile at what you may think my fastidiousness about such a trifle as your cigars; but I have thought it the true rule for a public man, and that it ought to be inflexibly adhered to, in every case, and without any exception in the smallest matters. And having constantly acted upon it, I cannot consent to depart from it in this case, and trust that you will not suspect me of doubting, for a moment, the kindness and integrity of the motive which influenced you to send them.

"With many thanks, my dear Sir, for this token of your friendly recollection, and expecting soon to hear from you, I am, very truly, your friend and obedient servant,"

R. B. TANNEY.

"SAMUEL THOMSON, Esq."

PARDONS OF CRIMINALS, IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1791 UNTIL 1872.

The Annual Message of Governor Geary, January 3, 1872, contains the following Tabular Statement of the number of pardons, etc., and death-warrants issued from 1791 until 1872, with the names of the Governors by whom they were issued, the population of the State at the time, and the approximate number of inhabitants to each pardon.

Governor's names.	Terms.	Number of Pardons.	Yearly average.	Proportion of inhabitants to each Pard.	Death Warrants.
Gov. Mifflin	1791-99	1,188	132	2,800	10
" McKean	1800-08	1,909	212	3,000	10
" Snyder	1809-17	1,555	172	4,700	6
" Findlay	1818-20	1,504	434	2,200	6
" Heister	1821-23	787	261	4,000	4
" Shultz	1824-29	821	136	9,000	7
" Wolf	1830-35	502	83	16,000	8
" Ritner	1836-38	481	160	10,000	6
" Porter	1839-44	725	120	14,400	14
" Shunk	1845-48	327	81	24,700	11
" Johnston	1849-51	378	126	19,700	6
" Bigler	1852-54	526	108	23,000	11
" Pollock	1855-57	161	53	30,900	8
" Packer	1858-60	216	72	43,900	12
" Curtin	1861-66	763	127	21,400	14
" Geary	1867-71	355	71	50,000	21

THE BAYARD FAMILY VAULT.—Lot No. 244, of the Bayard property, at the North-west corner of Grand and Elizabeth-streets, New York city, was the site of the family vault of the Bayard family; and the late John Targee informed the late Edward De Witt, that he (Targee) when a boy, saw the remains of bodies which been buried therein removed from the old structure.

Mr. De Witt related the above to me, several years since.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

II. B. D.

THE BATTLE OF WHITE PLAINS, NORTH CASTLE, IN 1776. SMALL-POX.

Postscript of a letter from Dr. Solomon Drowne to his brother, William Drowne, dated—
"GENERAL HOSPITAL, NORTH CASTLE, NOV.
"13, 1776."

"I cannot let this pass to you without acquainting you with the present situation of affairs here. In the last engagement which was at a place near White Plains, the number killed on our side was, I believe, 30 or 40, though have had no certain intelligence: of wounded between 80 and 90. The enemy have since left their ground there, and marched to a Ferry-Way on Hudson River. A very considerable part of our army has marched through this place in order to cross the river above, and meet those Phillistines on the Jersey shore, should they attempt making inroads in that State. For my own part, I think it too late in the year for their going on an another expedition, and rather suppose they will repair soon to New York for winter quarters.

"This North Castle is a disagreeable cold place about 45 miles from New York, and 11 or 12 from Hudson River. We were obliged to retreat hither from our pleasant situation near Kings Bridge, about 3 weeks since. Part of the time since we left New York I have had the care of the Small Pox Hospital, inoculated 3 after an excellent method recommended by Dr. Rush of Philadelphia, who had it as favorably as I could wish."

XI.—QUERIES.

"THE NATIONAL REGISTER."—I have fragments of Volumes VII.—X. of *The National Register*, "by Lawrence, Wilson, & Co.," published in Washington, in 1819-'20, in a style similar to *Niles's Weekly Register*. Can any of the readers of the Magazine inform me when it was commenced and how long it was published?

The fragments will be disposed of to any one who is trying to complete a set of the work.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

II. B. D.

LLOYD'S "CONGRESSIONAL REGISTER."—I have portions of four volumes of *The Congressional Register*, published in New York, by T. Lloyd, in 1789-'90, but do not know how far the work was carried. Can any of the readers of the Magazine inform me?

I want, of Volume I., Numbers IV, IX, and

X; of Volume III., Number X; of Volume IV., all after Number III. Can any one help me to complete my set, either by exchange or sale?

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

II. B. D.

"NILES'S WEEKLY REGISTER."—Can any one inform me how many numbers of Volume LXXVI. of this well known work were published?

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

II. B. D.

ROSE BUTLER.—When and where was Rose Butler hung, and for what crime? I have understood that her execution was productive of great excitement in New York, in the days of my father; and I desire to know something about it.

NEW YORK CITY.

KNICKERBOCKER.

MARSHAL GROUCHY.—It is said that, after the Battle of Waterloo, Marshal Grouchy, who served Napoleon, on that occasion, as General Patterson served McDowell, at Bull Run, found refuge in the United States. Can any of the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE give any information of the place and period of his residence, here?

BALTIMORE, MD.

L. E. F.

SAVAGE'S PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.—It is said that the portrait of General Washington, by Mr. Savage, was painted for the University at Cambridge, Massachusetts. Can any reader of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE give any authentic information on the subject, including the order for the painting of this portrait, the execution of the order, and the subsequent disposition of the picture?

NEW YORK CITY.

J. C. H.

FREE PUBLIC LIBRARIES.—When and where was the first free Public Library, in the United States, established?

I do not mean merely Libraries which were open to the public, free of cost, such as the Astor; but those which are public institutions, organized and sustained by the public, *by taxation*, such as the Public Library of Boston.

DETROIT.

I. B. C.

DRAKE'S "HISTORY OF NEW-ENGLAND."—Some years since, it was announced that Mr. Samuel G. Drake was engaged in the preparation of a general History of New-England. How nearly is that work ready for publication; and when may we expect to see it?

CLEVELAND, O.

PILGRIM.

JOHN COTTON'S ANCESTRY.—Will the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE be so kind as to inform me, through its columns, who was Rev. John Cotton's father and who his grandfather?

Believing, to some extent, that "blood will tell," I have a curiosity to know *whose* blood flowed in the veins of Boston's great Minister.

BRONXVILLE.

DICK.

XII.—REPLIES.

EARLY PRINTING IN THE WEST.—[*H. M., III., i., 120.*]

In the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for February, 1872, Mr. Shea enquires for the titles of books printed West of the Alleghenies, before those of which he gives the titles, printed in Detroit, in 1811. If he includes Kentucky and Ohio as "West of the Alleghenies," a very large list could be made of books and pamphlets printed in those States, previous to that time. Presses were established in the West, much earlier than is generally supposed. Newspapers, of course, were the first product; but, at nearly all the offices, some books and pamphlets were printed.

The dates of the establishment of some of the early presses, in the central West, may not be uninteresting to your readers.

The first was, undoubtedly, that of John Scull and Joseph Hall, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, from which was issued, on the twenty-ninth of July, 1786, the first number of the *Pittsburgh Gazette*—(Craig's *History of Pittsburgh*, 189). I do not know of any books issued from this press. Mr. W. M. Darlington, of Pittsburgh, can probably enlighten you on that point.

The next was in Kentucky. John Bradford issued the first number of the *Kentucky Gazette*, at Lexington, on the eighteenth of August, 1787. He printed quite a number of books and pamphlets. Here are the short titles of a few I have in my library:

A Letter from George Nicholas of Kentucky, to his friend in Virginia. 1798. Pp. 42

An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Colonel James Smith. 1799. Pp. 88.

A Report of the Causes determined by the late Supreme Court for the District of Kentucky. By James Hughes. 1803. Quarto, pp. xvii., 236.

Of other early newspapers, the following are the names and dates of some I have made note of, from time to time: *The Mirror*, Washington, Ky., 1799; *The Palladium*, Frankfort, Ky., 1799; *The Guardian of Freedom*, Frankfort,

Ky., 1803; *The Mirror*, Danville, Ky., 1804; *The Western World*, Frankfort, Ky., 1806; *The Farmer's Library*, Louisville, Ky., 1807; *The Louisville Gazette*, Louisville, Ky., 1808; and *The Mirror*, Russellville, Ky., 1808. A press was also established at Paris, Ky., about 1800, which was quite prolific of theological pamphlets. At the sales of the Library of Rev. J. D. Shaw, in 1864 and 1867, there were upwards of thirty Kentucky imprints earlier than 1812; and at that of the Library of Rev. Joel K. Lyle, last year, quite a number more, among them, I noticed a *Sermon on Sacred Music*, pp. 38, printed at Washington, Ky., 1797; *A Discourse on Baptism*, pp. 43, printed at Lexington, Ky., the same year. In this sale, also, were a number of books and pamphlets printed by his father, Joel R. Lyle, at Paris, Ky., previous to 1811. So much for Kentucky.

In Ohio, the first press was that of William Maxwell, who issued the first number of the *Centinel of the North Western Territory*, at Cincinnati, on the ninth of November, 1793. Edmund Freeman bought him out, in 1796, and changed the name of the paper to *Freeman's Journal*. He continued it till 1799, when he removed to Chillicothe, Ohio, the new seat of Government, and established the *Scioto Gazette*. On the twenty-eighth of May, 1799, Joseph Carpenter opened an office at Cincinnati, and started another newspaper, entitled *The Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette*. The first book printed in the Territory was the *Maxwell's Code of Territorial Laws*, a duodecimo of two hundred and twenty-five pages, printed in 1796. Mr. Freeman also printed a volume of laws, in 1798. Three other volumes of laws were printed as follows: Volume I., pp. 280, by Carpenter and Finley, Cincinnati, 1800; Volume II., pp. 112, by Winship & Willis, Chillicothe, 1801; Volume III., pp. 253, by N. Willis, Chillicothe, 1802. The Journals of the Legislature were, also, regularly printed, from 1798. *The Proceedings of the Corporation of the Town of Cincinnati* is before me, printed by David L. Carney, in 1807, pp. 43. Dr. Daniel Drake's *Notices of Cincinnati*, duodecimo, pp. 64, was printed by John W. Brown & Co., in 1810. These are, perhaps, enough for Ohio.

The first paper printed in Indiana was the *Indiana Gazette*, the first number of which was issued on the fourth of July, 1804, by Elihu Stout, at Vincennes. The office was burnt out, early in 1806; but he immediately procured new materials and resumed the paper under a new name, *The Western Sun*. I have not seen any books or pamphlets from this press: perhaps, as it was the seat of Government, some of the early laws were there printed.

In Tennessee, George Roulstone & Co. printed

ed the *Knoxville Gazette*, at that place, in 1793. In the Legislature, previous to 1800, several appropriations were made for printing the Constitution, Laws, etc. A volume of the Journal of the Legislature, pp. 141, was printed by Roulstone, in 1801; another, pp. 162, in 1803; another, pp. 197, by John Hood & Co., in 1805; another, pp. 197, by William Moore, in 1808—all at Knoxville. Copies of these are in the State Library, at Nashville. Michaux, in his *Travels*, 1802, mentions Roulstone's press and his paper, which was then issued twice a week. He also mentions weekly papers at Jonesborough and Nashville.

In Illinois, the first newspaper was issued by Matthew Duncan, "an editor and proprietor 'from Kentucky,'" at Kaskaskia, in the Fall of 1809.

In Missouri, Joseph Charless established the *Missouri Gazette*, at St. Louis, in July, 1808. This, I presume, is the same Joseph Charless who had an office in Lexington, Kentucky, in 1803. I have a sermon, by Rev. David Rice, on "the present revival of religion," an 18mo., pp. 52, with that imprint.

And now to go back to our starting point—Michigan. The press there was established by Rev. Gabriel Richard, in 1809. His printing-press and materials were brought overland from Baltimore; and with them came James M. Miller, his first printer. His first effort was a weekly paper, in French and English, entitled *Essai du Michigan and Impartial Observer*, of which not more than eight or ten numbers were ever issued. Miller also printed a small book, two years earlier than those mentioned by Mr. Shea, viz.: *L'Âme Penitente, ou, Le Nouveau Pensez-y-Bien Au Detroit: Imprimé par Jacques M. Miller. M.D.C.C.IX.* A copy of this rare little volume is in the library of Mr. James A. Girardin, of Detroit, to whom I am indebted for much information regarding Father Richard and his press. A. Coxshawe seems to have had charge of the press, in 1811; and he was succeeded by Theophilus Mettez, in 1812, who carried on the business till 1817, when John H. Sheldon opened his office, and issued the *Detroit Gazette*, the first successful newspaper printed in Michigan.

I have given enough to show that the art of printing was extensively practised, throughout the West, previous to 1811.

As I have been for some time "working up" this subject, I will be glad to receive, from any of your readers, any information bearing upon it; and especially the titles, size, and date of early books and pamphlets, the productions of the early Western Press.

CINCINNATI, OHIO.

ROBERT CLARKE.

FIRST EDITION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS LAWS.
[*H. M., II., iii., 85; III., i., 250.*]

In reply to your inquiry whether I can "add anything to Mr. Deane's Note on the *Laws*," I may say that it does not seem to me necessary to suppose that the author of the *Topographical and Historical Description of Boston* (Shaw), ever saw the edition of Laws printed in 1649. If that edition was then in existence (in 1817), it could not fail to be remembered by many now or recently living. All that Shaw has, in his little book, could as well be taken from the edition of 1660, the title-page of which reads thus: THE BOOK OF THE GENERAL LAWS AND LIBERTIES CONCERNING THE INHABITANTS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COLLECTED OUT OF THE RECORDS OF THE GENERAL COURT, FOR THE SEVERAL YEARS WHEREIN THEY WERE MADE AND ESTABLISHED. *And now Revised by the same Court and disposed into an Alphabetical order, and published by the same Authority in the General Court holden at Boston, in May, 1649.* Then follows the "republican motto" as given by Shaw.

The date, 1660, is at the bottom of the page; but the part I have copied is what would most attract the notice of an observer, who was chiefly regardful of the subject matter. The extracts are just as the passages are printed in this edition.

All that Shaw says is, that the *Book of General Laws*, etc., from which they were taken, was published in May, 1649; and that is just what the title-page of the edition of 1660 says. He need not have intended to convey the impression that he had before him that edition, of which no copy is known to be extant.

WORCESTER, MASS.

S. F. HAVEN.

WHY WASHINGTON IRVING WAS NOT MARRIED.—
[*H. M., II., viii., 314.*]

There is no new matter in the article referred to. It is made up mainly from the *Life and Letters* of Mr. Irving, by his nephew, Pierre M. Irving, Esq., as will be seen by reference to Volume I., Chapter XIV., of the four volume edition or to Volume I., Chapter XII., of the later edition, "revised and condensed."

The supposed letter of Mr. Irving, quoted by the writer of the article referred to, was not, in reality, a letter, as was originally surmised, but extracts from some eight pages of manuscript, written on both sides, and extending from page 3 to page 18—part of a sketch of his early history—which was found among his *private* papers subsequent to the publication of the *Life and Letters*.

That manuscript was written by Mr. Irving

and left for perusal merely, and not to be retained, with Mrs. Amelia Foster, during their long and intimate sojourn at Dresden, in 1823. It was submitted to the perusal of that lady to satisfy some curiosity expressed by her as to the incidents of his early life—he was, then, forty—with a strict injunction that it should not be shown, and should be given back to him, which was done. As I have said, it was found, after his death, among his *private* papers, where, no doubt, it had remained ever since it was returned to him by Mrs. Foster. The first leaf and all after the ninth were missing; but that portion which touched upon his relations with Miss Hoffman were complete.

As I have said, the article in the Magazine does not conflict with the statements made by Mr. Irving's biographer and kinsman; and it fairly presents the record of that incident in the early life of our distinguished countryman which possesses more interest and presents the loveliness of his character with more distinctness than any other.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

H. B. D.

THE FIRST SHORT-HAND REPORTER TO CONGRESS.
[*II. M., III., i., 241.*]

There must be a mistake in this paragraph, since I have a series of volumes of *The Congressional Register*; or, *History of the Proceedings and Debates of the first House of Representatives of the United States of America: namely, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, South-Carolina, and Georgia. Being the Eleven States that have Ratified the Constitution of the Government of the United States. Containing the most interesting Speeches and Motions; and accurate Copies of remarkable Papers laid before and offered to the House. TAKEN IN SHORT HAND, by Thomas Lloyd*, all of which volumes are of an earlier date than that on which Lloyd is said to have contrived his system of short-hand and commenced to report the debates in Congress.

The Prospectus of the work, which accompanied the first of the eleven numbers of which the volume was composed, indicates that Lloyd enjoyed unusual privileges within the House; and that his enterprise was sustained by "most" of the members of the Senate and House of "Representatives of the Union; many of the" "first characters in the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of the several states; and numerous literary and intelligent gentlemen in America, as well as in other countries, where the English language is read and understood." The Prospectus states, also, that Lloyd was "a citizen of Philadelphia."

HIS. MAG. VOL. I. 20.

The first number of the first of these volumes was "Printed for the Editor, by Harrison and 'Purdy,' in New-York, in 1789; but the second and all subsequently issued parts, except the last sixteen pages of that volume, were printed by Samuel Landon, 'for T. Lloyd,' who was the sole proprietor of the work. The Index of the first volume was not published until some time after the commencement of the second volume; and, with two pages of the Debates, it was added to the third Part of the latter volume.

The second volume opened with the announcement that "Hodge, Allen, and Campbell, having become proprietors in *The Congressional Register*, with T. Lloyd," it would be issued in weekly parts, without "the delay heretofore sustained." It was unannounced, too, that "the Editor had obtained the assistance of Mr. G. Dickinson, a gentleman of abilities, in taking down the debates in short-hand, and transcribing them for the press;" and the Laws of the United States were added, "as an Addenda" to the volume.

Notwithstanding the promise of greater regularity in the issue of the work, by the new proprietors, the Second Session of the First Congress opened while one-quarter of the Debates of the First Session were yet unpublished; and the third volume was sent to press, "in line" with the Congress, as you would have said had you been there, while five numbers of the second volume were yet unpublished. That volume presented no change in the style or plan of publication, except in the omission of the *Addenda* containing the Laws and in considering *nine* instead of eleven numbers as the complete volume. From a notice in my volume, I find that it was completed on the fifteenth of April, 1790.

The fourth volume was opened with no other change than the resumption of the publication of the Laws. The fourth number warned subscribers "to pay their Accounts only to Hodge, Allen, & Campbell, or their Order," although Lloyd was, evidently, one of the Proprietors, as before.

As my fourth volume is only a fragment, I have no means of continuing my description of the volume beyond page 152; and I must leave to some other reader of the Magazine the task of continuing the narrative—a task which, for the sake of those who have no facilities for executing it, I hope will not be overlooked.

It is proper to say that *The Congressional Register* was an octavo, very neatly printed; and that the debates were reported with great completeness and, from the satisfaction it gave to the members of the Congress, evidently with great accuracy.

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.—[*H. M., II., viii., 232.*]

It is true that the writing and the names in Washington's Commission and the Declaration of Independence are rapidly fading out. Many of the names to the Declaration are already illegible. As nearly as I can learn, upon inquiry, this document was placed in the hands of some parties, several years ago, for the purpose of obtaining *fac similes*. In the process, some acid was used that is resulting in the destruction of the original.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

M. D. LEGGETT,
Com. of Patents.

THE FIRST NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN BINGHAMTON, N. Y.—[*H. M., III., i., 241.*]

I think the writer in *Rounds' Printers' Cabinet* for April, whose article was copied into your April number, when he stated that Mr. William Stuart "was the founder of the first paper" in Binghamton, Broome-county, New York, "where he still resides," made a mistake.

Chauncey Morgan commenced *The Broome-county Patriot*, at Binghamton, as early as 1812. It was discontinued, in 1815, and was followed, soon after, by *The Phoenix*, published by Morgan & Robinson, which was discontinued in 1819.

In 1818, or about that time, a paper was started, in Binghamton, bearing the title of *The Republican Herald*; but it was not continued more than three or four years.

In 1822, Augustus Morgan established *The Broome Republican*; in 1831, *The Broome County Courier* was established by Mr. J. R. Orton—subsequently called *The Binghamton Courier and Broome County Democrat* and, now, *The Binghamton Democrat*—and in 1839, a semi-monthly, entitled *The Iris*, was established by Mr. C. P. Cooke—subsequently changed to a weekly. All these were published in Binghamton; but, with one exception, it is not necessary to trace their subsequent histories.

The Broome Republican, established in Binghamton, in 1822, by Augustus Morgan, as already stated, was continued, in that village, by several successive proprietors, until about 1849 or 1850, when Mr. William Stuart became its proprietor; and it will be seen that Mr. Stuart was not the pioneer newspaper man in the Queen city of Southern New York.

It is equally true that the daily press in Binghamton was not, originally, a creature of Mr. Stuart's enterprise. *The Evening Express*, the first daily, in that city, I believe, was published in 1848, from the office of the *Republican*, of which either Mr. Cooke or Mr. Colston was then the proprietor; and not until 1849 did Mr. Stu-

art, in connection with Mr. E. T. Evans, commence the publication of his *Daily Iris*, the title of which was changed to *The Binghamton Daily Republican* when, subsequently, Mr. Stuart purchased the weekly *Republican*, as already stated.

It is a matter of considerable importance that the record of the press-history of the country shall be made as accurate and as complete as possible. That is my apology for troubling you with this communication.

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

THE CROSS OF CALATRAVA, ON THE FIVE-CENT PIECE.—[*H. M., III., i., 245.*]

I.

The Design for the nickel five-cent piece was prepared by the late Mr. Longacre, then Engraver of the Mint, in the year 1865; and the cross referred to was added merely as a piece of ornamentation, and has no special significance whatever. The allusion to the President of the United States, in this connection, is irrelevant, and needs no reply.

JAS. POLLOCK,
Sup't of the Mint.

II.

The devices for the five cent minor coinage were prepared by the late J. B. Longacre, who was, at the time, Engraver of the Mint.

The cross to which you refer, was, no doubt, adopted merely as a matter of taste, and without reference to any historical event.

H. R. LINDERMAN,
WASHINGTON, D. C. Director of the Mint.

DID GENERAL GRANT "FIGHT IT OUT ON THIS LINE?"—[*H. M., II., vii., 133.*]

One of your correspondents has propounded the query if Grant did adhere to his declaration, that he would "fight it out on that line," "if it took all Summer." The reply to this query demands an analytical investigation of what meaning Grant intended to convey by these words. If he meant a persistent hammering of Lee's army, he certainly kept his word, not only to the letter but to the spirit of the letter. If he intended to assure the nation that there should be no more flights to the heights of Centreville, as in the Fall of 1863, he kept his word, like a man. If, again, he wished to relieve the national doubt that lukewarm counsels, vacillating purposes, and shameful changes of base were to continue to be the order of the day, the result justified the expression. He did "go forward;" and, though

the flag floated onwards, on a river of blood, to wave over conquered Richmond, it did go forward; and the end was accomplished at a cost, it must be confessed, of human suffering and a sacrifice of life unexampled in history.

If the end justifies the means, the result was reached. The victor's coronal, however, was a wreath of asphodels; his road, one corduroyed with corpses, cemented with gore, and paved with iron and gold; his course enveloped in flame. Still, the national unity was restored. If the people were satisfied with the price of the triumph and the cost of the victory, Grant's emphatic promise was made good.

BUT if Grant intended that his words should convey to the confiding North and to the loyal masses, that he would "fight it out," on that line of front (East and West, horizontal) or on that line of operation, (North and South, perpendicular) the promise was *not* made good.

As General Thomas remarked, in regard to his supercedure, at Nashville, they meant to do it, but now they are endeavoring to cover up their trucks, even so, under another aspect and in a lesser degree, it is now almost impossible to discover which was the real line of operations on which the Army of the Potomac was originally intended to advance upon Richmond, in May, 1864. It was bruited, at the time—it has been admitted, since, by those who ought to have known—that the left flank of Lee's Army was to have been turned, and the great blow struck at Richmond from the Northwest. This involved a combined movement, in accordance with a clear strategical plan, indicated by one of our ablest Generals, killed early in the War; it contemplated a simultaneous advance in the valley of the Shenandoah, a junction through Gordonsville, a line of supply by the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, a severance of the rebel lines of supply towards the West, an envelopment of Richmond on the Northwest and South, a combination with the Army of the James from Norfolk, closing up every avenue of supply and escape, and a repetition of, certainly, the finest example of practical strategy throughout the War—Grant's Campaign, from the South, against Vicksburg, his investment of that stronghold, and his capture of its garrison.

Instead of this, the rebel *right* was turned. That part of the original programme which involved the turning of the rebel *left* came very near being entirely reversed; for the rebel left not only smashed up the Union right, but shook the souls of many a brave man—perhaps of all who were cognizant of what had occurred, except Grant himself.

Very little credit should be accorded to Lee for what he accomplished in the Wilder-

ness. The whole country was one vast network of entrenchments; wrinkled with earthworks, presenting successive lines, quadrupling the strength of positions—natural citadels, with almost impenetrable forests for palisades, and deep, miry, ugly rivers, for wet-ditches. There was only one thing for Lee to do. If he had not done what he did, he would have been a fool; and whether great or not great, there were men under him, such as Mahone, who could have almost supplied eyes to the blind. It is fortunate for us that such men as Mahone, who were allowed to do the work, were not permitted to have the say. West Point prejudice crippled the Confederacy, almost as much as it shackled the North. The best proof of this is, that Mahone was only a Major-general, in 1864: Lee a full General, in 1862: Pemberton, the capitulator of Vicksburg, and Bragg, the loser of everything entrusted to him, Lieutenant generals, in the same year.

From the shield of Lee's entrenchments, prepared long previously, and the natural difficulties of the country, unexceeded in the difficulties it presented to attack and unsurpassed in its susceptibilities for defence, Grant—elbowed off, or glancing off, or thrown off—kept on, *not* exactly on the direct line, but on a line, to Richmond. The slaughter of Cold-harbor exhausted even the patience of an American Army; and there was a tacit understanding, among officers as well as men, that there had been a sufficient sacrifice of life to satisfy the grimmest appetite for blood or indifference to suffering. Or, to use the words of a historian, who wrote under the very influence—wrote honestly, as far as he himself was concerned—of the powers that be—*Draper, iii., 387*—"Later in the day, orders were issued to renew the assault; but the whole Army, correctly appreciating what the inevitable issue must be, 'silently disobeyed.'"

From Cold-harbor, the Army of the Potomac struck off, on a tangent, to its former direction. When it reached the James, it was two full days ahead of its antagonist, the Army of Northern Virginia. Here was a loss of time which has never been explained—which, like many other events of the War, is inexplicable. This loss of time is so utterly unlike Grant—so utterly out of keeping with his whole previous career of generalship, so utterly opposite to his movements against Vicksburg, so contrary to his energy, prior to and after Chattanooga, so utterly inconsistent with his character—that it is only just to him to believe that the delay is not chargeable to him.

Had those two days been utilized, Petersburg would have been taken; and all the Southern Railroads, culminating at that point, would

have been cut; and all the subsequent loss of time, treasure, life, and labor would have been saved.

To sum up the matter, after this exposition of the facts, it is but fair to decide, from one point of view, that Grant kept his promise to the ear although he broke it to the hope. From another point of view—a point of view founded on a more favorable, or flattering, or partial consideration of the circumstances—he fulfilled the spirit of his declaration, while, by no means, acting out his literal interpretation.

TIVOLI, N. Y.

ANCHOR.

CONNECTICUT ON THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES. —[*II. M., III., i., 246.*]

I.

With reference to Prudence Crandall and her school for colored girls, I beg leave to refer you to John W. Barber's *Connecticut Historical Collections*, under the head "CANTERBURY." Mr. Barber's book was published in 1836, soon after the discontinuance of the school; and I think that his account of the affair is reliable. You will see that the school-house does not appear to have been burned.

Mr. Barber speaks of her case (respecting the constitutionality of the law prohibiting the setting up of schools of the kind) as coming finally to the *Superior Court*; it went to the *Supreme Court of Connecticut*; and is reported, under the name of *Crandall v. State*, in *Connecticut Reports*, Vol. X., Page 339.

The law alleged to have been broken by Miss Crandall was approved May 24th, 1833. Its title is, "An Act in addition to an Act entitled 'An Act for the admission and settlement of 'inhabitants in towns.'" The Preamble and first Section are given, at length, on Page 340, Volume X., *Connecticut Reports*.

The second Section provides for the removal of such non-inhabitant colored persons; the third makes the testimony of such colored person admissible, in all prosecutions, under the first Section; and the fourth Section repeals a provision for corporal punishment, found in the Act to which this was an addition.

HARTFORD, CONN.

CHARLES J. HOADLY.

II.

The terms of the Query are partly true and partly false. The statement contained in it is unfair, inasmuch as the simple statement, without comment, conveys a false impression. It is not true that the State of Connecticut ever prohibited colored children of this State, or other States, being taught to read, etc. It is true that an Act was passed by the Legislature of this

State, in the year of 1833, and published in 1835, by which any person was forbidden to establish any *Academy or Literary Institution* for the instruction of colored persons belonging to other States, *exclusively*. Our Academies and private Schools were always open to such colored pupils as chose to enter them, in common with white children. Besides, we had good Common Schools, in which colored children were instructed as well as the children of the whites. They (the colored children) were never excluded from our Common Schools. The blow aimed, by the Act referred to, was at schools established for the *exclusive* benefit of colored children of *other States*.

But that you may have a clearer understanding of the case referred to, I will enclose to you a copy of the Act; and you can judge, for yourself, in regard the injustice of it, if there were any injustice in it. The law was repealed, in a short time after it was passed, and never had any effect, in this State, except that it broke up Miss Crandall's school. That the law in question never bore very hard on the colored children, you may infer from the fact that they enjoyed as good advantages for education, in the common branches of learning as nine-tenths of the white children. But the law was passed when there was great excitement in regard to colored people, not only in this State, but in all the non-slave-holding States in the Union. The law was never popular; and, as I said, it was soon repealed.

I cannot pretend to give you all the facts in the case of Miss Prudence Crandall's school, in this place. But I will say, briefly, that some where about the year 1830, there were a few aristocratic families living in Canterbury, who had grown-up daughters; and, wishing to give them better advantages of education than the Common Schools afforded, they established a school of a higher order. They employed Miss Prudence Crandall to teach in the school. These families were her patrons. For awhile, every thing pertaining to the school went along well. The school was a success, Miss Crandall being quite popular, as an instructress. My impression is, that there were one or two colored girls in the school; and to this there was no objection made by any one. But, in the course of time, Miss Crandall decided to open a boarding school, in this village, for the instruction of colored girls *exclusively, from other States*. At the close of the week, she informed her scholars that such was her intention; and, with the remark that, probably, their parents would not let them come, she advised them to leave the school, which they did. To this there was *decided* objection in the minds of most of the people in the village. And I sup-

pose Miss Crandall met with some annoyance, in consequence of the course she had resolved to pursue, in defiance to the known wishes of the community. And I do not know but that she thought she was persecuted for "righteousness sake."

I was not living here at the time, and can speak only as I have received the information from people now resident here. Most of the people living here, at the time, are now dead. I believe Miss Crandall went to prison, because she refused to pay the fine which the law imposed on her.

It is not true, as stated in the Query, that "the school-house of Prudence Crandall was 'burned to the ground.'" Miss Crandall had no school-house, nor did she teach in a school-house, at all. She taught in a private house, which was a large one, and fitted up for a "Boarding-school." Some time, either during the session of the school or after, I do not know which, it is said the building was fired; but by whom is not known, but was generally believed, by persons living here, at that time, that it was fired by some of *her own friends*. Be that as it may, the people of the village soon discovered the fire, and put it out, so that little or no damage was done. The house was not burned to the ground; but is standing, now, in good repair, and occupied by one of the most honored and influential families in the village. Let what I have said suffice for the present. I will now give you a copy of the law; and you must judge, for yourself, in regard to that:

"SECTION 1st. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Assembly convened,* That no person shall set up or establish, in this State, any School, Academy, or literary institution, for the instruction or education of colored persons who are not inhabitants of this State, nor instruct nor teach in any School, Academy, or other literary institution whatsoever, in this State, or harbor or board, for the purpose of attending or being taught or instructed in any such School, Academy, or literary institution, any colored person who is not an inhabitant of any town in this State, without the consent, in writing, first obtained, of a majority of the civil authority, and also of the Selectmen of the town in which such School, Academy, or literary institution is situated; and each and every person who shall knowingly do any act forbidden, as aforesaid, or shall be aiding or assisting therein shall, for the first offence, forfeit and pay to the Treasurer of this State, a fine of one hundred dollars, and for the second offence shall forfeit and pay a fine of two hundred dollars, and so double for every

"offence of which he or she shall be convicted. And all informing officers are required to make due presentment of all breaches of this Act.

"PROVIDED, That nothing in this Act shall extend to any District School, established in any School Society, under the laws of this State, or to any School established by any School Society, under the laws of this State, or to any incorporated Academy or incorporated School, for instruction in this State."

The above is a copy of an Act passed by the Senate and House of Representatives of this State, in 1833, and can be found on page 321, in the *Public Statute Laws of the State of Connecticut*, published in 1835.

You will perceive in the last clause of the Act, a proviso which would not prevent any school-teacher from instructing colored persons in the District-schools or other schools lawfully established in this State. The only object of it seems to have been to prevent schools from being established for the exclusive benefit of colored persons *not belonging to this State*. I do not like the law, and do not know any body that does; but it is not quite so bad as it has been represented in some quarters.

JOHN R. FREEMAN.

Pastor of the First Congregational Church, Canterbury, Connecticut.

THE CROWNINSHIELD WHARF, IN SALEM.—[H. M., III., i., 242.]

The Crowninshields referred to in the article cited, were three sons of Clifford Crowninshield—BENJAMIN W., Secretary of the Navy, under Madison and, subsequently, Member of Congress from Essex-county, Massachusetts; RICHARD, whose two sons, Richard and George, were concerned in the famous murder of Captain Joseph White, in Salem, in April, 1830; and GEORGE, the youngest, a shipmaster, who, with his brothers, amassed a fortune, during the War of 1812, by the success of the *America*, privateer, owned by them.

When Peace came, George built the yacht *Cleopatra's Barge*, of two hundred tons; furnished her in a style of richness and elegance unheard of, then, and unequalled, since, until the advent of the yachts of the past few years. He started from Salem, in March, 1817, intending to circumnavigate the globe. He went to Fayal; thence to the Mediterranean, where, after visiting the principal ports and entertaining Princes and Potentates in a style in keeping with his wealth and pride, as being the first American who had visited Europe in his own yacht, he reached Malta. While there, the sickness of a valued

friend, who was his only companion on the cruise, induced him to turn his yacht homewards; and he arrived in Salem, in November, 1817; and died, suddenly, while walking in the saloon of his vessel, on hearing of the death of his friend, who had expired in his own house, fifteen minutes before.

The only scraps of record to be found, connected with that cruise, is the Journal, kept by the friend of Mr. Crowninshield. I have access to it and shall be pleased to have you see it. It is very interesting, throughout.

NEW YORK CITY.

W.

XIII.—WHAT WE HAVE TO SAY ABOUT IT.

[Under this caption, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE proposes to "have its say" on whatever, concerning the History, Antiquities, and Biography of America—living men and their opinions and conduct as well as dead men and dead issues—it shall incline to notice, editorially.]

"PUPILS OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS WHO DO NOT KNOW
"WHO WASHINGTON WAS.

"To the Editor of *The Sun*,

"Sir: The remarks in to-day's paper in reference to the manner in which our children are taught in the Public Schools, are very just. It was the custom, some years ago, for American history to be taught in our schools. What boy of us, in our days, did not know all about Lexington, and Bunker-hill, and the Father of his Country? But now ask a scholar in one of our schools about those things; and he will stare in astonishment.

"I have a child, fourteen years of age, attending school, in Harlem. She has never seen or heard of a history of her country, in the school house. On Sunday, I was reading and explaining to her extracts from my own school-book, *Marshall's History of the United States*, and telling of the great and good Washington. She, in the simplicity and ignorance of her heart, asked me whether he was as great a man as Daniel O'Connell, 'because,' she added, 'some of the Trustees when they visit the school, always talk about him.'

"Is this the proper way to make good American citizens? I think not. What says *The Sun*?

"HARLEM.

1776."

The above, taken from a New York paper, may be considered one of the results of the almost entire disregard of the history of *our own country*, by these who assume to be the instructors of the youth of the country, and their superior regard for the history, or what purports to be the history, of Greece and Rome, France and England. They tell us that *our country has no his-*

tory; and they teach our children, when they teach them anything on the subject, only the stale outpourings of the narrow, sectional pedagoguism of forty years ago, regardless of the results of modern investigation and the demands of truth.

THE WAR DEPARTMENT RECORDS.

"The old story of the man who undersold his broom-making competitor will occur to many who read of Colonel Adam Badeau's use of the stolen War Department records.

"Nokes stole the material for his brooms; Stokes stole his brooms ready made, and had the market to himself. It turns out that Colonel Badeau not only used the public archives, *access to which was denied to everybody else*, but he employed a Government-clerk to write out his 'history' for him! If this was not next to stealing ready made brooms, we would like to know what part of the work Colonel Badeau actually did."—*Tribune*.

The War Department, after having allowed General Grant's friend and enlogist to carry away the public archives of the Republic, by cart-loads at a time, and to take them to Europe, now refuses those who desire copies of any of its archives—even those of them concerning which there is no pretense that the welfare of the public demands their continued seclusion—the privilege of copying or even of looking at them; and authors and students of the history of the recent War need expect no further opportunity to gather information from the unpublished archives of the country, unless, like one whom we know, General Sherman's authority is invoked or, as in Colonel Badeau's case, the President's *Plain, working men no longer enjoy*, in this "model Republic," that "equality before the law" which, in monarchical Europe, they can readily secure; and the archives of the United States, even to scholars and for authorial purposes, are closed to all who are not partisans and friends of these in authority.

"OUR ANCIENT RECORDS. A WORK THAT WILL
"COST AT LEAST TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND
"DOLLARS. NO RECORDS OF OUR REVOLU-
"TIONARY WAR.

"In May, 1870, the Common Council of this city adopted, and Mayor Hall approved, a series of Resolutions by which the Clerk of the Common Council was authorized and directed to employ a suitable person to prepare for the press, with appropriate notes, the ancient records of the city of New Amsterdam and the city of New York, prior to 1850, and to

"cause five thousand copies of the same to be printed and published.

"Under these Resolutions, the Clerk employed Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan for such services, from the first of October, 1870, to the thirty-first of December, 1871, for six thousand, two hundred, and fifty dollars. The Board of Apportionment and Audit audited and allowed, for the services, during the year 1871, the sum of five thousand dollars. Two other bills were rendered to the Comptroller, for services from January to June, 1-72, amounting to two thousand, five hundred dollars, which sum has not yet been paid. Last Fall, Comptroller Green appointed Stephen Angell to examine and report how far the work had progressed. In his Report, Mr. Angell says that a large portion of the records have been stereotyped by the New York Printing Company; that Dr. O'Callaghan is still engaged in the preparation; that fifteen volumes of six hundred and eighty pages each are ready to be indexed; but that the style contemplated is unnecessarily expensive, and that the whole of the records could have been brought into twelve volumes, well printed, and quite as available as the present style, and at a cost of not more than half the amount contemplated, which cannot be done for two hundred thousand dollars, even if most economically done.

"About a month ago, Comptroller Green sent a communication to Mayor Havemeyer, calling his attention to the subject, and asking if it would not be expedient to still further investigate the progress and cost of the work. Accordingly, at a meeting of the Board of Aldermen, a few weeks ago, a Resolution was adopted to suspend, until further notice, the prosecution of the work, inasmuch as the liabilities already incurred were thought to be excessive. The Resolution was referred to the Committee on Printing and Advertising, who are to report on the amount of the work done, the probable extent and approximate expense of the whole work contemplated, together with the reasons why the work should be abandoned; or, if continued, to what extent it should be prosecuted.

"Accordingly, the Committee, consisting of Alderman Peter Kehr, Oswald Ottendorfer, and John Falconer, met, yesterday, in the City Hall, for the consideration of the question of suspending the work of printing the ancient records of the city. The room in which the meeting was held was filled by members of the Historical and Geographical Societies, who listened with interest to the proceedings.

"Professor O'Callaghan was first requested to give his statement. He said that fifteen

volumes were stereotyped, all of which but two had indexes. The fifteen volumes embrace the period from 1617 to 1674, seven volumes, from 1617 to 1776, were ready for the printer. No record is in existence from 1776 to 1784, while the Revolution was pending. The records from 1784 to 1831 are ready for the printer. The whole work will make forty volumes of nearly seven hundred pages each, octavo. The Professor said that if everything were in his favor, the work could not be completed in less than two years from the first of May next.

"Dr. Moore of the Historical Society asked the Aldermen not to be tempted by false economy; that it was true economy to expend these few thousand dollars for the work, as it was necessary to the welfare of not only the city but of the whole country. If the records which are now mouldering in the City Hall be lost or burnt, without having copies printed, the history of this city would be as fabulous as the history of ancient Rome.

"Chief Justice Daly next addressed the Aldermen, saying that if the history of this city was of any importance, these records were necessary to be printed. He felt anxious for their safety, because he knew that they were liable to be destroyed by fire or to be tampered with, by unscrupulous parties. This is the only city which has not had its records printed. He thought Professor O'Callaghan the only competent man in the country to undertake such an important work; and felt anxious that the work be prosecuted, during his life. He thought the compensation moderate for so arduous a task. He added that it was a disgrace for a city of such magnitude as New York, to have its records in such an incomplete form. The Committee then adjourned."

We take the foregoing from a recent number of the *New York Sun*; and we have something to say about it.

During the last few years of Mr. Valentine's official career, that gentleman's attention was frequently called to the importance of the ancient records of the city, both as material for history and as evidence of the city's rights, as a municipality; and he was repeatedly urged to secure the adoption of measures, by the corporate authorities, which would lead to the printing of them, with appropriate annotations. But the venerated Clerk never saw his way clear—there was not enough interest felt in the subject, by those in authority, and the *Ring* was not yet sufficiently matured in audacity and mendacity to carry the measure through, as matter of public plunder—and nothing was done, officially, in the

premises, until after he had given place to another.

In 1867-8, in order to bring the subject fully before the world, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, with the full approval and hearty co-operation of Mr. Valentine and by direct and official authority of the corporate authorities of the city, commenced the publication of these ancient records, carefully annotated; and they were printed, to the extent of one hundred and seventy small octavo pages, both in the Magazine and in book form, without either the present or prospective expense to the city of a single cent. The importance of the work was seen at once; and, on all hands, our work was commended as most timely and valuable—the elaborate foot-notes which accompanied and illustrated the naked official records very often presenting the results of the research of such well-known scholars as Brodhead, Paulding, Riker, Bergen, Valentine, etc.

In the Spring of 1870, while the recollection of this voluntary publication of the earliest of these ancient records was yet before the world, our advice was sought by a gentleman who was officially connected with the Corporation, concerning the publication of those records by the Corporation; and, based on the advice we gave, on that occasion, a Resolution was presented to the Common Council authorizing the publication, of those records, properly edited, and duly passed. There was no design, as far as we had any information, to do more than honestly print an honestly edited and carefully annotated copy of the records referred to; and as the Corporation, years before, *had already paid Doctor Westbrook and Doctor O'Callaghan for translating those of them which are in Dutch*, there was no linguistic obstacle to prevent any one who possessed a competent knowledge of the history of the men and matters of New Amsterdam and New York, from carrying on the work agreeably to the order of the Common Council, and with usefulness to those who seek information concerning the history of the municipality. *We know* that, both by the author and the promoters of the Resolution referred to, the duty of editing the work embraced a faithful reproduction of the ancient records, with carefully prepared Introductory Notes to the several Series, as carefully prepared foot-notes illustrative of the naked official records, the restoration of many of the Orders of the Director-general and Council of the Colony, which had been scattered and lost from the city records, and the preparation of proper indices; and *we know*, too, that no one ever supposed, at that time, that the entire time of an Editor was required on the work nor the

establishment of a sinecure, for that Editor's gratification.

While the Resolution was in the Mayor's hands, for approval, the New York Printing Company—that notorious creator of fraud, which has outdone, in wrong-doing, all other authors of municipal corruption—saw, or fancied it saw, in that Resolution, another object to which it could fasten itself, for the depletion of the City Treasury. *Under its influence and that of "the Ring" whose auxiliary it was*, that notorious "Company" was employed to print the proposed work; and, as the Editor of the proposed work would necessarily have a controlling influence in the matter, in various respects, one who was an adept in such matters, *in such connections*—if possible, one who had already graduated in the school of an "official" printing-office and was not unacquainted with the practices of "official" printers—was necessary for the consummation of the new programme.

There was, at that time, a venerable gentleman filling a fifteen-hundred dollar clerkship, under the State Government, at Albany. He was not unacquainted with the subject of the ancient records of the city of New York, *as he had been already paid, by the City, for translating a portion of them from the original Dutch into the modern English*; nor was he unacquainted with the practices of "official" printers, as he had assisted Weed, Parsons, & Co., Cornelius Van Benthuyssen, and other "State Printers," in their very questionable operations on the *Documentary History of New York* and other works of that character. He was, besides, in favor in the Library of the New York Historical Society; and the eminent respectability of the controlling power of that distinguished body, if it could be brought into requisition for the promotion of this portion of the Printing Company's scheme for plundering the City, would serve, at once, to clothe with apparent respectability what was nothing else than corrupt and to give to the wrong-doer a most experienced and most useful co-operator. The power of the New York Historical Society, therefore, was connected with the shafting of the New York Printing Company—*Doctor Moore can tell of what the connecting belt was composed and just when and where the connection was made*—the fifteen hundred dollar clerk was brought from Albany and nicely ensconced in an office within sound of the Printing Company's presses, with a salary of *Five thousand dollars per year*; the bound volumes of the "ancient records"—tender and time-worn—were taken bodily from the legal repository of them, in the City Hall, stripped from their

covers, and placed in the hands of the compositors, for "copy;" and the work went on—as the work of "the Ring" was wont to go on, at that time—swimmingly and agreeably to all, except the taxpayers of the City.

*The venerable Editor commenced his labors, on this peculiar basis, on the first of October, 1870; and he is still laboring, we are told, over his important work of - - - making indices, at five thousand dollars per year. The sheets of the several volumes of the records, separated from their covers, have formed, as we have said, the printers' "copy:" there has been, therefore, no copying to be done by the five-thousand dollar Editor. The Printing Company's proof-readers have read the proofs: there has been, therefore, no proof-reading to be done by the transferred gentleman from Albany. A volume of his work, which we have carefully examined, clearly indicates that illustrative foot-notes, for the explanation of the meagre record, to those who are not historical experts, have not been considered necessary: there has been no research, therefore, by the venerable Editor, in whom, if what was said before the Aldermen's Committee is true, is concentrated all the knowledge on the subject which the world need care to know. He has merely sat in his office, from the first of October, 1870, to June, 1872, and, probably, from June, 1872, until now; received from the Printing Company, from time to time, the printed sheets of fifteen insignificant volumes of the work, printed in such a style of typographical prodigality, both as to smallness of the volume and largeness of the type on which it was printed, as only an "official" printer who was conscious of his own power in a most corrupt Government, possessing ample resources, would have thought of employing for such a purpose; made the indices—he pretended to do nothing else—to eight of them; received five thousand dollars, in money, on account; sent in a bill for twenty five hundred dollars more, keeping back the bills for more than five thousand dollars, which will also be established if he shall obtain payment of this; informed the City authorities that, "if everything were in his favor," twelve thousand, five hundred dollars more would be needed to compensate him for making the remainder of the indices and writing the prefatory note; and again connected the motive power of the New York Historical Society to the shafting of the defunct New York Printing Company, in order that the proposed—what you call it—might seem to be attired in all the respectability of the eminently respectable body which, at that time, moved the official grist-mill. The extract which we make from the *Sun*, and the volume, tells the rest of the story; and the ven-*

erable Editor complacently waits, as Macawber is said to have awaited, while Doctor Moore grinds his grist, for him, in "Boss Tweed's" mill, which has been set in motion, for this purpose, by the respectability of the New York Historical Society, and engineered by its Librarian. We shall see, we suppose, what kind of a miller Doctor Moore will be, in a reform mill: we have seen, in the extract quoted above, how admirably he has filled the role of a Professor of "false" and "true Economy."

A few words more, illustrative of the subject.

FIRST: Without foot-notes, to explain the text, the meagre official records which are the subjects of this article will be, generally, almost useless—indeed, it will require a pretty good acquaintance with the local history of the City to render them useful to those who shall read them. Why, then, has not the Editor prepared the necessary foot-notes? Was he not well enough informed on the subject to do so, creditably; or was his yearly allowance an insufficient inducement; or was it a part of the scheme of the combined respectability of the Second avenue and corruption of Centre-street not to do anything which could be avoided without impairing their chance for payment?

SECOND: The ripping apart of the volumes of the records and the use of the records themselves, by the printers, for "copy," instead of using copies of the records for that purpose and the records themselves only for the revision of the "proof-sheets," indicates a recklessness as well as an indolence which, as far as we have ever heard, is entirely without parallel. Was the expected profit of the undertaking so small that a copyist could not have been employed to make a duplicate of the record, for the printers' use; or were the bound volumes of the records of so little importance that they could be properly removed from the Clerk's office; ripped out of their bindings; employed as "copy" by dirty-fingered workmen; and exposed, for months together, to the fire-risks, and water-risks, and thief-risks, and neglect-risks of the tinder-box, in Centre-street, which, subsequently, became the slaughter-house of a dozen or so of those who worked in it?

THIRD: As the Editor clearly intended, from the beginning, to do nothing but make indices and write a prefatory note to the series of volumes, the latter of which is not yet touched and the former only just commenced—he has made the indices to only eight of these little volumes, in his more than two years labor, without pretending to have done anything else—we submit that five thousand dollars per year, for such a service, is entirely out of keeping, unless among those, *attachés* of "the Ring,"

who closed their eyes to propriety and integrity; and we cannot reconcile the claim for such a compensation, for such a service, with that other claim, to eminent respectability, which has been made by some folks, for the parties to this questionable transaction. We also submit, with due respect, that that wonderful talent of which we have heard so much—even when employed in merely “editing” other people’s writings and making indices for them—which, previously, could command nothing more than a fifteen-hundred dollar clerkship, could not *honestly* have become entitled to more than three times that amount as a mere *index-maker of public documents*; and we will leave it to any respectable workman who is practically acquainted with such matters—John Ward Dean or Samuel G. Drake, of Boston, Lyman C. Draper or Daniel S. Durrie, of Madison, A. S. Spofford, of Washington, Doctor Henry R. Stiles or John Gilmary Shea, LL.D., of New York, and Doctor Franklin B. Hough, of Lowville, for instance—to determine if more than two years of time and upwards of twelve thousand dollars of money could have been possibly employed, *honestly*, in making indices for eight such volumes as these—we know, personally, that eight such indices, to such volumes, could have been made by gentlemen who are quite as capable as Doctor O’Callaghan ever was, at one-tenth of the cost which he has inflicted on the city for that work; and, in that case, they would have been quite as well done.

FOURTH: Because of this propensity to extort monies beyond a just compensation for the services rendered, those who seek the original authorities, in their study of American history, are wounded in the houses of those who assume to be their friends and are deprived of the advantages for study which, otherwise, they might comfortably enjoy. For instance, the swindle inflicted on the taxpayers, by somebody, stopped the publication of what—under the title of the *Documentary History*, edited by Doctor O’Callaghan—might have been of inestimable value to those who desire to know more of the history of this State, had it been continued; and the same may be said of *The Minutes of the Council*, yet unfinished, which the same Doctor O’Callaghan began to carry through the “official” press, at Albany, some years since, and never finished. The *Corporation Manual*, edited by the late D. T. Valentine; the *Calendars of the Deeds, Mortgages, etc.*, recorded in the Register’s office; and the *Calendars of the archives of the State*, edited by Doctor O’Callaghan, have been discontinued, also, because of the bad odor, concerning their cost, which some one—either Editor, or Printer, or both—has cast over them; and

now the long looked-for, long hoped-for records of the city, from the same cause, are evidently doomed to remain in manuscript, unprinted, for another generation or two, unless they shall be printed by private enterprise without resorting to the taxpayers for assistance. Notwithstanding all this, we find a Historical Society employed, by its executive officers and its influences, either directly or indirectly, in promoting the wrong and in retarding the progress of historical studies! This is, truly, a wonderful age.

FIFTH: With all due respect to Chief-justice Daly, we think he made a mistake when he said “Professor O’Callaghan” was, in his opinion, “the only competent man in the country to undertake such an important work;” and we hazard nothing when we say that, learned as he may be, all that relates to the history of the city of New York does *not* begin and end in Doctor O’Callaghan.

Probably the Chief-justice can tell us just what Doctor O’Callaghan has really done to merit such high praise as he has thus bestowed on him: we have seen his *History of New Netherland*, and we have seen the occasional footnotes and the indices which he has added to various documents, *the latter from other pens than his own*, which, as an auxiliary to different “State Printers,” he has ushered through the press, at the cost of the tax-payers of this State. Not a single original work, besides the *History of New Netherland* and a bibliographical list of American bibles, as far as we have knowledge, has ever escaped his pen, unless, as has been stated, he was co-author, with William Lyon Mackenzie, of the two volumes which bear the name of the latter and were suppressed by legal process; and his laurels, as “the only “competent man,” rest solely, with the exceptions named, on his ability to make excellent indices, *when he can take his own time to do the work and be liberally paid for doing it*, and to co-operate with “State Printers” in some of the most flagrant jobs of book-making, at Albany, of which the annals of that locality bear testimony.

The Chief-justice must have heard of one, J. Romeyn Brodhead, as well as of John Paulding, David T. Valentine, James Riker, Doctor Franklin B. Hough, and the learned author of the decision, in the Surrogate’s Court, in the case of *Brick’s Estate*—all living when “Professor Callaghan” embarked in this undertaking—all of whom were wronged in their well earned reputations by the extravagant estimate which he has put on the Doctor’s ability; and if it will not be regarded as unreasonable, in the face of such an authority, we can name an underling, a mere “understrapp-

"per." unto whom even Doctor O'Callaghan has not hesitated to resort for information, on nice questions of local history, whose real ability to edit those records as far surpasses that of Doctor O'Callaghan to do the same work, as the ability of the Chief Justice to extol the Doctor's qualifications for that duty surpasses the ability, in the latter line, of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE—we refer to William Kelly, the unassuming, but not less meritorious, assistant of Doctor Moore, in the legitimate duties of the latter as Librarian of the New York Historical Society.

We protest, therefore, against such an alliance of eminent respectability and eminent criminality as we have noticed, nominally for the promotion of historical literature but really for something very much less deserving. We protest against such an alliance of the dignified New York Historical Society with the disreputable New York Printing Company, as the *Sun* has described, in order to secure a sinecure for anybody, at the expence of decency and the rights of others—taxpayers and non-taxpayers. We protest against the publication of the ancient records of the city, through such a combination of honor and dishonor, in such a form, unaccompanied by explanatory foot-notes, at such a cost, under such unbecoming pretences of superior wisdom and unapproachable virtue, as we have noticed, no matter whose temper shall be ruffled or whose pretensions to respectability shall be, thereby, exposed in all their flimsiness.

We ask the tax-payers of New York to watch the progress of this movement of those—respectable and disreputable, confederated—who seek to saddle them with another job, not quite as large but equally disreputable in principle, as some others: we call on the members of the New York Historical Society to determine whether or not the high character and influence of that body shall be prostituted for the promotion of a flagrant wrong on the city, under the pretense of serving the cause of historical literature.

XIV.—BOOKS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets to the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG, & CO., Booksellers, 64 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient to them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*Papers relating to the History of the Church in Pennsylvania.* A. D., 1650-1778. Edited by William Stevens Perry, D.D. Privately printed. 1871. Quarto, pp. title-page and verso, xxi., 607.

Our readers are generally aware that, many years since, the General Convention of the Prot-

estant Episcopal Church in the United States authorized the Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D.D., to collect, in Europe and elsewhere, copies of whatever correspondence and other documents, illustrative of the history of that denomination of professing Christians, in the early period, he could find; and that the Doctor zealously discharged that duty, leaving behind him, at his decease, a large collection of manuscripts, now known as *The Hawks Collection*. Many of our readers are aware, also, that our friend, the Rev. Doctor Perry has succeeded Doctor Hawks, as the appointed Historiographer of the Convention; and those who have been privileged to examine and employ the work, will remember, also, gratefully, that some two or three years since, the latter gentleman edited and published, by order of the Convention, a very small edition of that portion of *The Hawks Collection* which relates to the early history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia.

The elegant volume before us is the second of the series—a sumptuous quarto, beautifully printed, and filled with documents concerning the history of the Episcopalian Church in Pennsylvania, supplemented with appropriate notes and an admirable index—and we have pleasure in inviting the attention of our readers to it. It is a local of the highest importance, for the illustration of both the ecclesiastical and civil history of the Province of Pennsylvania; and no one can pretend to write on any subject connected with the early history of that important Commonwealth or with any of her leading inhabitants, prior to the War of the Revolution, without referring to it.

As we have said, the volume is a large quarto, printed with old style type, on tinted laid paper, in the finest style of modern book-making; and the edition is a very small one, only for subscribers.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

2.—*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, at the semi-annual meeting, held in Boston, April 23, 1872.* Worcester: 1872. Octavo, pp. 85.

In this tract we have the record of the work of this excellent Society, between October, 1871, and April, 1872; and it affords the best of evidence of the intelligence, zeal, and industry of those who conduct its affairs.

The Report of the Executive Committee discusses the literature of discovery on the Northwest coast of America; the Librarian's Report discusses various subjects of practical interest; the Treasurer's Report presents the Budget of the Society, in all its encouraging details. Besides, we have an admirable speech from Rev. Dr. Ellis, on *Town-debts*, which may be read,

usefully, by town-officers and town tax-payers, without as well as within Massachusetts; and a carefully-prepared paper, by Horace Davis, on *The likelihood of an admixture of Japanese blood on our North-western coast*, illustrated by a map of the "Japanese Warm Stream" of the Pacific.

We are glad to perceive that this excellent old Society is still earnestly engaged in the work to which it was dedicated by its founders; and we hope that its best days will be those which are in the future.

The typography of this tract is excellent.

3.—*Proceedings of the New-England Historic, Genealogical Society, at the annual meeting, January 1, 1873.* Boston: 1873. Octavo, pp. 44.

The Reports of the Committees and officers of this excellent Society indicate a degree of prosperity and activity which will gratify its warmest friends; and at a cost, for conducting its affairs, which ought to put a blush of shame on the face of those who conduct at least one Society, nearer by, if any thing could produce a blush of shame on their faces short of an exposure of the details of their infidelity to the spirit as well as the letter of their trust.

The increase of the Library, during 1872, was one thousand and forty-six bound and unbound volumes and five thousand, nine hundred, and nine-nine pamphlets—including one hundred and two bound volumes of newspapers—and "a large number of manuscripts, besides many "maps, engravings, photographs, and articles "for the Cabinet," the great importance of which will be apparent to every one. The Society has been seated in its own "House;" it has secured one of the most competent and faithful men in the State as its Librarian; its funds have increased, irrespective of its Building fund, more than a thousand dollars; and, in short, it has shown, practically, what an active, earnest set of men can do, with small means; and left those who have a greater regard for the amount of their own salaries than for the purposes of their employment to wonder why it is not the good-fortune of their Societies to be one-half as prosperous or a quarter as efficient.

C.—OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

4.—*The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion.* (1861-65.) Prepared, in accordance with Acts of Congress, under the direction of Surgeon General Joseph K. Barnes, United States Army. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1870.

The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion. Part I. Volume I. Medical History. Prepared, under the direction of Joseph K. Barnes, Surgeon

General United States Army, by J. J. Woodward, Assistant Surgeon United States Army. Quarto, pp. xliii., 726, [6, not numbered] 365.

The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion. Part I. Volume II. Surgical History. Prepared, under the direction of Joseph K. Barnes, Surgeon General United States Army, by George A. Otis, Assistant Surgeon United States Army. Quarto, pp. clv., 650, xiv.

Every careful writer of military history will find in the medical and surgical records of armies very much information, of the highest interest, which cannot, ordinarily, be found elsewhere; and every one who cares to look, beyond the results of military operations, at the causes which have produced or the influences which have controlled them, will, necessarily, resort to the annals of the composition, the sanitary condition, and the havoc made in the ranks by disease and the missiles of the enemy. For this reason, the Medical and Surgical History of any War is as important to those who undertake to write concerning the military operations in that War as it can possibly be to the medical or surgical student; and no official history of a War can be regarded as complete which does not include a faithful transcript of the observations and experience of the Surgeons who accompanied the Armies, therein.

It was regarded as most gratifying information, therefore, when we learned that the Federal authorities were preparing to print the annals of its faithful medical staff, concerning the operations of the recent War; and still more welcome were the first-fruits of that service—the two elegant quartos, referred to, at the head of this notice—when, through the courtesy of the Surgeon-general of the Army, they were laid on our table.

The first-named of the two volumes—the *Medical History*—opens with an Introductory Note, by the Surgeon-general, in which he traces, with great particularity, the origin and progress of the measures which have resulted in the publication of this volume; and this is followed by an elaborate *Introduction*, in which the general subject of the volume, the system of its construction, and a minute description of its contents are carefully presented. There is, also, in this portion of the work, a very interesting discussion of the question as to the loss of life, during the War; and, if for no other feature, that portion of the work entitles it to the highest consideration by every student of the history of the War. Then follows an elaborate series of tables showing the sickness and mortality of, respectively, the white and the colored troops, month by month, and "region" by "region," extending to a hundred and fifty distinct diseases, appropriately classified. An "Appendix" follows, containing a mass of *Reports*

of *Medical Directors and other Documents*, from the Battle of Bull-run to the close of the War—a series of papers of the highest importance, as material for history, and carefully illustrated with maps of the principal battles and scenes of operations.

The second-named of these volumes—the *Surgical History*—opens with the same Introductory Note, by the Surgeon-general, which opens the *Medical History*, already noticed; and this is followed by an *Introduction* to the volume, by Doctor Otis, its Editor; a *Chronological Summary of Engagements and Battles*—a paper embracing descriptions of the conflicting forces, their respective losses, and other information—and an *Index to the Chronological Summary*, in which those conflicts are noticed, alphabetically. The text of the volume contains detailed reports, many of them illustrated, of hundreds of cases of wounds and injuries of, respectively, the head, the face, the neck, the spine, and the chest, sustained by both Federal and Confederate soldiers—a series of reports which, more generally than any other of the series, will be found useful to the surgical community; but, nevertheless, affording, not unfrequently, evidence which will be found of the highest importance by those who love to explore the inner recesses of *historical truth*.

Our readers will perceive that the work before us is highly prized, by us, as an authority in history as well as in science. We are grateful to him who projected it and to those who executed it. We hope that no untoward event will occur to retard the publication of the volumes not yet issued.

Typographically considered, these volumes possess great beauty, both in their text and their illustrations—they are seldom surpassed, as specimens of elegant book-making.

5.—*History of the Transylvanian Volunteers, 1861-5*; prepared in compliance with Acts of the Legislature, by Samuel P. Bates. Volumes III., IV., and V. Harrisburg: 1870-1871. Large octavo, pp. [Volume III.] iv., 1379; [Volume IV.] v., 1208; [Volume V.] v., 1431.

We have already noticed, at length, the earlier volumes of this series; and we have pleasure in returning to the subject, with the closing volumes before us.

During the progress of the War, and for several years after its close, Pennsylvania appeared to care nothing for the record of her own devotion to the cause of the country nor for that of the gallantry of her troops in the field. Her Reports were mere skeletons; and she provided scarcely enough of those to supply the necessary wants of her Executive officers, without seeming to care whether or not students of her

history should be enabled to ascertain, from official sources, what she did and what she did not do, as one of the leading Commonwealths of the Confederation.

But, some years after Peace was established, a new spirit was aroused and a new policy established. A competent scholar was employed as the State's historiographer; the records of her several Regiments and Battalions were completed; and the world was made acquainted with the fact that Pennsylvania had, at last, become sensible that those who had supported her banners, in the field, were entitled to Pennsylvania's gratitude. Five large volumes form the important record, as Pennsylvania has now completed it; and no one, unless by accident, need look in vain for a complete record of every Regiment or Battalion which has borne her standards or that of every man, old or young, who has fought her battles.

The *History* is arranged by Regiments—every Regiment enjoying its separate record of services and separate Roster of officers and men (the latter arranged, alphabetically, by Companies) with their respective ranks, dates of muster and individual records—and is illustrated with carefully-prepared maps and engravings adapted to that purpose. Indeed, there seems to be very little to be desired which has not been anticipated; and the author is entitled to great credit for the patient industry which he has displayed in every part of his laborious services.

The volumes are very handsomely printed by the State Printer, and will become objects of anxious enquiry wherever the history of the military operations of the recent struggle shall become subjects of intelligent enquiry.

6.—*Official Register of the Officers and Men of New Jersey, in the Revolutionary War*, compiled under orders of His Excellency Theodore F. Randolph, Governor, by William S. Snyder, Adjutant-General. Printed by authority of the Legislature. Trenton, N. J.: 1872, Octavo, pp. 85.

New Jersey was favored, a year or two since—and, probably she is now—with an Executive who possessed a clear head and was upright in the discharge of his official duties; and he was blessed with an assistant, as his Adjutant-general, who was of the same rare kind. Between the two—the Adjutant-general and the Governor—it was determined to make and publish a complete record of the soldiers of New Jersey who served, respectively, in the Army of the Revolution, in the War of 1812, and in the Mexican War—we suppose that of the Jersey-men who served in the recent Civil War will complete the series—and, the Legislature having

approved the proposition, in the portly volume before us we have the first-fruits of that patriotic undertaking.

The volume opens with a brief digest of the action of the Continental Congress and of the Provincial Congress of New Jersey which called into the service of the Continent the first two Battalions of the New Jersey line; and that is followed with Rosters of their respective officers and sketches of their services in the field. Following these are similar digests, Rosters, and sketches of services of the Third Battalion of the "First Establishment," the four Battalions of the "Second Establishment," and the three Battalions of the "Third Establishment;" and lists of the officers, Jerseymen, who served in other commands than those included in the ten Battalions first referred to. Then come the *Official Roster of Continental Troops*, beginning with William Alexander, Lord Stirling, Major-general, and ending with Isaac Zopus, a Private in "Spencer's Regiment," Continental Army;" records of the origin and officers of the "State troops" and of the officers of the State "Militia;" the Laws under which that Militia was organized, in the several Counties of the State, from 1775 until 1781; and notices of its services in the field. An elaborate *Official Roster of State Troops and Militia* follows, in which Major-general Philemon Dickinson heads the list and "William Young, Teamster," closes it; and a similar Roster of the officers in the Naval Service and an Index close the volume.

In all these several Rosters the names are arranged, alphabetically, under their several offices; and the Counties to which the men belonged and, very often, their respective Regiments and brief notices of their services add to the interest of the brief record.

Our readers will need no reminder from us of the interest which necessarily attaches to this very elaborate record; and how much genealogists and students will rejoice at this evidence of New Jersey's judicious liberality in seconding the excellent judgment and disinterested industry, in this instance, of those whom it has been her good fortune to secure as her public officers.

The volume is a very handsome one; and we are indebted to our friend, General William S. Stryker, the excellent Adjutant-general of the State, for the copy which is before us.

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

7.—*History of Lexington Kentucky Its Early Annals and Recent Progress including Biographical Sketches and Personal Reminiscences of the Pioneer Settlers Notices of prominent citizens etc etc* By George W Rauck Cincinnati

natl Robert Clarke & Co 1872 Octavo, pp. viii., 423. Price \$4.00.

The author, not without propriety, has called Lexington, "the Jamestown of the West; the advance-guard of civilization; the center from which went forth the conquerors of a savage empire." She is, also, the second outgrowth of an intelligent community—the second city which has occupied the same site—and, within the memory of living men, she was rich in her crumbling remains of a powerful, intelligent, and by-gone race. It was proper, therefore, that she should find an annalist; and the volume before us is intended to meet that want.

Opening with a survey of the remains of the ancient city, as far as the remains have been noticed by those who preceded him or can be found, to-day, the author next describes, successively, the intermediate occupation of Kentucky, by the Indians; the occupation of the same territory, by the whites; the settlement of Lexington, in 1775; and her subsequent progress and decline. In this work, he has largely, but necessarily, introduced the history of all Kentucky and, incidentally, he has noticed, also, that of the entire West; but, although he has thus extended his observation beyond the limits of municipal Lexington, her particular annals are not obscured nor the memories of her burghers overlooked. It was necessary, in order to present her story and that of her founders, in all their completeness, that that of Kentucky and the wide West, beyond her boundaries, should also be noticed; and the duty has been carefully and judiciously met.

It is very seldom that any locality can secure so faithful an annalist as Mr. Rauck has proved himself to be; and we very rarely find a work of this class which has been prepared with such evidently untiring industry. Nothing seems to have been forgotten or overlooked, of what Lexington has ever seen or ever done; and it seems that no one has ever set foot within her boundaries without finding a place in this admirable record. Had it been provided with a suitable *Table of Contents* and a carefully-prepared *Index*, we should have considered it as perfect as it very well could be, in the absence of any attempt to present the genealogies of the leading families of the locality; and we cannot omit the mention of our deep regret that a work which has been prepared with so much labor and printed with so much taste, should not have been provided with a *Table of Contents* and an *Index*, of a character suitable to the wants of those who will have occasion to use it.

As a specimen of Western book-making, it is a very neatly executed volume.

8.—*Annals of Phoenixville and its vicinity: from the settlement to the year 1871*, giving the origin and growth of the Borough, with information concerning the adjacent townships of Chester and Montgomery Counties and the valley of the Schuylkill, by Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, Esqr. Philadelphia: Bavis & Pennypacker. 1871. Octavo, pp. 295.

Nearly one half of this volume is occupied with a careful survey of the history of Chester county and its vicinity, from its settlement until the close of the War of 1812, interspersed with documents for the support of the narrative and its illustration. The latter half of the volume is confined to the annals of the Borough of Phoenixville, from the purchase of the site on which it stands, in December, 1731, until 1871, in which portion of the work, with great industry and evident care, the small beginnings and the rise to prosperity of that flourishing community are duly recorded.

There has been no waste of words in the preparation of this volume for the press; and yet there seems to be nothing lacking, in a careful, complete, conscientious presentation of the facts, as far as the author has traversed the field which he has labored in. There is no attempt to record the genealogies of families, such as we see in every such work which proceeds from New England—an omission which will be regretted, years hence, when *love of family* shall have become more developed in that portion of the Republic—but “the short and simple annals” of the neighborhood—all that was considered noteworthy, thereabouts—have certainly fallen into capable hands and been successfully and satisfactorily presented. The want of a proper Index is the principal drawback; and, in a new edition, should one be called for, it is to be hoped the omission will be remedied.

The volume is a very handsome one; and is illustrated with a Map, *fac-similes*, and several neat wood-cuts.

9.—*History of Wayne County, Indiana, from its first settlement to the present time; with numerous Biographical and Family Sketches*. By Andrew W. Young. Embellished with upwards of fifty portraits of Citizens and Views of Buildings. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. 459.

This portly volume contains the annals of Wayne county, Indiana, situated on the border of Ohio and almost directly East from Indianapolis.

Opening with a general description of the County and ample notices of its settlement and general progress in prosperity, it next introduces each town, separately; carefully recording its history, the progress of its improvements, and its present condition; and preserving, in bio-

graphical and genealogical sketches and more than fifty portraits, not only the statistics of their leading families but the lineaments of their more prominent members.

It promises well for the history of “the West” that such a volume as this has been already devoted to a record of the simple annals of a single County; and we congratulate the inhabitants of Wayne county that they have found one who was both able and willing to perpetuate the history of the heroism of their ancestors and the prosperity which has crowned their humble labors, with so much patient fidelity and so much minuteness.

The volume is very neatly printed by Messrs. Robert Clarke & Co., and is worthy of an extended circulation.

10.—*Early History of the Lutheran Church in America, from the settlement of the Swedes on the Delaware, to the middle of the eighteenth century*. By C. W. Scheaffer. New Edition. Philadelphia: The Lutheran Book-store, 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 142.

We notice, in this place—although it is not a *Recent Publication*—this hand-book of Lutheran history, in order that our readers who have occasion to refer to works on that subject may not overlook it.

It does not profess to be very complete, nor is it so; but it will be found useful, as far as it goes, as a general guide to the history of the Swedish, Dutch, and German Lutherans, in America, until “the middle of the eighteenth century”—say until within a hundred and twenty years of our time—and, as such, we notice it, notwithstanding the date of its publication.

It is very neatly printed.

XV.—CURRENT EVENTS.

OBITUARY.—CHARLES HALSEY MITCHELL, the fifth son of MINOTT MITCHELL, Esqr. and ELIZA, *née* SILLIMAN, his wife, was born at White Plains, Westchester county, N. Y., on the thirtieth of February, 1824; entered the University of the City of New York and graduated in the Class of 1844; read law in the office of his elder brother, William Minott Mitchell, Esqr., New York, and was admitted to practice in 1846; removed to Milan, Ohio, in 1847, and continued to reside there, practising his profession, until 1852, when he returned to New York, in which latter city he resumed his practice, and continued therein—the greater portion of the time in partnership with his cousin, MINOTT MITCHELL SILLIMAN, Esqr., forming the firm of MITCHELL & SILLIMAN—until his decease. He married, on the twenty-first of July, 1859,

ISABELLA R., daughter of Hon. JOHN HULL, of Freehold, New Jersey, who, with two children, survives him; and he died, from nervous prostration, at his residence—the well known home of his father—on the thirtieth of January, 1873.

With Mr. Mitchell's father and some of the members of his family it was our fortune to become personally and intimately acquainted, in the days of our young manhood, more than a third of a century since; and, subsequently, it was our fortune, also, to meet them, in opposition, as a principal party, in one of the most tedious legal contests which the Bar and the Bench of Westchester-county have ever engaged in—a contest, too, in which they were on the losing side. Nearly twenty years ago, it was our fortune, also, to remove, with our young family, to the vicinity of White Plains and to become a neighbor and every-day associate of all of them; and, with all the animosities which had been created by years of family strife entirely buried, by both parties, it was our privilege to find in both the venerable heads of the family, as well as in the younger members of it, neighbors whose nurturing kindness could not have been exceeded by those who were nearer to us, and, subsequently, friends, who, in our adversity, as well as in our prosperity, have been unchanged and unchangeable, constant in good words and works, and never becoming weary therein.

In this family group—embracing parents, children, grandchildren, nephews, and nieces, the aged as well as the young—"Halsey" for by that familiar name our deceased friend was generally known, was always among the first to meet and to greet us with his hearty, outspoken salutation; and, only a short time before his death, we received from him one of those letters of hearty censure of what was supposed to have been an indiscreet act of our own, which, quite as much as a word of hearty approval, it is the privilege of a friend to write to us. He was then in ill-health; but we did not entertain a thought of his danger until the sad tidings of his decease abruptly broke upon us, informing us that another of our friends had been taken, another of the ties which bind us to earth had been suddenly broken.

Mr. Mitchell possessed natural abilities of a high order; and they were improved by a liberal education, by diligent study, and by extended travel, both in the old world and the new—three several visits to Europe (one of them in company with James T. Brady and Edward Sanford; another in company with Governor Seward) having served to make him acquainted with whatever was noticeable in Europe; and his long residence in the West, as

well as in New York, made him perfectly familiar with the men and matters of our own country. He was a good lawyer, too; and, without entering public life, as an office seeker, he was thoroughly acquainted with the political affairs of the Republic.

But it was in the social circle, and among those whom he recognized as his friends, that "Halsey" shone brightest; and in that capacity, especially, will he be remembered, most fondly, by those who were regarded by him as belonging to that circle. Quick, impulsive, outspoken, he was, nevertheless, as slow to inflict a wound, unnecessarily, as he was prompt to assuage it, if inflicted improperly; and no one could have been more generous in forgetting past differences, honestly entertained, or in forgiving a wrong, inflicted without malice, than he. He was fond of harmless jokes, heartily participating therein; and those who have traveled, day by day, between "the Plains" and New York, or who met him in his business office, or in his family circle, will remember his frequent sallies of wit, his brilliant repartee, and his earnest, hearty bursts of laughter when others retorted, even to his own disadvantage.

Having known and enjoyed his earnest friendship, when a friend was most welcome, we know how heavy the blow is which has taken him from us; and our heartfelt sympathy is extended to those, both within and without his family circle, who were bound to him by ties of a yet more sacred character—wife, children, brothers, nephews, nieces—and who feel more keenly than we can the power of his absence.

—JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD, LL.D.—After this page was entirely in type, we received the sad tidings of the death of our distinguished friend, JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD, the well-known historian of New York; and we make room for this brief notice of it. In our next, we shall endeavor to notice the event more fully than we can at this time.

—Lieutenant-colonel Atherton H. Stevens, Jr., died, in East Cambridge, recently. He was formerly in command of the First Battalion of Massachusetts Cavalry, and Provost-marshal of the Twenty-sixth Army Corps, also the first Union officer who entered Richmond, and received its surrender from Mayor Mayo.

—Mr. George A. Simmons, of Boston, has presented to Independence Chamber, Philadelphia, a copy of the portrait of Samuel Adams, by Copley, which hangs in Faneuil Hall.

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I.—THE WESTERN STATES OF THE GREAT VALLEY; AND THE CAUSE OF THEIR PROSPERITY, HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED.

BY JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D D., PRESIDENT OF WABASH-COLLEGE, INDIANA.

Edward Everett probably never rose to loftier eloquence than when, in the New York Academy of Music, on the fourth of July, 1862, he discussed, in the presence of thousands, "the great issues now before the country." In his closing appeal, he reached the climax as he unfolded the relations of the great West to these issues. "For years, the turning point of the politics of the West * * * had been nothing less than the sovereign control of the Mississippi, from its headspring to its outlet in the Gulf." Only one sentence in the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso, he said, had come to the public, but that "sentence gave away half a Continent" to Napoleon, in barter for some worthless Crown bestowed on some worthless Bourbon; and, in his turn, pressed by necessity, the French Emperor, for a few millions, "transferred to us that territory, half as big as Europe, by a stroke of his pen." The cession included "Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, and Kansas, the Territories of Nebraska, Dacotah, and Jefferson, * * * the State of Oregon and the Territory of Washington." The Mississippi, for the West, is the natural outlet to the sea. Some ten millions, of the loyal Western States, claim this as belonging to the common country, and, said the orator, assuming his grandest attitude and tones, "Louisiana fondly believes that ten millions of the free people of the Union will allow her and her seceding brethren to open and shut the portals of this mighty region, at their pleasure. They may do so, and the swarming millions which through the course of these noble streams and their tributaries, may consent to navigate them by sufrage from Montgomery and Richmond; but it will be when the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains, which form the eastern and western walls of the imperial

"valley, shall sink to the level of the sea, and the Mississippi and the Missouri shall flow back to their fountains."

Suppose the traveler to embark on a lake steamer, at Cleveland, touching at Sandusky and Detroit, then passing through Lake Huron and accomplishing the circuit of Lake Michigan, touching at Chicago, Milwaukee, and Green Bay; thence traversing the entire length of Lake Superior, as far as Superior City. Let him now take the stage-coach, and traverse the wilderness, to St. Anthony; thence, by rail and horse, to the Missouri; and thence, by steamer, as high as Fort Benton. Standing there, let him attempt to realize, in thought, that he is now, by river, about three thousand miles from St. Louis. From Fort Benton, let him now strike southward, along the base of the Rocky Mountains, the entire breadth of Idaho and Colorado; as he crosses the Union Pacific Railroad, let him look eastward, and think of the Atlantic, and westward, and think of the Pacific. Let him follow, next, the southern boundaries of Colorado, Kansas, and Missouri, until he reaches the Mississippi, and thence, up the Ohio, to Pittsburgh, and thence, by rail, to Cleveland, his point of departure. He will, then, be prepared to pronounce our hacknied phrase, "THE GREAT WEST," with some adequate notion of its meaning. And yet, after all, this would be but a meagre view of any thing but "the magnificent distances" of the West.

If we leave out of this estimate the States admitted into the Union, since Kansas, we shall have enough left for our present purpose. We may call the Western States, in the order of their admission. Ohio was admitted into the Union, in 1802; Indiana, in 1816; Illinois, in 1818; Missouri, in 1820; Michigan, in 1837; Iowa, in 1846; Wisconsin, in 1848; Minnesota, in 1857; and Kansas in 1860. Let it be remembered that more than ten years have passed since the statistics of the last decennial census were compiled; and that all these States, but especially the newer ones, have made vast progress since that time. Now, according to the tables of 1860, in these nine States, over one hundred millions of acres—one half of which

were occupied—were owned by citizens and valued at over two billions of dollars. To show what changes have taken place since 1860, in this respect, Iowa may be cited. In 1860, less than eleven millions of acres were owned by citizens; in 1867, there were nearly thirty millions. In 1850, these nine States—Kansas not yet admitted—had nine hundred and eleven thousand dwellings; in 1860, one million.

It would be interesting to examine the census, in order to present to our readers a view of the physical greatness of these States as exhibited in their improved lands, the number of their dwellings, the amounts of grain and animals, the number of their newspapers and other periodicals, the products of their skilled labor in iron, cotton, woolen, and other materials—indeed, in all that goes to make up the vast sum total of money-values of these States; but, inasmuch as the census of 1870 is not yet accessible, we prefer to omit these facts and pass on to other statements of a more significant and imposing character.

On the twelfth of April, 1861, at twenty minutes past four in the morning, Edward Ruffea of Virginia was permitted by General Beauregard to make his name forever infamous by firing the first shot at the national flag that floated over Fort Sumter; and, on Saturday, the thirteenth of April, the fort surrendered. As the wires conveyed the intelligence, South, North, and West, the wildest excitement was produced. The South was wild with joy at the result; whilst the North and West were wild with rage, at the insult offered to the national symbol and the humiliation of the national honor. We could not, if we would, do perfect justice to the New England and Middle States, in the treasure, the munitions, and the men they sent to the field. On the fifteenth of April, President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand volunteers, for three months, to suppress the rebellion; and, the same day, Jefferson Davis and other traitors laughed a loud laugh at the news; but, in reality there was nothing to cause laughter. The President may have displayed simplicity in his plan, as if such a force could put down such an enemy; but a man of his docility very easily learned better; whilst, all over the North and West, the patriotic fever swept like a hurricane. Such a Sunday was never known on this Continent, as that which succeeded the fall of Sumter and preceded the first call for troops. The wires had conveyed the distressing news, in every direction; and, whilst multitudes crowded the churches, other multitudes gathered at the street-corners or in public halls, to discuss the situation. The one thought that oppressed the hearts of all was that "the dear old flag had been insulted by

"traitors." At the East, multitudes were found who did not believe in proceeding too fast or pushing matters to extremes. Towns and cities, in that section, were so unfortunate as to be creditors to the amount of millions to persons at the South. The very harness by which the rebels drew their cannon, the very saddles they rode on, the very "cadet-gray" in which thousands of their soldiers were clothed, were bought at the North, on credit. The hatters and clothiers of Newark, the carriage and harness-makers of New Haven, the great merchants of New York, and Philadelphia, and Boston, looked at the situation, through the vast debts owed them at the South. It casts no reflections on their integrity or patriotism, to say they *hoped* that mild means would heal the difficulty and save also their endangered capital.

The surrender of Sumter was known in the great cities of the West, on Saturday evening; and, on Sunday, the fourteenth of April, it was known at every telegraph-station, West of the Alleghanies, and thence, widely circulated, in every direction. Lorin Andrew, President of Kenyon-college, was the earliest to offer himself as a soldier; and, before the flag over Sumter was lowered, "twenty full Companies" were offered the Governor of Ohio, for immediate service. "But a single day was required to raise the first two Ohio Regiments, 'in answer to the President's call.'" In Indiana, that Sunday was devoted, in many places, to making clothes for the soldiers. Lewis Wallace, of Crawfordsville, had drilled a Company of Zouaves; and, under his direction, Blinn, one of his pupils, had drilled the cadets in Wabash-college so thoroughly as, in the opinion of some, to excel his master. Both these Companies, at once, enlisted under Wallace; and Companies from the country filled up the Regiment—the immortal Eleventh Indiana Volunteers—in a trice. That great organizer, Governor Morton, was at the helm, in the Hoosier State, as Governor Dennison was in the Buckeye. In Illinois, and Michigan, and Iowa, and Wisconsin, and Kansas, the flood of popular feeling flowed in the same direction, until it seemed as if that sublime hypothesis with which Everett closed his Oration, as quoted already, in the commencement of this article, was converted into a sublime fact. Ten millions of people rose to a level with the exigency of the hour, and proved that it would be easier to smooth down the two great mountain-ranges and turn the two great rivers of the West back upon their sources, than for them to surrender to treason, not merely the Mississippi-valley but their country.

The object of these statements is not merely to show what these Western States *now* are, but

to reflect the luster of their present greatness on the humble but illustrious beginnings of that greatness.

From the voluminous facts which Mr. Reid, in his *Ohio in the War*, has, with such painstaking, presented in his work, we select a few. "At the close of the War against the Rebellion, the State of Ohio had in the national service two hundred Regiments of all arms. In the course of the War, she furnished two hundred and thirty Regiments, besides twenty-six independent Batteries of Artillery, five independent Companies of Cavalry, several Companies of Sharpshooters, large parts of five Regiments credited to the West Virginia contingent, two credited to the Kentucky contingent, two transferred to 'United States Colored Troops,' and a large proportion of the rank and file for the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Massachusetts. * * * In these various organizations, as original members or as recruits, the State furnished to the national service the magnificent army of three hundred and ten thousand, six hundred and fifty-four soldiers. * * * The period of service of these troops ranged from that of the National Guards, for a hundred days, to that of the Veteran Volunteers, for five years. Reduced to the department standard, they represent not quite two hundred and forty thousand three-years' soldiers." And then Mr. Reid, with unconcealed pride, tells where and how they fought on well-nigh every battle-field of the War * * * and the record of what they did will never cease to be cherished by their grateful countrymen." It was in such sublime bountifulness, in the gifts dearest to herself, that Ohio redeemed the worthy reply of Governor Dennison to the insolent Message of the rebel Governor of Kentucky to the President's first call for troops: "IF KENTUCKY REFUSES TO FILL HER QUOTA, OHIO WILL FILL IT FOR HER." And what was done by Ohio was paralleled by Indiana, Illinois, and the other Western States. They were fired with no half-hearted interest, but with a determination which sent to the field the very best of her sons.

As for the sanitary arrangements and the means contributed, directly, by the people of these States, to the soldiers in the field and in the hospital, they were enormous. Their gifts, in some cases, required nothing less than whole freight-trains to convey them. The facts can never be known, except approximately; but could they be known and reduced to value, in dollars, to weight, in tons, or bulk, in cords, the aggregate would constitute one of the most imposing of this great period.

In the great review of our Armies, at Washington city, at the close of the War, when the

legions of the Potomac, the Shenandoah, and Tennessee, under Grant, Sheridan, and Sherman, marched before the President and multitudes of admiring spectators, it was remarked, by eastern men, that the manhood material, the yeoman-quality, and "the intense, quick, and long swinging stride of the western troops, distinguished them from the eastern." All were troops worthy of the deliverance the nation had experienced at their hands; but not least illustrious among them, at that national pageant, were those that had been sent by those nine Western States.

As one rides along the railway which traverses the unequalled "Cheat-mountain region," he asks what the forces were that heaved up these mountains and then split them apart, in these sublime clefts? As he rides over the wide-extended prairies of the West, beholding their matchless beauty and richness, he asks what were the causes that made them what they are? Some have reached a *grand effect* in these Western States, and we ask for the *causes* of it. The mere division of similar territories, by a river, or the mere circumstance of a few degrees' difference of Latitude cannot account for the prosperity of one section and the depression of another. We propose to discuss this question, at some length, as due both to history and philosophy.

"The poor wise man, by his wisdom, delivered the city; yet no man remembered that same poor man;" and yet, we are told, "the words of wise men are heard in quiet more than the cry of him that ruleth among fools." The great beneficent results which history names are often traced to wrong agents; and the real heroes whose faith and wisdom achieved these results are forgotten. Too great an extent this has been true in the history of this gigantic western civilization.

Without going back to trace the methods by which the United States came in possession of the North-western Territory and of the Louisiana Territory—including part of the States whose growth we have been tracing—it is sufficient to say that, on the twenty-fifth of January, 1785, two Army-officers, General Rufus Putnam and Colonel Benjamin Tupper, published a plan which led to the organization of the "OHIO COMPANY;" and this was addressed, mainly, to "officers and soldiers who have served in the late War, and who are, by an Ordinance of the Honorable Congress, to receive certain tracts of land in the Ohio Country." This led to a meeting, in Boston, of delegates elected according to the plan. That meeting was made up of eleven delegates. General Rufus Putnam was elected Chairman. He was a man of great integrity and inde-

pendence; and, by his own efforts, he had become one of the most accomplished Engineers in the American Army. He was greatly honored by Washington; and it was undoubtedly *his* plan and not Colonel Gridley's, as is commonly stated, that was adopted by Washington, for the occupation of Dorchester Heights, and which forced the evacuation of Boston.—(HILDRETH'S *Lives of Early Settlers of Ohio*, 56.) He was a good man; but *he* was not the man who was to drop the seed-corns of western greatness. He and his companions had fought well for the country, and they stood ready to brave all the rigors of frontier life; but the honored agent of Divine Providence, in imparting to the Northwest the right type of civilization was the delegate from Essex-county, Massachusetts, the Rev. Manassah Cutler—usually called "Doctor Cutler," for the double reason that he had been honored with the degree of Doctor of Laws, by Yale-college, and he was also a successful practitioner of Medicine, in the parish of which he was Pastor, fifty-two years.

Doctor Cutler was born at Killingly, Connecticut, in 1742; and graduated at Yale-college, in 1765. For a time, he successfully practised Law, in Martha's Vineyard; but, in 1771, was ordained to the Christian ministry, as Pastor of the Hamilton-church, in Essex-county, Massachusetts, which position he worthily filled until his death, in 1823. He is represented as a man of superior abilities and attainments. He attained local celebrity, as a physician, and a national celebrity, as a botanist, for which reason he was elected an Honorary Member of several scientific associations in Philadelphia and other parts of the country. During two Campaigns, he was a Chaplain in the Revolutionary Army; and it thus happened that he was elected a member of the Convention that formed the Ohio Company. His genial manner, great common sense, extended acquaintance, and his interest in the enterprise, led to his being selected as the Company's agent, to proceed to New York, where Congress was in Session, to negotiate for Ohio lands. In June, 1787, he started for New York, in his own carriage. He had provided himself with letters of introduction to leading men, on his route and in Congress.

The manuscript copy of his journal tells us that, at Providence, he "received a polite invitation from Governor Bowen, in the name of a large company, to join them in a Turtle-frolic, six miles out of town; but, much against my inclination, I was obliged to excuse myself: spending my time in Turtle-frolics would very illy comport with the long journey and public business I had undertaken.

"As I went out of town, Mr. Hitchcock and myself waited on Governor Bowen. I informed him it was my wish to visit the famous steam-engine, at Cranston, of which he was one of the proprietors. He proposed excusing himself from the Turtle-party and riding out with me, to the engine, eight miles from Providence; but as it must have deprived him of so much pleasure, as they had in prospect, I insisted on his not thinking of it and went on, myself, to Cranston. This curious machine was made under the direction of Mr. Joseph Brown, of Providence, and is a striking proof of the abilities of that able philosopher. The invention was not new; but he had made many valuable improvements in simplifying and making the working of it more convenient above what has been done in Europe. It cost upwards of one thousand pounds sterling."

A comparison of this "famous engine" of that day with one of the many now made, at the Novelty and other Works, and to be seen at hundreds of Water-works and Manufactories, would show that some progress has been made in that line, since Doctor Cutler went out of his way eight miles to see an engine that was then "a seven-days'-wonder."

It seems, also, that the "turtle-party" of 1787, must be the lawful progenitor of the "clam-bake" in which the Rhode Islanders of our day take so much delight.

Having passed through the Notch, in the Hartford "Mountains," which he describes, Doctor Cutler came to East Hartford, where his dignified manners so impressed a "Connecticut tavern-keeper, a man of great sagacity and remarkable complaisance," that, "after taking off his hat and making several bows and scrapes with his feet, asked me if I was not the Governor!"

It is exceedingly interesting to compare the Doctor's description of several towns and cities, as they were in 1787, with what they are now. For instance, who, in passing through the elegant streets and suburbs of the city of Hartford, as it now is, would suspect that Cutler was describing the same place, as it was, eighty-one years ago? "Went out to Hartford," continues Doctor Cutler, "by the Southern road. The city of Hartford is very delightful, fully situated on high ground, and the bank of a beautiful river. The prospect is extensive and the streets handsome. The main street, which is very straight and spacious, running the whole length of the city, is elegant. The houses are very large and many of them of brick, with large shops of goods, of every kind, fronting the street. But the narrow bridge over the small river that runs

"through the city, crossing the street at right angles, greatly injures the appearance and is truly disgusting.

"After dinner, I called on my class-mate, Jonathan Bull, Esq., one of the Aldermen of the city, but did not get out of my carriage. I had not seen him, nor any of my class-mates, in this part of the country, since we commenced, at college, twenty-two years ago. I was surprised to find that he knew me, at some distance; for he was sitting in the stoop of the door. I certainly should not have readily recognized him, had I not known whom I expected to see. He very soon appeared much the same as he used to do, excepting the inroads of time had made in the features of his face. He urged me to spend some time with him; but it was not in my power. I also called on my class-mate, Colonel Hezekiah Wyllis. He lives with his father, Colonel Wyllis, Secretary of State, in an elegant seat, just without the city, situated on a high eminence which overlooks the city and commands a most enchanting prospect of the river, meandering through rich meadows and fertile fields, for ten or fifteen miles. The landscape from this seat far exceeds any I have ever seen, in any part of the country. My good old friend did not recognize me, for some time; for I was determined not to tell him my name. At length, he recollected me; and so much were his tender passions moved, that he could not refrain from tears. We had been particularly intimate at College—lived together, two years, in the same chamber. The firmest affection and friendship subsisted between us, during the whole of our residence at college. Our attachment had been cemented by a similar taste for the same course of studies, which we generally pursued together, and were constant companions, in our amusements and parties of pleasure. It was my intention not to light; but such was his importunity or rather force, that I could not withstand it. His lady, who is beautiful and amiable, received me with great politeness. She is much younger than himself; for he entered into the connubial state late in life, having been married but three years. We spent two or three hours in running over college scenes, which he seemed to dwell upon with peculiar satisfaction, and in giving each other the history of what had passed since we left our *alma mater*. With the greatest difficulty, I took my leave, but not without promising to spend two or three days with him, on my return. This unexpected tenderness of affection, in my friend, made so deep an impression on my mind that I felt it much more sensibly after I left him than be-

"fore; and entirely discomposed me for the remainder of the day."

Those familiar with that portion of the Connecticut-valley, in the midst of which Middletown is situated, will appreciate Doctor Cutler's "fine writing," as he attempts to describe it. "The landscape," so he writes, "appeared to me of a very peculiar style. The scene was truly picturesque and romantic: the effect was greatly heightened by the particular situation of the sun, which was then about half an hour high. The distant shadows were projected; and a thin haziness bordered the landscape, near the horizon, and spread a dubious veil, from side to side. This greatly heightened the beauty of the distant objects. It did nothing and sweetened the hues of nature; gave a consequence to every distant object, by giving it a more indistinct form; corrected the glare of color; softened the hardness of outlines; and, above all, threw over the landscape the harmonizing tint which blended the whole into repose and beauty. In the foreground, was Middletown. On my left was Connecticut-river, three fourths of a mile in breadth and, at a distance from the top of the hill, rolling her water with a slow but majestic pace, through the center of the landscape, towards the southern horizon. * * * I fancied myself in the Elysian fields; and gazed with delighted astonishment, until the sun was set and the sable curtains of the night so far drawn as to close the enchanting scene. * * * Came to Middletown by a road passing close to the bank of the river, perfectly level and smooth, the sides next the lots of intervals being lined, for two miles, with the tallest and straightest Button-wood trees I ever saw."

According to the custom of the day, being a clergyman, he was welcomed at any house he might stop at to claim hospitality; and, accordingly, he seldom was under the necessity of remaining at the tavern during his long journey. Influenced by the fact that General Samuel Holden Parsons, an influential public man, a somewhat noted officer in the Revolutionary Army, and, if we mistake not, at this very time, a member of the Continental Congress, resided there, Doctor Cutler called on him, and was most hospitably entertained in his family.

General Parsons was graduated at Harvard, in 1756; and "among his early friends and correspondents, is the name of John Adams." Previous to the Revolutionary War, for twelve years, he had been a member of the General Assembly of Connecticut, and "received repeated proofs of public confidence, in various appointments of honor and trust." He was among the earliest of the patriots who urged

resistance to the unjust claims of Great Britain; and, in 1776, Congress gave him the commission of Brigadier-general. He was complimented, both by Washington and Congress, for gallant service, in 1777. He was honored with the confidence of the Commander-in-chief, in various ways; and was one of the Court that tried André. After the War, he settled in Middletown, and successfully engaged in the practice of law. He was also several times sent to the Legislature.

The influence of such a public man would be of great service to the agent of the new Company, in their proposed purchase of lands in the western country. In addition to these considerations, was the further fact that General Parsons had been "appointed a Commissioner, "in connection with Generals Richard Butler, "of Pittsburg, and George Rogers Clarke, of "Kentucky, to treat with the Shawanoe Indians, "near the Falls of the Ohio, for extinguishing "the aboriginal title to certain lands within the "Northwestern Territory. This Treaty was "held on the northwestern bank of the Ohio, "near the mouth of the Great Miami, on the "thirty first of January, 1786; and the Indians "then ceded to the United States a large and "valuable tract of land upon which the flourishing city of Cincinnati now stands."—(HILDRETH'S *Early Settlers of Ohio*, 215.)

In applying to a man of such influence and experience, Doctor Cutler displayed characteristic wisdom. There is here a fact which shows on what little things the greatest movements depend. Whilst he was on his first expedition, West, and when the Ohio Company was talked of, as a possibility, it is said that that shrewd old frontier man, Zane, who gave name to Zanesville, advised General Parsons to locate the lands on the *Miami* and not on the *Muskingum*. Parsons suspected that Zane gave the advice from interested motives; and, when the location was actually made, gave the weight of his influence against the *Miami* country, which is one of the finest sections in the territory.

One of the most important services rendered Doctor Cutler, by General Parsons, was the numerous letters of introduction which he gave him to members of Congress and other influential gentlemen, in New York and Philadelphia.

Doctor Cutler's account of his Sabbath, in Middletown, is interesting: "SUNDAY, July 1. "This morning, General Parsons introduced me "to Mr. Huntington (the Pastor at Middletown) but engaged me to dine with him. I "preached in the morning and afternoon. Mr. "Huntington's meeting-house is very large, but "an ancient fabric. The house was crowded "and the people, in general, dressed in a very "tasty manner. It was Mr. Huntington's com-

munio; and I was pleased to see that his "church was so large as to fill nearly the whole "body of the meeting house. The greater part "of the married people of the congregation, I "believe, belong to his church; and I was "astonished to observe the great number of men "who appeared to be upwards of seventy. I "drank tea and spent the afternoon with Mr. "Huntington. He is sociable and agreeable; "and his acquired and natural abilities are eminent, though I presume he is not very popular as a preacher, having somewhat of a "hesitancy in his delivery. He is a brother of "Governor Huntington and Doctor Huntington. He commenced two years before I entered college. I spent the afternoon most "agreeably, and the evening equally so, at "General Parsons', in company with my good "old friend, Mr. Plumb, who has left the desk "for the bar, and is set down as an Attorney "in this city. Mrs. Parsons, who appears to "be an amiable lady, of rather a serious turn, "treated me with the greatest kindness and "attention. I cannot recollect the time when I "felt myself so perfectly composed and free, in "the public exercises, and performed with "greater ease than on this day. This convinces "me of the advantage it gives a preacher over "his auditors and will account for the repeated "compliments I received, so far beyond what I "have experienced before; though, perhaps, I "was never more fortunate in the selection of "my Sermons and had nearly committed them "to memory."

Having secured the main object of his visit at Middletown, Doctor Cutler continued his journey; and, on the second of July, reached New Haven, which, for three years, had been an incorporated city.

As all that pertains to the history of the city, honored by the presence of Yale college, must possess a general interest, and especially all that gives us a look at the great man who was then at the head of the College, with many other facts, we quote Doctor Cutler's description, in full. The contrast between "the city of "sand," as it was, in 1787, with about four thousand inhabitants, and "the city of elms," as it now is, and the Yale-college of eighty-one years ago and the Yale college of our day, which each one will draw for himself, cannot fail to be one of interest.

"July 2. It was nine o'clock, this morning, "before General Parsons and myself had arranged all our matters with respect to my business with Congress. He favored me with a "large number of letters to members of Congress and other gentlemen, in New York. "Went on to New Haven; took lodgings at "Miles' Tavern, sign of the Lion, kept in an

"elegant style. The house has good accommodations; the stables are good and well supplied with hostlers. After I had dressed and waited on the gentleman-barber, I paid my compliments to Doctor Stiles, the President of the College. The Doctor was just coming out of his gate, going to the Chapel, to attend evening prayers. I begged leave to accompany him; and, for the first time, attended prayers in the College chapel, since I took my degree. I declined a seat in the desk. The President introduced me into the stranger's pew. The students were about one hundred and sixty; and the several Classes made a very respectable appearance. The dress and manners of the Senior Class were genteel and graceful. A view of the seats, pews, and gallery called up a series of reflections of the hours I had spent within those walls, at public worship, in public examinations, every quarter, and various exhibitions that sensibly move my tender passions. After prayers, the President introduced me to the Tutors, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Fitch, Mr. Homes, and Mr. Davidson. We also went to Mr. Homes' chamber, where we spent a couple of hours very agreeably: the conversation was wholly confined to literary subjects and the present state of American Colleges. The President proposed a walk to Doctor Wales's, the Professor of Divinity. He was gone out; we therefore returned, and spent the remainder of the evening at the President's house. The Doctor and Mrs. Stiles were very urgent that I should take a bed with them; but having engaged one at the tavern, I declined. They engaged me to breakfast in the morning.

"*July 3, 1787.* Very early this morning I took a walk through the principal street of the lower part of the city. It seems to have been built nearly new, since I left the town. I was surprised to find that few objects seemed to be familiar; that the traces of this part of the town, where I had so many pleasant walks, were almost entirely eradicated from my mind. The long wharf was most natural, though much enlarged.

"The most affecting loss to me is the loss of "*Mother Yale*"—the old frame College, so dilapidated as to be taken down, in 1782. Yale-college was, by far, the most slightly building belonging to the University, and most advantageously situated. It gave an air of grandeur to the others. There are now only Connecticut Hall, the Chapel—which is three story, containing the Library and Cabinet Chamber—the Divinity Hall, and kitchen. These are all built of brick, but so situated as to make very little show. The City of New Haven covers a very large piece of ground, a

"little descending, with a southern aspect. It is laid out in regular squares, with a public square in the center. There is a row of trees set out around the public square, which were small when I was at College, but now have become larger and add much to its beauty. The houses, in general, are good, some of them elegant. The streets are generally dry, but very sandy, and will, probably, never be paved, as it would be attended with great expense. The harbor is good, and the shipping considerable—principally in the coasting and West India trade.

"Breakfasted at Doctor Stiles. He has four daughters, unmarried, and very agreeable. His only son is in the law-way, settled in the country. Miss *Channing*, a young lady from Newport, and of very uncommon literary attainments, was here, on a visit. She not only reads but speaks French, Latin, and Greek, with great ease; and has furnished her mind with a general knowledge of the whole circle of science, particularly Astronomy and Natural Philosophy: she likewise has a high taste for the fine arts; and discourses, with great judgment, on eloquence, oratory, painting and sculpture, etc; she is very sociable, and knows how to take the advantage of every incident, to render herself agreeable; and no subject seems to come amiss. Her style is exceedingly correct and elegant, without the least symptom of affectation. How highly ornamental is such an education to a female character, when connected with the softer graces and politeness of manners.

"Immediately after breakfast, the Tutors came in to invite me to College. Doctor Stiles accompanied us. We took a view of the Library, the Philosophy Chamber, and Cabinet. The Library is small. The collection consists of rather antiquated authors. The Philosophical apparatus is still less valuable. A handsome sum is now collecting for purchasing a complete philosophical apparatus. The Cabinet is a good collection but very badly disposed. Although I had intended to proceed on my journey, the time passed insensibly, in the agreeable company of these gentlemen, who are truly literary characters; and I consented to tarry until dinner. Indeed, I could not deny myself the pleasure of spending a little time at the place where I received my education, from which I had been absent so many years. At eleven o'clock, the Tutors, attended their Classes; and the Doctor and I returned to his house. I sent for my trunk and showed the Doctor, his lady, and the young ladies my botanical apparatus and books, with which they were all highly pleased, having never

"seen any thing of the kind before. I had collected a number of flowers, the day before, which I had not had time to examine. They were preserved, perfectly fresh, in my botanical box. From them, I gave a short lecture on the parts of fructification, separating and exhibiting the parts, at the same time, which was highly amusing to the company. The Doctor was extremely pleased with my Hobby-horse, and was determined to mount him and have a ride himself. I had to explain technical terms and construe crabbed fincean Latin, for an hour on a stretch. At length, a call to dinner put an end to my fatigue; but the Hobby-horse was introduced at the table, and each of the company must have a ride, in turn. After dinner, I was determined to set out, immediately; but there was no such thing as getting away. We returned to the microscope and the plants. Doctor Wales came in, to see me, and spend the afternoon, who joined the Doctor in pressing me to spend the next day (fourth of July) in the city, which was to be celebrated, by order of the Corporation, with great military parade, an Oration, in the Brick meeting-house, a public dinner, in the State House, etc. Before I left the Doctor's house, and by his procuring, I suppose, a billet was sent me by the Mayor of the city, to dine, the next day, with the Governors of the College, Corporation of the city, etc. I was obliged to return an answer directly opposed to my feelings, and excused myself from accepting the invitation, as I was under the necessity of leaving the city, that evening. As I was determined to go, Doctor Stiles and Doctor Wales were so complaisant as to propose to accompany me to West Haven, six miles from the city, which they did. It was with the greatest reluctance that I took my leave of this very agreeable family, where I had been shown so much kindness, politeness, and attention."

We cannot here refrain from copying a single passage from the Diary of President Stiles, who was, in many respects, a very remarkable man and who figures so pleasantly in Doctor Cutler's diary. It shows his work and emoluments, in a striking light. "The business of the Professorship of Divinity now devolves on me, for the present—and did for two years—and, besides my history lecture, I, weekly, give a public dissertation, on astronomical subjects, besides my private or chamber-lecture, on Theology, every Saturday afternoon. And, besides these, I attend every day, the recitations of the Senior and Junior classes, in philosophy, i. e., each, one recitation a day. So that I am called to fill the offices of three Professor-

"ships and the Presidency, at the same time. And yet the Corporation keep me in so poor and parsimonious a manner, that domestic cares and the *res auguste demi* are a heavier anxiety, than all my college cares."—(WOOLSEY'S *Historical Discourse*, 116.)

"July 4. Pursued my journey. Arrived at Napp's, in Horse Neck, about ten o'clock. Both Napp and his wife have the air of a gentleman and lady—keep good attendants and a house well furnished with everything necessary for a tavern. I felt more anxious for my horse than for myself; but it being dark and much fatigued, I wished to excuse myself from going to the stables. The hostler is Cuff. After he had given my horse oats, I gave him a serious charge to rub him well down and give him a good supper. His ready promises made me suspect him the more. 'Well,' says I, 'my lad, if you do not take good care of him, my horse will certainly tell me, in the morning, and you may depend on a flogging!' 'What? your horse tell you?' 'Da dibble! Your horse speak—I no believe dat!' 'Yes, Cuff, you shall see what he will do, in the morning.'

"In the morning, Cuff came, grinning and laughing, with my horse. 'Now, Massa,' said he, 'what your horse say? If he say, I no give him good supper, he lie like da dibble!'

"July 5. Was on my way, some time before sunrise. After riding about three miles, a gentleman overtook me, who was riding in a whisker (?) and bound to New York. Found him very sociable and agreeable. At East Chester, saw a stone Church, which was greatly injured by the British troops—the windows, which were remarkable for their size, were taken out and destroyed, and have not been since repaired. On our way to this place, my fellow traveler shewed me several spots where the British and American troops engaged in action, and entertained me with the various movements of the two Armies, while they were in this vicinity. About three miles from this place, is a river which was the separating line between the two armies, for a considerable time. The name of the river he has forgotten. A singular achievement is mentioned, of a British light-horseman, at the bridge over the river, which appeared to me incredible. The bridge is high from the water; and the abutments at least ten feet apart. This bridge was taken up, by the Americans. It is said that a light-horseman, who had crossed the river, above, in order to reconnoitre, was discovered, near the bridge, on the American side, and closely pursued by a body of horse. He made for the bridge, but did not

"know that it was taken up, until he came within a few yards. He had no alternative but to jump his horse over or be taken prisoner. He preferred the former, and clapped his spurs to his horse and leaped him from abutment to abutment, and so made his escape.

"On the side where the British troops lay, the hills and highlands were strongly entrenched. About two miles before we came to Kings-bridge, we had an extensive view of the lofty shore, on the opposite side of the Hudson-river. * * * On this side of the river, the lands are rather low, interspersed with swelling hills and in a state of high cultivation. Several *manors*, with the villas of the owners, present themselves to view. The sides of the river present an unusual and pleasing landscape. The western bank is fortified by the range of mountains from opposite New York as far up as Stony Point, forty or fifty miles, so that it proved a complete barrier against the British troops, during the late war. King's-bridge is built over a narrow river, which communicates with the Hudson and Long Island Sound. It was, a considerable time, the line between the two armies.

"Passed the ruins of several British and American encampments and fortifications. My companion appeared to be perfectly intelligent and well-informed, much of a gentleman, and of most pleasing address. He was, at different times, in the country and in New York, in the British and American encampments. I watched him, to discover whether he was a Whig or a Tory; but he was so guarded, even in his praises and censures, which, on different occasions, he bestowed upon the conduct of the two armies, and expressed himself with so much judgment and impartiality, that I was unable to determine whether he was an American or a Briton. However, I am inclined to think he is a Whig. Two miles from the city, took leave of my fellow-traveler—exchanged our names, which, before, had been unknown to each other, and parted with apparent reluctance, on both sides, most sincerely so on mine. His name was *Nicholsen*, a merchant from Long Island.

"About three o'clock, I arrived at the city of New York, by the road that enters through the Bowery. Put up my horse at the sign of the Plow and Harrow—Bowie's.

"After dressing myself, took a walk in the city. When I came to examine my letters of introduction I found them so accumulated that I hardly knew which to deliver first. As this is rather a curiosity to me I am determined to preserve a catalogue although only a part are to be delivered in New York."

This catalogue will be a curiosity to our read-

ers and we reproduce it as such, and not for this reason merely, but to show how this New England clergyman fortified himself for the execution of his delicate and important mission.

The following letters were addressed to persons in Philadelphia, viz.: the Hon. Timothy Pickering, Mr. T. D. Blanchard, Samuel Vau Horn, his Excellency Doctor Franklin, Barnabas Binney, M.D., Benjamin Rush, M.D., John Morgan, M.D., Doctor D. Shippen, Mr. Benjamin Park, Merchant, Mr. William Ball, Merchant, Mr. Robert Aiken, Printer, Doctor Gerardus Clarkson, Rev. Dr. Ewing, Provost of the College in Philadelphia, David Rittenhouse, Esq., his Excellency the President of the Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Rev. Doctor Sproat, Rev. William Rogers.

The following were addressed to persons in New York, viz.: Mr. Hugh Henderson, Merchant, Rev. Dr. Rogers, Sir John Temple Lady Temple, Doctor Ebenezer Crosby, Hon. Ebenezer Hazzard, General Knox, Colonel Richard Platt, General N. Webb.

The following are named as Members of Congress viz.: Colonel Carrington, Colonel Grayson, Hon. Richard Henry Lee, Hon. Dr. Lee and Hon. William Duer, both Members of the Board of Treasury, his Excellency General St. Clair, President of Congress, Hon. Melancthon Smith, Hon. E. Benson, Hon. Samuel Baldwin, Hon. Roger Sherman, Hon. William Swaine, and Hon. W. Livingston of the Board of Treasury.

Besides these, Doctor Cutler had letters to Monsieur Le Meclard, Superintendent of the French King's Botanical Garden, New Jersey, Colonel George Morgan, Princeton, New Jersey, Rev. Dr. Smith, vice-President of New Jersey College, Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, President of New Jersey College.

"The last letter I delivered was to Mr. Hugh Henderson. He is a wholesale merchant, and lives in genteel style. Mrs. Henderson is a sister of Mrs. Willard, which was the occasion of my receiving an introductory letter from Doctor Willard. Mr. Henderson received me very politely. After tea, he proposed a walk about the city; but first gave me a specimen of Scotch generosity, in urging me to take lodgings with him, whilst I remained in the city and assigned me one of his front chambers, and ordered his servant, *Starling*, to attend me. Upon finding no apology would avail, I accepted his invitation; and his servant was sent for my baggage. *We rambled over a considerable part of the city before dark*; delivered a number of my letters; and returned and spent the evening, very agreeably, at Mr. Henderson's. He lives

"on Golden Hill, on Golden Hill-street, No. 14."

Such was the introduction of our tourist to the commercial metropolis of America; and we may here be indulged in a few statements concerning it, before proceeding with the Diary.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

II.—AN ESSAY ON THE UNIVERSAL PLENITUDE OF BEING AND ON THE NATURE AND IMMORTALITY OF THE HUMAN SOUL AND ITS AGENCY.—

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 283.

BY ETHAN ALLEN, ESQR.

SECTION II

Of the immortality of the soul.

The Doctrine of a real though invisible substance of the soul, will not (in my opinion) militate against the immortality of it, but on the contrary render the evidence of it more conspicuous and unexceptionable. Though our external senses and internal reflections and consciousness, are incompetent to perceive, or comprehend the intrinsic Nature of the soul, yet, we may negatively understand, that it does not exist of senseless matter, since we are conscious of the display of rationality, which stupid matter is void of; and in as much as the essence of the soul does not derive its existence from incogitative substances, which, in external nature, we perceive by the senses, we can not infer the dissolution of the soul from that of the body; yet if the Soul was material its dissolution would follow of consequence.

But should we exclude in our Idea of the essence of the soul all possible substance from it, we should Ideally exclude its existence, for a soul must exist of something since it can not exist of nothing. What that substance is we can not define any farther than to say that it is a thinking substance, or a substance that is capable of reflection and consciousness, part of the properties of the soul are intelligent exertions or agency, but it is probable that we shall be able to investigate but a partial knowledge of its properties. That immortality is an essential property of it, is the question under consideration, a question of more importance to us than any or all others, this we will therefore particularly attend to, but as this subject has been largely discussed in the fourth Chapter of the volume to which this is an appendix, we shall endeavour to omit such arguments as are therein contained, and add some that are there omitted.

As the soul is a moral being we must rely on moral reasonings for the investigation of its eternalization; for neither mathematical nor what we call sensible demonstration (which is predicated on the senses) can extend to it, for by the mere perception of our senses we have no conception of a spiritual or conscious being, but are apprized of such an existence merely from a consciousness of it, nor has our mathematical computations or calculations, which are so essential to astronomical knowledge, and many other parts of science, any thing to do in this investigation but such clear and unexceptionable sort of demonstration, is calculated for the discovery of the existence, magnitude, distance, number, quantity, diameter, and movements of external objects, as those of our solar System, or any other that come within the description of number, admeasurement, quantity and the like. so that when we reason on the immortality of the soul, and find that we are destitute of those kind of proofs for the reality of it, that are so certain, curious and useful to us in most of the concerns and vicissitudes of life, we are apt to be more or less nonplussed, and wonder that Divine providence has not given us as full and certain a demonstration of our immortality as of external and sensible Objects, not considering that if the soul had been an object of sense, it would have been material and consequently mortal with the body, and not capable of surviving it. Hence we infer, that we are too apt to demand of providence such kind of demonstration for our immortality as is utterly inconsistent with it. The imperceptibility of the soul to the organs of sense, in stead of being considered as militating against its endless continuance in being, should rather be adjudged in favour of it, it is not flesh and blood and therefore may survive death, though it must have existed of substance or it could not have been united with the body or capable of a survival of it at death as we have before argued. If we duly consider this matter we may be satisfied that God could not have given us a greater or more certain evidence of our immortality than he has done. Admitting the reality of it to take place in future, and to continue to be taking place for ever, or without end, yet it would be impossible for us in this stage of being, to conceive how such beings as unbodied human souls could exist, and be conversible after the dissolution of their bodies. This is a species of knowledge which in nature is not attainable until our premised progressive future State of being and action in the Order of intelligent existence takes place, for admitting the reality of such a state, how could we conceive of the manner of it, till the

succession of time and revolution of events bring us into that premised future condition of being and action, and consequently into a consciousness of it: as of things in this life. We can not be to day conscious of an existence tomorrow, nor of one moment beyond the present tense, so that the future existence that we hope for either in this life or that which we expect beyond death, can not be made known to us, till future existence and circumstances render the future consciousness of it to be in fact true, for consciousness is predicated on the truth of things or facts, in which there can be no deception. Thus it appears, that were our souls (admitted to be) immortal, yet we could have no consciousness of it in this life, for that our consciousness of being and action, can not take place in our minds, any sooner or faster, than our progressive existence and actions either in this or in a future manner of existence will admit, nor is it in nature possible for God Almighty, to have given us a more extensive consciousness of our existence than what he has done. He could not to day have made us conscious of an existence to-morrow, for it would not be in fact true; nor could he in this life have given us a consciousness of a never ending existence, for the reasons already assigned, but this is no argument against such an existence, any more than that because this days consciousness does not extend to tomorrow, therefore tomorrow will never be, or because a man born blind has no conception or consciousness of colours, therefore there are none. Our ignorance of futurity may be an Occasion of distrust of it, especially to inconsiderate minds, who collect but little or no knowledge by reasoning, from which Source only we are able to apprehend any thing of an existence beyond the time being. Through the medium of our senses we have a conception of external existences, and by recollection thereon, and by considering their properties, relations, nature, and tendencies, we in some measure explore their constitutions or at least their entity, and we find from traditions both oral and written, that rain and Sun shine, Summer and Winter, *Rainy and fair Season*, Monsoons & refreshing breezes, Seed time and harvest, day and night, have interchangeably succeeded each other, and do not scruple but that the same Order of nature will still be continued, yet are not certain that there will ever be another day, but having been used to a past succession of them, habituate our selves into an expectation and firm belief of others yet to come, but this order of external things is perceptible to our senses, which we call sensible demonstration and can not be had for any thing

in *futuro*, for sensible proofs extend no farther than past or present actual perception, and can not give us any perception of the existence of naked souls or spirits; nor of any thing in this World or any other, a moment beyond the present tense. Had it been possible and agreeable to Divine providence, to have as yet exempted human nature from mortality, and all the race of man was still alive, (though we should be unable to stow them in this World,) we might have had from habit an expectation and strong belief, that we should live for ever in this manner of existence, and thus conceived of our selves to be immortal, but since on the position that we survive death, and pass from these bodies and this World imperceptibly to make room for others to follow us (probably to some of the heavenly Orbs which are perceptible to us here), and as we may rationally expect to progressively rise in the order of being, above the wretched condition of humanity, we may well imagin that human souls much dignified in the manner of existence and action, in the superior regions, would have little or no desire, and probably no power to return to this World again, since if they should, it is no wise likely that they could converse with, or communicate one Idea to us or even so much as come within the discovery of our senses, in consequence of their unbodied and exalted superiority of nature to ours. But should any departed soul return to this World again with a body organized like ours, it would like ours be obnoxious to a second death, which would evince no thing of its immortality to us, but rather evince a certain rotation of mortality. The truth of the matter is, we are incapable of holding any correspondence with any other but mortal beings, nor can we have a true conception of an immortal being or pure spirit while in this life; nor is it at all requisite that we should: Our business is at present in this World for which our nature and faculties are wisely calculated. Should we be able to conceive of the manner of our premised future existence, it might imbitter the present life, from an anxious desire to be advanced in the Order of being, faster than the revolutions of events according to the Order of nature would permit, though a conception of a state of immortality is impossible to us for this obvious reason, that could we conceive of it, it must be like this state of existence, and then it would be mortal; for if it is not like the condition of humanity we can have no conception of it. Hence it appears that an immortal state is to us in this life inconceivable, and yet if it was conceived of by us, it would imbitter our present enjoyments, from a participation of a su-

perior blessedness in the progressive order of being, which the Order of time and revolution of events procrastinated.

Finally, the immortality of the soul does not at all depend on our reasonings concerning its essence, though our present comfortable prospect or faith in it may depend thereon, and though our speculations on this important subject, may be more or less imperfect, yet the providence of God in the Order of nature relative thereto as well as to things in general is absolutely perfect, and therefore cannot fail of ultimately perfecting the best good of all his Creatures, and since under a wise powerful and beneficent providence, as we must admit that of the Divine to be, immortality would be the greatest, most extensive and important good, that Almighty God could possibly bestow, without which all other endowments, gifts and benefits, could not be of any considerable consequence to us, by reason of a temporary continuance, and as the absolute perfection of a God, is abundantly competent to perfect so benevolent an event, the moral certainty of it follows of consequence. This inference is deduced from the immutable perfection of the Divine Nature, and is of more consolation to us than all our other reasonings on this subject.

After what has been evinced of the immortality of the soul, should any still complain of the insufficiency of the evidence, they may with equal impropriety complain, that the present is not the next century, that they might be in possession of the knowledge of the World to come. How much more becoming such creatures as we are, would it be, to confide in the ultimate goodness of God, than to remonstrate against the government of the ruler of the Universe.

God is (not only infinitely wise and powerful, but) infinitely good.

The immortality of the soul (with the blessings of providence,) is the greatest possible good that God could bestow upon the soul. —Therefore the soul is immortal.

If the major and minor propositions in the foregoing syllogism are true, the consequence of the immortality of the soul is likewise true. The major proposition is as true as that there is a God. The minor proposition is as true as that with the blessings of providence it would be our greatest good to be immortal.

and as these propositions are both true, therefore we are immortal beings.

God is ultimately Just.

Justice in all events does not take place in this World.

Therefore there must be an existence beyond this life, wherein the ultimate Justice of God will take place.

The Justice of God none will dispute, and that Justice does not take place in all cases in this life is too obvious to be disputed, and therefore the inference of a future state of being follows of necessary consequence.

The first of the foregoing syllogisms, founded on the wisdom power and goodness of God, is conclusively demonstrative of the never ending existence of the soul. The second which is founded on the immutable ultimate Justice of God, does not certainly infer a never ending existence of the soul, though it necessarily infers a future State of being to this, wherein the injustice that is done in this World, must be righteously adjusted, the delinquents punished, and the virtuous rewarded. It was from the benevolence of the Divine Nature, that we received an existence in the present life, for his natural attributes of power and Wisdom might not have induced him to it: nor could his perfection of Justice have insured us an existence at all, for no Justice could have been pleaded on our behalf before we had a being, but since God has given us a being and state of agency, we have become objects of Justice, nor is it fit or possible for God to refuse it to us, therefore it follows according to Justice, that since the distribution of it is not perfect in this World, there must be another to come, wherein it may be perfected, and when Justice has been righteously administered, we have no farther claim to existence merely from that perfection of the Divine nature, but eternally shall have a just ground of confidence in the goodness thereof, whereon to predicate our hope of Immortality. The Justice of God is an absolute security, that the display of his providence to us as individuals, must ultimately be better for us than not to have been, since a being worse than not to have been, would furnish a complaint against both the Justice and goodness of God, but inasmuch as God is both Just and good, our immortality is as clearly demonstrable, as any proposition that respects the moral sciences, though not so readily perceived by such minds as are but little accustomed to reasoning, as other moral truths which may be investigated by a less number of propositions and inferences, for as we must first by reasoning from the works of Nature, investigate the knowledge of the being of a God, and secondly, from our own rational Nature investigate his moral perfections, we thirdly apply those perfections in the investigation of our immortality, as in the foregoing syllogisms. The arguments for the being, natural attributes and moral perfections of God, are exhibited in the first and second chapters of the first volume of this work, and the moral perfections of God in which most philosophers and Christians (except the calvin-

ists) agree, were in this investigation of the immortality of the soul taken for granted, and though the Progress of the arguments for the immortality of the soul have a longer retrospect, as predicated on those of the moral perfections of God, than those arguments that merely evince his being, yet if the whole chain of arguments are Just, the proposition of the immortality of the soul is as certain, as those other positions on which they are predicated.

Finally, there is too much wisdom and power and goodness displayed, in the creation, regulation, and support of such part of the natural and moral World with which we are acquainted, to suppose that death extinguisheth the being of man. The senseless creation as has been before observed, was brought into existence merely to subserve the intelligent, as the Senseless considered abstractly from the moral, could not have been an Object of Divine providence, for that mere incogitative beings are by nature incapable of enjoyment or understanding, and if man the most exalted finite being that we are acquainted with, ceases to be at death, and in life is surrounded with so many evils that abstractedly considered from a future State of being and enjoyment, life could hardly be estimated a benefit and the plan of providence would be so contracted and inconsiderable, as to be unworthy of God. The display of such vast power and wisdom would prompt us to conclude, that there must have been some adequate object in the Divine view, which must extend to something beyond human life, since the display of providence in the present condition of being, manifests a competency of wisdom and power sufficient to continue our existence without end; this therefore must have been the benevolent design of God, which will fully account for his creation and moral Government without which it would appear to be inadequate and imperfect: nor is it reconcilable to the exalted character that we ought to ascribe to God, to suppose that he has implanted such strong desires and expectations in our souls, of surviving the grave for no purpose. It seems to be nearly the same as promising us in (the constitution of) our natural desires and expectations, a state of being beyond this life, which on the position of its not coming to pass, would imply a deception. When we reflect on the united adorations of one generation of the human species after another to God, for the benefits of being, and more especially (since this life is so short and miserable,) for the hope of immortality predicated on natural desires and moral reasonings, we can hardly imagine that the God of nature after all, would by the stroke of death frustrate our expectations, by a

cruel annihilation. Had God in the constitution of our souls determined that they should become extinct at death, most probably he would not have given us any hope or apprehension of a future state of being, for he could not be pleased with deceiving his creatures, by frustrating the fervent desires and hope that he had originally implanted in them. The most rational wise and virtuous of all the generations of mankind, have from principles of humanity, Justice, leniency, goodness and truth, counteracted their present interest, advantage and happiness more or less, in order to recommend their doings to their own consciences, and consequently to God, under whose providence they have expected to exist in another state, with the virtuous habits that they had acquired in this life, which they have flattered themselves would redound to their happiness in the World to come, but if death terminates the being of man, moral good and evil are empty names, and deception and villainy may be more advantageous than truth and Justice. Thus Oppression, violence and Wickedness, would as likely if not more probably be crowned with a temporary happiness, than the Opposite habits of Justice, benevolence, and morality. Was it not for the hope of immortality morality would lose its influence in the World, and then nothing but deceit, oppression fraud, and injustice of every kind, could be expected in society, of which there are too much at present.

By all the speculations into providence that we are able to make, abstractly considered from a future State of existence, it would not appear upon the whole, that God was a Just, good and beneficent being, since murder, oppression and every species of cruelty, are more or less perpetrated with impunity in this World; we must therefore admit another to come, in which a Just and righteous retribution must take place, for God may as well cease to be, as cease to be ultimately good, beneficent and Just.

The conclusion of the arguments for immortality are sum'd up to be this, that a God of Justice will be Just, and of goodness will be good in the displays of his providence, and as these perfections with those of wisdom and power, are infinite in God, they cannot fail of perfecting the immortality of man.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

—The Centennial Anniversary of the organization of the Rainbow Fire Company, of Reading, Pennsylvania, was celebrated in that city, recently.

III.—FOURTH OF JULY ODE, BY DR.
PETER BRYANT, OF CUMMINGTON,
MASSACHUSETTS.

It may not be generally known that the father of the poet Bryant, also, wrote poetry; but the *Columbian Centinel*, Boston, July 13, 1811, contains an *Ode for the Fourth of July, 1811*, composed by Doctor Peter Bryant, and sung, to the tune of *Rise Columbia*, at a celebration of Independence-day, in Northampton, Massachusetts, by the Federalists of Hampshire-county. I copy this *Ode*, for the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

"ODE.

"I.

"Pour in deep tones the solemn strain,
"A requiem to the mighty dead,
"Whose valor burst a foreign chain,
"And bow'd th' oppressor's haughty head!
"And call'd the shock of War to meet,
"Their Eagle from his airy seat!

"II.

"And if departed *Heroes* know
"To sympathize with mortal care;
"Oh! let the pensive numbers flow,
"To soothe each hovering *Spirit* near,
"That views its native country, curst
"With *wild misrule*, and *laws unjust*!

"III.

"And must our Freedom's new risen light
"A transient flame, itself consume?
"A meteor-flash athwart the night,
"That leaves behind a deeper gloom?
"And can the strength that rais'd the State
"No more sustain the mighty weight?

"IV.

"Or, wait we 'till the sacred fane
"Of blood-bought independence falls;
"And *Ruin* stalking o'er the scene
"Inscribes '*Extinction*!' on its walls?
"To vindicate those rights afraid,
"Which *home-bred tryants* dare invade?

"V.

"Lo! Commerce quits her azure throne!—
"Her doom is seal'd, her sentence past;
"The trumpet of her fate is blown,—
"While echoing to the direful blast
"Resound the caverns of the deep—
"The isles that in its bosom sleep!

"VI.

"His vengeful bolt the *Gaul* has hurl'd,
"Infuriate, dipt in stygian fire;
"And loos'd to sweep a subject world,
"Th' impetuous whirlwinds of his ire!

"While Slavery stern, and haggard War
"Leash'd in like hounds' attend his car!

"VII.

"Where sleep the thunders of the West,
"The energies of patriot might!
"Rise! dash to earth th' invader's crest,
"And vindicate a nation's right!
"And bid our trampled banners wave,
"To guide the vengeance of the brave!

"VIII.

"Awake to guard your native coast—
"Sons of heroic sires arise!
"The *lost Republic* earth can boast,
"To you for succour turns her eyes!
"Oh! while she trembles o'er the grave,
"Stretch the puissant arm to save!"

Peter Bryant, the author of this ode, was born at West Bridgewater, Massachusetts, on the twelfth of August, 1767; studied medicine and settled as a physician, at Cummington, Massachusetts, where he died, in 1820. According to a genealogy of the Bryant Family, by John A. Bontelle, of Woburn, published in the *N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register*, (xxiv., 315-318), he was a descendant, in the fifth generation, from Stephen¹ Bryant, who settled at Plymouth as early as 1632; through Stephen², Ichabod³, and Philip⁴, his father.

Doctor Bryant, by his wife, Sarah, daughter of Ebenezer Snell, was the father of seven children; of whom William Cullen Bryant was the second.

BOSTON, MASA.

JOHN WARD DEAN.

IV.—CONFEDERATE LOVE-TAPS.

GENERAL BRAXTON BRAGG AND THE GENERALS OF HIS COMMAND.—CONTINUED FROM
PAGE 274.

As early as the twenty-fifth of February, only two days subsequent to the date of this Report, its treatment of Generals Breckinridge and Mc Cowan was evidently known in the Congress of the Confederate States and influenced the action of the members of that body, from Kentucky, in their votes on the question of ordering a proposed vote of thanks to General Bragg and his command to be engrossed;* and it is said† that, very soon after, copies of it were circulated, privately, where it was supposed "they" "would do the most good," in the service of the commanding General. As may reasonably

* Compare the *Richmond Examiner's* report of the debates of the Congress, February 27, 1863, with the vote on the question of engrossing the Resolution, February 25th.

† *Knoxville Register*, May 2, 1863.

be supposed, General Breckinridge was very soon advised of the terrible censure on his conduct which that Report had conveyed to the Capital; and, on the twenty-ninth of March, the Report itself was seen and read by him.

There can be no doubt that what friendly feelings, between General Breckinridge and the General-in-chief, had survived the shock produced by the letter addressed by the former to the latter, on the twelfth of January,* were, by the perusal of that Report, entirely scattered. All the pleasant words which had been written and spoken and all the hopes which had been cherished, while General Bragg was preparing for the Campaign and seeking General Breckinridge's co-operation, were forgotten; and only discontent and distrust remained.

That rumors of the character of General Bragg's exposition of General Breckinridge's conduct, in the recent battle, had preceded the Report itself, is very evident from the fact that, on the twenty-eighth of March, the latter gentleman, after having resorted to the Report of his immediate commander, Lieutenant-general Polk, for information on the same subject, addressed a letter to its author, expressing his fears that that Report, also, might be considered, by some, as conveying a censure on his—Breckinridge's—conduct, on that occasion. The Report of General Polk, to which General Breckinridge thus resorted, as far as it concerned the latter, seems to have been almost as decided, in its tone, as was that of General Bragg; and it need not be wondered at that it was not wholly acceptable to the anxious Kentuckian. We copy from an extract formerly belonging to General Breckinridge, and found among his papers:

* * * * "The general movement from the left, having reached Chalmers' Brigade at ten o'clock it was ordered to the attack and its reserve under Brigadier General Donelson was directed to move forward to its support. This charge was made in fine style, and was met by the enemy who was strongly posted in the edge of the Cedar brake, with a murderous fire of Artillery and Infantry. In that charge their Brigade Commander, General Chalmers was severely wounded by a shell which disqualified him for further duty on the field. The Regiments on the left, recoiled and fell back, those of the right were moved to the left, to hold their place and were pressed forward. The Brigade of General Donelson having been ordered forward to Chalmers' support, moved with steady step upon the enemy's position and attacked it with great energy. The slaughter was terrific on both sides. In this charge which resulted in break-

ing the enemy's line at every point, except the extreme left and driving him as every other part of his line attacked, had been driven; Donelson reports the capture of Eleven guns and one thousand prisoners. The Regiments of Chalmers' Brigade having been separated after he fell moved forward and attached themselves to other Commands, fighting with them with gallantry, as opportunity offered.

There was no instance of more distinguished bravery, exhibited during this battle, than was shown by the command of General Donelson. In the charge which it made it was brought directly under the fire of several batteries strongly posted and supported, which it assailed with eager resolution. All the line in their front was carried except the extreme right.

This point which was the key to the enemy's position and which was known as the 'Round Forest,' was attacked by the right of the Brigade. It was met by a fire from Artillery and Musketry which mowed down more than half its number. The 16th Regiment Tennessee volunteers, under the command of Colonel Jno. H. Savage, lost two hundred and seven, out of four hundred and two. It could not advance and would not retire. Their Colonel with characteristic bravery and tenacity, deployed what was left of his command as skirmishers and held his position for three hours. In the 8th Tennessee of the right wing under the lamented Colonel Moore, who fell mortally wounded, and who was succeeded by Lieutenant Colonel J. H. Anderson the loss was three hundred and six men and Officers out of four hundred and twenty-five.

The enemy was now driven from the field at all points occupied by him in the morning, along his whole line, from his right, to the extreme left, and was pressed back until our line occupied a position at right angles to that which we held at the opening of the battle. After passing the Nashville and Mufreesboro turnpike his flight was covered by large bodies of fresh troops and numerous batteries of Artillery, and the advance of our exhausted columns was checked.

His extreme left alone held its position. This occupied a piece of ground well chosen and defended, the river being on the one hand and a deep Rail Road cut on the other. It was held by a strong force of Artillery and Infantry well supported by a reserve composed of Brigadier General Wood's Division.

My last reserve having been exhausted the Brigades of Major General Breckinridge's Division, and a small Brigade of General J. K. Jackson's posted to guard our right flank, were the only troops left that had not been engaged. Four of these were ordered to report to

* Vide pages 261, 262, ante.

"me. They came in detachments of two Brigades each, the first arriving near two hours after Donelson's attack, the other about an hour after the first. The Commanders of these detachments, the first composed of the Brigades of Generals Adams and Jackson, the second under General Breckinridge in person, consisting of the Brigades of General Preston, and Colonel Palmer, had pointed out to them the particular object to be accomplished to wit: to drive in the enemy's left and especially to dislodge him from his position in the 'Round Forest.' Unfortunately the opportune moment for putting in these detachments had passed.

"Could they have been thrown upon the enemy's left immediately following Chalmers and Donelson's assault in quick succession, the extraordinary strength of his position would have availed him nothing. That point would have been carried, and his left driven back on his panic stricken right, would have completed his confusion and ensured an utter rout. It was however otherwise, and the time lost between Donelson's attack and the coming up of these detachments in succession, enabled the enemy to recover his self possession, to mass a number of heavy batteries and concentrate a strong infantry force on the position, and thus make a successful attack very difficult. Nevertheless the Brigades of Adams and Jackson assailed the enemy's line, with energy and after a severe contest were compelled to yield and fall back. They were promptly rallied by General Breckinridge, who having preceded his other Brigades reached the ground at that moment, but as they were very much cut up, they were not required to renew the attack.

"The Brigades of Preston and Palmer on arriving renewed the assault with the same undaunted determination, but as another battery had been added since the previous attack to a position already strong and difficult of access this assault was alike ineffectual. The enemy though not driven from his position was severely punished and as the day was far spent, it was not deemed advisable to renew the attack that evening, and the troops held the line they occupied for the night. The following morning, instead of finding him in position to receive a renewal of the attack showed that taking advantage of the night he had abandoned this last position of his front line, and the opening of the new year found us masters of the field." * * * * *

To the letter which, as we have said, General Breckinridge addressed to General Polk, on the subject of this Report, three days afterwards, the latter sent the following reply, which we

copy from the original manuscript, now before us:

"SHELBYVILLE TENN

"Mar 31, | 63.

"GENERAL

"I am in receipt of your note of the 28th in which you express the apprehension that some minds may imagine from reading that part of my report relative to you being ordered to report to me on the 31st at Murfreesboro: that I meant to say you were directed to send me four Brigades *at one time* and that you failed to do so. Such was not my intention. I only knew you had been ordered to send four from the fact that I received four. I did not know whether they had been all required to report together or in detachments of two each. From the fact of their coming two at a time I took it for granted they were ordered to me in detachments of two.

"You say it is not mentioned that I (you) carried the Brigades of Preston and Palmer into action on Wednesday.' It is not in so many words at the place where their going in is mentioned but by referring to my report you will find I spoke of you as the Commander of the detachment composed of the Brigades of Preston and Palmer, which ought to satisfy any man not disposed to find occasion for faultfinding that the troops you brought to my support were directed and carried into action by you, especially as I say, you had explained to you the object to be accomplished and that you rallied the troops of your other two Brigades.

"I wrote that passage of my report with a knowledge of all the facts fresh in my mind, and with your report lying before me, and it surely never occurred to me that such a construction as you indicate might be put upon my language. Had it occurred to me while writing my report I would have shaped my language so as to make such an interpretation impossible. My report had gone on to Richmond before I received your note, but if you think it a matter of importance to you I will endeavour now to have the correction made before it is printed.

"Please let me hear from you on the subject. In conclusion I need not say that you rightly estimate my feelings of respect & friendship for you.

"Robertson went up to day & promises his report as soon as it can be copied. It shall be sent so soon as received.

"I remain General

"VY truly yours

"L. POLK.

"Lt Gnl

"M^r GENL BRECKINRIDGE."

To this letter, General Breckinridge sent the following reply, copied from his own copy of it:

"TULLAHOMA TENNESSEE
"April 2nd 1863.

"GENERAL

"I have your letter of the 3rd Ult, and thank you for the explanations you give me. I never supposed that you intended the construction to be placed on that part of your report, which I feared might be.

"Still I apprehended that many persons not reading critically, may infer that I was responsible for the failure to gain a complete victory, since it is stated that four of my Brigades were ordered to report to you—that they came in detachments of two each, at long intervals, and too late to accomplish the result, which would have been the utter rout of the enemy if they had arrived in time.

"Many may say, since I was ordered to report four Brigades to you, how did it happen that they came in two detachments, the first, two hours after the time, and the other still an hour later, when their timely arrival would have changed the face of affairs?

"It occurs to me that the inference will be unfavorable to my conduct, although not conclusive against me. Of course you could not know when I received the orders, nor with what alacrity I obeyed them except from my own report. All I could request would be the exclusion of an inference that in obeying an order to report to you with four Brigades, I had delayed two hours with half the force, and three hours with the remainder. The question as it effects me personally is not, did the Brigades arrive too late for the opportune moment, but, is it inferable from the report that I was responsible for it. If an erroneous construction is placed on your report, it may work me great injury, since it will be read by many thousands through the Confederacy.

"With the kindness and frankness which has always marked your intercourse with me, you say that if it had occurred to you that this construction might be put upon your language you would have so shaped it as to make such an interpretation impossible, and that if I think it of any importance to me, you would endeavor to have the correction made before your report is printed.

"Under the circumstances that surround me, it will be grateful to my feelings, if you can in the way you deem best exclude the construction to which I have referred.

"Very truly your Friend

"JNO C BRECKINRIDGE
"Maj Genl

"Lt Genl L. POLK
"Shelbyville Tenn"

HIS. MAG. VOL. I. 22.

While this correspondence was going on, on the twenty-ninth of March, the Report itself was received and read by General Breckinridge; and, two days later, after due reflection, he addressed the following letter, asking a Court of Inquiry, to the Adjutant and Inspector-general of the Armies of the Confederate States, at Richmond.

"HEAD QUARTERS.

"BRECKINRIDGE DIVISION

"TULLAHOMA March 31st 1863.

"To S. COOPER,

"Adj't & Inspector Genl.

"Richmond Va

"SIR.

"Two days ago I read Gen. Braxton Bragg's official report of the battles of Stones river before Murfreesboro, and after a proper time for reflection, think it my duty to send you this communication.

"I cannot conceal from myself the fact that so much of the report as refers to my conduct and that of my command (except some general compliments to the courage of a portion of my troops on Wednesday the 31st of Dec.) is in tone and spirit a thorough disparagement of both. This tone runs through all its parts and lies like a broad foundation underneath the whole. At the same time the narrative of events is made to sustain the general spirit.

"While the report of the commanding General fails, as I think, to do justice to the behaviour of my Division on Friday the 2^d of Jan'y, yet its strictures are chiefly levelled at my own conduct as an officer during all the operations. By direct statement and by unmistakable innuendo it is throughout a reflection upon my capacity and conduct.

"Without referring to its contents in detail, I have to say in respectfull terms, that neither its material statements, nor its equally material innuendoes can be maintained by proof—that its omission of important facts creditable to my Division and myself is as remarkable as many of its affirmative statements—in a word, that in spirit and substance it is erroneous and unjust.

"I trust that nothing in the foregoing expressions passes the limit of military propriety, and that plainness of statement will be pardoned to one who even under the weight of superior military censure, feels that both he and his command have deserved well of their country.

"Having met the Commde Genl repeatedly on the field, and on three occasions in council during the progress of the operations, without receiving from him the least indication of dissatisfaction with my conduct, I was not prepared to see a report bearing a subsequent

"date, containing representations at variance with these significant facts. Nor was my surprise lessened when I observed that it was written after a correspondence with his Corps and Division commanders (I being one of the latter) in which he invokes their aid to sustain him and speaks of them as Officers 'upon whom I [he] have ever relied as upon a foundation of rock.'

"The Commanding General having written and forwarded his report before receiving those of his subordinate commanders, could have derived no assistance in its preparation from those usual Official aids to the Commander in chief, and since his position on the field prevented him from seeing many of the movements, especially those of Friday the 24 of Jan, it much concerns all affected by his statements to know something of those other, and to them unknown sources of information, to which he has given the sanction of his influence and rank as the head of the Army.

"I have felt that it would be improper in a paper of this character to enter upon a detailed vindication, yet in view of the fact that the casualties of war may at any time render an investigation impossible, I hope that it has not been improper for me to place on record this general protest against the injurious statements and inferences of the Commanding General, particularly, since, not anticipating his censures, I may not have been sufficiently minute in portions of my own report.

"And in regard to the action of Friday the 24 of Jan, upon which the Commds General heaps so much criticism, I have to say with the utmost confidence that the failure of my troops to hold the position which they carried on that occasion was due to no fault of theirs or of mine, but to the fact that we were commanded to do an impossible thing. My force was about 4500 men, of these, 1700 heroic spirits stretched upon that bloody field, in an unequal struggle against three Divisions, a Brigade, and an overwhelming concentration of Artillery, attested our efforts to obey the order.

"I have the honor to request that a Court of Inquiry, be appointed to assemble at the earliest time consistent with the interests of the service, and clothed with the amplest powers of investigation. Of course I do not desire the interests of the service to be prejudiced in the least degree by any matter of secondary importance; accordingly while an early investigation would be grateful to my feelings, I can cheerfully await the time deemed best by the proper authority.

"With great respect, Yr Obdt Servt,

"JNO. C. BRECKINRIDGE,

"Major Gen P. A. C. S."

A few days after his perusal of General Bragg's Report and the transmission of a request for a Court of Inquiry, already referred to, General Breckinridge appears to have made a formal request of some kind, concerning that Report—probably one for a copy of some of the appended papers—which drew from the General-in-chief the following reply, copied from the original, now before us:

"HEAD QUARTERS ARMY OF TENN.

"TULLAHOMA April 2nd 1863

"GENERAL

"In reply to your communication of the 1st inst. this morning received, the General Commanding directs me to say that as his Report of the battles before Murfreesboro has become an official record of the war office; he does not feel authorized to grant your request. But he will approve an application to the Department,

"I am, General,

"Very Respectfully

"Your Ob't Servant

"GEORGE WM BRENT

"A. A. G

"Major Genl. JNO. C. BRECKINRIDGE"

The requisite application to the War Department, suggested by the preceding note, having been made by General Breckinridge, it was endorsed by General Bragg and, undoubtedly, sent to Richmond. The endorsement was notified to General Breckinridge by two officers, in two distinct notes, evidently the result of unusual caution, on General Bragg's part, in order that there might be no mistake in the due transmission of the message. Those notes are before us; and we copy them, *verbatim*:

I.

"HEAD QUARTERS DEPT No 2

"TULLAHOMA TENN

"April 4th 1863

"GENERAL

"The Comdg, Genl, directs me to send to you the following Copy of this endorsement upon your request for copies of certain reports. 'If not inconsistent with the views of the Dept. I hope the request will be granted.'

"(signed) Braxton Bragg.

"I am General

"Very Respectfully

"Yr Obedt Servt

"P. H. THOMSON

"A. A. Genl

"Maj Genl J. C. BRECKINRIDGE

"Comdg &c

"Tullahoma

"Tenn"

II.

"HEAD QUARTERS ARMY OF TENN.
"TULLAHOMA APRIL 4th 1863

"GENERAL

"The General Commanding directs me to send to you a copy of his endorsement, on your application to the Adjutant and Inspector General at Richmond for copies of the report of the General Commanding, and certain others, which will be forwarded at once. The endorsement is as follows:—'If not inconsistent with the views of the Department I hope the request will be granted' (signed) Braxton Bragg—

"I am, General,

"Very Respectfully

"Your Obedt. Servt,

"GEORGE WM BRENT
"A. A. G."

We believe there was nothing done in the matter of this dispute, by the Confederate States' authorities—at any rate, neither General Bragg nor General Breckinridge appear to have suffered, in consequence of this "unpleasantness," either at Richmond or before the country.

Both General Bragg and General Breckinridge appear, however, to have fortified their respective positions with documents of high character, many of which are before us—mostly the original papers. All of these, whether sustaining the one or the other of the distinguished contestants, are important material for the history of this portion of the great contest which then convulsed the Republic; and, as only a few of them, at most, have been published, we can do no better service to those who shall resort to our pages, either for amusement or instruction, than by presenting the whole of them to our readers. They are as follows:

I.

PAPERS COLLECTED BY GENERAL BRAGG.

1.—*General Bragg's requisition on Captain F. H. Robertson, Chief of Artillery, Polk's Corps, for a special Report.*

"HEAD QUARTERS ARMY OF TENN.

"TULLAHOMA Feb'y 16th 1863

"MY DEAR CAPT.

"As you exercised a special command under my orders to operate and Major General Breckinridge, on the evening of the 2^d January 1863, at Murfreesboro, you will please make a special report direct to these Head Quarters of the operations of all the Artillery on that occasion.

"As Artillery is always dependent on the support of Infantry, you are expected to refer

"to that support in such a manner as will do full justice to both arms, and to all commanders and corps engaged

"Yours Very Respectfully
"and Truly

"(signed) BRAXTON BRAGG
"General Commanding

"A true copy.

"KINLOCH FALCONER,
"A. A. Genl.

"Capt. F. H. ROBERTSON
"Chief of Artillery
"Polk's Corps
"Shelbyville Tenn."

2.—*Captain Robertson's Reply.*

"SHELBYVILLE TENN
"Feb'y 18th 1863

"CAPT K FALCONER
"A. A. Genl

"On the morning of the 2^d Jan 1863 I was ordered to accompany Col Brent A. A. G. and endeavor to find a position from which the enemy's line might be entailed with Artillery. Such a position having been found a report of the fact was made to the General at once. The enemy's skirmishers being in possession of the point selected it was determined to attack and carry it. I received orders from Genl Bragg, to take Robertson's Battery, Six Napoleons, Two Sections Semple's Battery, Four Napoleons, two rifles and two 12 Pdr Howitzers belonging to Breckinridge's Division and to occupy and hold to the utmost extremity the desired position after the enemy had been dislodged by the Infantry.

"The necessary preparations for the Artillery were made at once. The Batteries arrived on the ground and were soon in position. Having to await the arrival of a still absent Brigade I took an opportunity to consult Genl Breckinridge.

"I found his ideas of the attack and my own differed materially. he supposed it was to be made by a combination of both Arms whilst I was positive the General's orders were that Infantry alone should take the hill. General Breckinridge then desired me to form my Batteries in the space between his two lines of Infantry and advance, this I declined to do: stating, as a reason, the danger both of confusion from such an arrangement. He then desired me to form an advance behind his second line of Infantry. I then repeated the General's orders to me—Viz. to wait until the Infantry had crowned the Crest and then to rush up and occupy it. Knowing the disposition of all commanders to use Artillery, I spoke to Genl. B. and earnestly protested

“against crowding a field so constructed as the
 “one in which we were to operate with small
 “guns. Stating that in case of a repulse, we
 “would inevitable loose some if they were carried
 “on the field: Genl Breckinridge thinking dif-
 “ferently however, formed his Batteries and ad-
 “vanced them simultaneously with his Infantry
 “and immediately behind it.

“Col Brent A. A. G. was present on this oc-
 “casion and heard the conversation.

“After the first reconnoissance and before the
 “final arrangements for attack, two pieces of
 “Breckinridges Division had been moved and
 “had opened fire on the enemy's Skirmishers. It
 “called the enemy's attention to the very point
 “we desired to attack, and probably to this devel-
 “opment is due the fact that we found the ene-
 “my's Batteries had been located so as to cover
 “completely all the ground over which we would
 “be compelled to pass and which operated to
 “such an alarming extent on our lines. One of
 “these Batteries, I think was located near Harver's
 “House, the other was located in rear of the
 “round forest to the right of the Rail Road in
 “front of Chalmer's position. I know they must
 “have been across Stone's River for I could
 “notice the Shells falling, and all had consid-
 “erable elevation.

“All being prepared, the movement began in
 “the following order. Infantry in two lines
 “interval 200 yards, the Batteries of Genl Breck-
 “inridges Division formed immediately in rear of
 “the 2^d line. My Batteries in rear of all, Cais-
 “sons left at a distance in rear, I followed up the
 “advance with my command, until I gained the
 “open field across which we were to advance,
 “here I halted.

“The plan for the Artillery was as follows.
 “Two 12 Pdr Howitzers to rake the slopes from
 “the highest point of the hill to the water's edge,
 “firing down the river the heaviest Battery. Six
 “Napoleons to occupy the highest point, the
 “other Battery—four Napoleons—to occupy a
 “station on the ridge running out from the river,
 “to the right from the hill top. The two 12 pdr
 “Howitzers began early—the ground for the four
 “Napoleons was soon uncovered and occupied
 “by Lient Fitzpatrick Comdg. Before this, how-
 “ever, the enemy's fire had brought the Artillery
 “of Genl Breckinridge's Division to a halt. had
 “overturned two pieces, the others had begun
 “firing obliquely to the right, but for a time I
 “thought they were firing into their own men.
 “I waited for some time for the Infantry to clear
 “the crest so that I could order Robertson's Bat-
 “tery up to its place, but saw unmistakable ev-
 “idences of a retrograde movement, and seeing
 “Col Grenfell at this moment I sent word to Genl
 “Bragg that I was satisfied the Infantry would
 “be unable to hold their position and changed

“my place so as to bring the guns of Robert-
 “sons Battery to bear on the enemy. I ordered
 “it up to take position beside Sample's it had
 “nearly arrived at the new position when the
 “Infantry gave back. I at once ordered the
 “Commander, Lt Bruton, to take his Battery to
 “the rear and establish it in the line of timber
 “to protect the Infantry until it could be
 “reformed—the other Batteries were ordered to
 “move off, not however until all the Infantry
 “support had disappeared. At this point oc-
 “curred our loss in guns, two pieces of Wrights
 “Battery were lost and one fine piece belonging
 “to Semple's Battery. The Batteries having kept
 “up the fight some time after the Infantry had
 “abandoned the field drew to themselves a very
 “heavy fire, they were therefore much reduced
 “in men. In this communication I desire to
 “call the attention of the Genl Comdg to the
 “good behavior of Capt Semple's Company,
 “under fire more particularly would I direct his
 “attention to Lient Fitzpatrick Comdg the two
 “Sections, this gallant officer brought off one
 “piece that would otherwise have been left and
 “would have saved the other had the wheel
 “driver not been shot at the critical moment of
 “limbering up. Lient Pollard of this Com-
 “pany behaved with great gallantry and was
 “seriously wounded.

“As fast as the pieces came back to the new
 “line they were placed, but the majority hav-
 “ing no ammunition were ordered back to
 “their caissons to refill their boxes. So soon as
 “our guns were unmasked, fire was opened on
 “the enemy's lines and continued until dark
 “with a very heavy fire of Skirmishers upon
 “the Artillery. This line had been established
 “supposing it would be good to rally the
 “broken Division but the hope proved utterly
 “fallacious, except about 150 fugitives collected
 “in a ravine to my right, I saw no body of
 “troops, and fearing an advance of the enemy
 “under cover of the darkness, I moved to the
 “rear again and established a new line along
 “another skirt of timber here I found some few
 “troops of Genl Breckinridges Division, but
 “many of them had returned to their old
 “places as I knew from the sound of the cheer-
 “ing & speaking in the rear. Being unable to
 “find Genl Breckinridge for some time, I pro-
 “ceeded to regulate the Artillery according to
 “my own ideas. After a time I met the Gen-
 “eral, told him what I had done and he direct-
 “ed me to continue so to act, and report to him
 “after I had finished.

“The contagion of flight had spread to the
 “Artillery and it was with great difficulty that
 “several pieces of Artillery were brought away,
 “owing to the drivers being frightened—in more
 “than one instance I found it necessary to cock

"my revolver and level it, in order to bring
 "men to a realizing sense of their duty. I am
 "clearly of the opinion that if there had been
 "no Artillery on that field the enemy would
 "have gone into Murfreesboro easily that even-
 "ing. There was no organization that I could
 "see or hear of until after the enemy had been
 "checked, save in the Artillery. I have never
 "seen troops so completely broken in my mili-
 "tary experience.

"I tried myself and saw many others try to
 " rally them but they seemed actuated only by
 "a desire for safety and beyond the reach of
 "other sentiments. I saw the colors of many
 "regiments pass and though repeated calls
 "were made for men on the different Regi-
 "ments no attention was paid to them. I take
 "this opportunity to mention the courage of
 "some man whom I do not know. He carried
 "a stand of colors and halted frequently faced
 "the enemy and called the 6th Ky Regt. and
 "although he did not receive much attention,
 "he lingered so long as there was any Infantry
 "on the field, and then passed to the rear call-
 "ing out, 'Here's your 6th Kentucky.'

"I have the honor to be

"Very Respectfully &c

"F. H. ROBERTSON

"Capt &c."

II.

PAPERS COLLECTED BY GENERAL BRECKIN- RIDGE.

1.—Captain F. H. Robertson's Report.

"A. A. GENL

"BRECKINRIDGE'S DIVISION

"Sir,

"By direction of Lt.

"Genl Polk I reported to Genl Breckinridge on
 "Friday evening 2nd Jan'y 1863, with Rob-
 "ertson's Battery of Six (6) Napoleon guns, and
 "Semple's Battery of four (4) Napoleon guns
 "in all Ten (10) guns. My command was
 "formed in rear of the line of the Infantry, and
 "finally behind the Artillery of the Division
 "which was immediately behind the 2nd line.
 "Leaving my Caissons I advanced to the edge
 "of the opening through which the Infantry
 "had charged. The highest point of the hill
 "to the left was selected to be the site of Rob-
 "ertson's Battery, Semple's, was to take the
 "right.

"So soon as the ground was cleared upon
 "which Semple's Battery was to stand it was at
 "once pushed to its place.

"The Infantry not being able to clear the
 "crest of the hill and the fire being very heavy
 "on our right I decided to alter the plan and
 "send my Battery to the right, but our line

"being cramped by unfavorable ground to the
 "right, I only ordered a Section up to fill a gap
 "in our line of Artillery. By the repulse be-
 "coming general I determined to stop remain-
 "der of my own Battery in the field to check the
 "enemy's advance, the Artillery of my com-
 "mand was brought off with the loss of one
 "piece by Semple's Battery. This only occur-
 "ed after the Infantry supports had given away
 "entirely.

"The fighting of this Battery (Semple's) was
 "entirely creditable, the confusion was such that
 "it was not to be wondered at that three (3)
 "pieces were left on the field but that more
 "were not lost.

"The Artillery as it entered the woods was
 "placed and a rapid fire checked the enemy's
 "advance. The Batteries under my command
 "were subjected to a hot Infantry fire and the
 "worst cross fire I ever saw. The loss of the
 "two Batteries I cannot know as I have not
 "seen Lieut Fitzpatrick Comd'g. Two Sections
 "of Semple's Battery, my own lost six horses
 "and six men.

"After dark the guns fell back and Maj
 "Graves having been severely wounded I at the
 "request of Genl Breckinridge placed the Ar-
 "tillery upon the new line. But for the Artil-
 "lery fire the enemy would surely have carried
 "the position entirely as our Infantry was seat-
 "tered.

"The men of the Artillery generally behaved
 "splendidly, but individual exceptions were
 "many to this rule, and I found it necessary to
 "draw my revolver in order to make the drivers
 "halt long enough for the piece to be limbered
 "up and brought off.

"Very Respectfully

"F. H. ROBERTSON

"Capt &c.

"SHELBYVILLE TENN.

"Jan'y 12th 1863"

2.—Adjutant-general Theodore O'Hara's Report.

"Hd QRS BRECKINRIDGE'S DIV.

"TULLAHOMA TENN.

"Jan. 16th 1863

"GENERAL,

"In compliance with your wish I
 "have the honor to furnish you with my recol-
 "lections of the events of the late operations
 "before Murfreesboro as far as your command
 "was particularly concerned.

"When the line of battle was formed on the
 "morning of the 28th of December, your Divi-
 "sion constituted the first line of the right
 "wing of the army reaching from the Lebanon
 "pike to Stone river, and its several brigades,
 "each with its battery of artillery, were dis-
 "posed from right to left in the following

"order; Adams', Preston's, Palmer's & Hanson's. Jackson's brigade with Lumsden's battery being subsequently added to your command was posted east of the Lebanon road a little in front of Adams' right. No event of interest occurred on this day.

"On the afternoon of the 29th Cobb's battery was moved forward to occupy a commanding eminence some six hundred yards in front of Hanson's line, supported by the 9th Ky. Regiment. A little after dark the enemy made a vigorous attempt to gain possession of this vital position, but was promptly repulsed by our infantry. Soon after, in obedience to an order previously given by L^t Gen. Hardee, the battery with its support was withdrawn to the original line. A few hours later an order was given to re-occupy the hill at all hazards, and accordingly the battery was conducted back to the position by the same supporting regiment without encountering any opposition. The enemy renewed his effort the next morning, both by means of his sharpshooters and a heavy artillery fire, to dislodge us from this coveted position, but without success. The hill was ordered to be fortified, and its occupation was further strengthened with some additional pieces of artillery.

"On the 30th L^t Gen Hardee moved with Cleburne's Division to the west of the river, and you were thus left without support to defend the line between the river and the Lebanon road. Hanson's brigade was advanced to the hill where Cobb's battery was posted, and Adams' brigade took its place in the original line, while Jackson's was withdrawn from the other side of the Lebanon road to the position vacated by Adams.

"Early on the morning of the 31st the roar of cannon and musketry announced the battle on the west side of the river. During the early part of the day while it was progressing you received frequent reports from the cavalry in your front, which proved to be unfounded, of the presence of the enemy on the east side of the river. A message to this effect came to you from the Commanding General about 10 O'clock A.M. and you were ordered to advance and attack the enemy. You promptly put your line in motion and had advanced some half mile, swinging round to the left upon the strong position occupied by Hanson as a pivot, when you received another message from the Commanding General that the enemy was advancing on the Lebanon road, and ordering you to fall back to your original position.

"About 12 O'clock P.M. you received an order from the Commanding General to detach two of your brigades to the assistance of L^t

"Gen. Polk who was said to be hard pressed. Adams' & Jackson's brigades were promptly despatched across the river for this purpose. About an hour after an order came for you to report with the rest of your Division, except Hanson's brigade, to L^t Gen. Polk. Putting the command in motion at a double-quick you galloped forward with your staff and on reaching the other side of the river found Adams' brigade falling back in confusion over the plain, having been repulsed in an attack on a strong position of the enemy which the forces of L^t Gen. Polk had previously in vain striven to carry. By the exertion of yourself & staff the brigade was soon rallied, though in a considerably disorganized condition. Jackson's brigade had fallen back under shelter of the cedars to the left of Cowan's house. As soon as Palmer's and Preston's brigades arrived across the river they were formed in one line, the latter on the right. and advanced to a renewed attack on the same citadel of the enemy's position which had so stubbornly withstood the assaults of our forces. The line advanced across the plain in splendid style under a tremendous fire of artillery concentrated at the point of attack, as well as of batteries which were brought to bear upon our flank from the elevated ground on the river bank. As it reached Cowan's house its advance was in some measure impeded and some confusion caused by an impassable picket-fence & other obstacles, in consequence of which the 20th Tennessee Regiment became separated from the rest of the command. At this point the line was subjected to a terrific fire of the enemy's infantry, massed in its immediate front, as well as of his concentrated artillery. The 20th Tennessee having passed to the right of Cowan's house and the Nashville pike was especially exposed to the enemy's fire, but nothing daunted, although alone and without supported, it gallantly charged the enemy and captured a number of prisoners, but was finally compelled to fall back before the overwhelming fire of the enemy. Finding it impossible to carry the enemy's position against such odds as he had massed there to resist you, and in the face of such a tremendous fire of artillery and small arms, you moved the rest of your force by the left flank into the cedar brake, and held the position unassailed by the enemy whose lines were visible in heavy force at a short distance in your front. A short while after the columns of Major Generals McCown, Cheatham & Cleburne came up & prolonged themselves on your left. About this time L^t Gen. Hardee joined you, and you went with him to the edge of the

"woods to reconnoitre the enemy. It was decided by him not to renew the attack this evening, our forces not being in condition for it. Adams' brigade came up during the evening & took position on the right. Night approaching you established your headquarters at a bivouac in the woods. About 9 O'clock you received a message from Lt. Gen. Polk desiring your attendance at the headquarters of the Commanding General, whither you immediately repaired. About 11 O'clock an order came from you for your staff to join you at your late headquarters, and for Palmer's brigade to move to the west side of the river and be in position on the right of Hanson by daylight.

"On the morning of the 1st of January a battery made its appearance on an eminence on the east side of the river some fifteen hundred yards in front of Palmer's line, and it thus became evident that the enemy had crossed a force to this side of the river during the preceding night while you were absent and your whole Division, with the exception of Hanson's brigade, on the other side.

"During the morning of the 2^d some of the members of your staff obtained your permission to advance a couple of pieces of artillery a few hundred yards in front of Palmer's right with a view to develop the battery above mentioned and to obtain some indication of the enemy's force and position on this side of the river. The battery, which had thrown an occasional shell at Palmer's brigade, retired out of sight without replying to our pieces, which then commenced to shell some houses in which the sharpshooters of the enemy had taken cover, when you ordered them to cease firing & retire.

"About 1 O'clock P. M. while reconnoitring the enemy with some of the members of your staff in front of Hanson's line of skirmishers, you were summoned to the presence of the Commanding General, and received from him in person an order to take your Division (leaving Cobb's battery and the 9th Ky Regt to hold the hill hitherto defended by Hanson's brigade) and carry by assault the eminence in your front where the enemy had shown himself on the east side of the river, and after taking it with your infantry to plant your artillery upon it and enfilade the enemy's lines on the west side which it was supposed it commanded. You were to be ready for the attack precisely at 4 O'clock P. M., and as the enemy's attention was to be simultaneously engaged by an attack with artillery on the West side of the river, the first gun was to be the signal for you to advance to the assault. Adams' and Preston's

brigades having been brought from the other side of the river you made your dispositions for the assault as follows: your infantry was formed in two lines; the brigade hitherto commanded by Col. Palmer and to which Brig. Gen. Pillow had just been assigned occupied the right of the first line, Hanson's brigade the left; Preston's brigade on the right and Adams', under command of Col. Gibson, on the left composed the second line; the artillery in rear of the second line. The first line lay in a skirt of woods between which and the eminence to be carried was an open field some five or six hundred yards in width and sloping gradually up to the crest. Your plan of attack, as you announced it to the brigade commanders and Chief of Artillery, was for the infantry to advance rapidly across the field and, as soon as they should encounter the enemy, fire one volley and then charge with the bayonet and drive him from the eminence; and, so soon as this should be accomplished, the batteries were to be moved up at a gallop and planted. Captain Robertson of Withers' Division having reported to you with two batteries (his own and Semple's) was directed to post one of them to the right and the other to the left of the Artillery of the Division & co-operate with it.

"At the intimated signal the infantry moved forward gallantly to the assault, encountering as soon as they issued from the wood a heavy fire from the enemy's long range guns on this side of the river and his artillery on the other side. As the lines advanced across the field the enemy's fire increased in severity until it became absolutely appalling; but they did not falter for a moment until encountering his infantry on the crest of the eminence they swept it from the position and drove it before them through the woods beyond and across the river. As soon as the eminence was thus cleared the batteries (with the exception of Robertson's which was not seen on the field during the action) were promptly moved forward and planted on the crest. But so far from being able to enfilade the enemy's lines beyond the river, it was found that the ground occupied by him on that side was much the higher, and that he was enabled from his commanding position to sweep the entire field on this side with his artillery massed there to the number of some fifty guns. The ground beyond the crest of the eminence which had been carried was broken & covered with thick woods from which the enemy's infantry could have rendered the position of our batteries untenable. It was necessary therefore to drive him from it, which caused our infantry to advance some distance beyond

"the eminence, and a portion of them in the ardor of the charge pursued the enemy across the river. While this was taking place a heavy force of the enemy which had crossed the river at a point below came down upon our flank. Assailed by this superior force, as well as subjected to the terrific cannonade from the enemy's batteries in front, our infantry were compelled to fall back after having sustained a loss of more than a third of their number. The artillery maintained its position, holding the enemy in check until all the infantry had fallen back and rallied in the skirt of woods whence we had moved to the assault, and then retired, losing three pieces which they were compelled to leave behind as all the cannoners & horses belonging to them were killed. The enemy did not advance beyond the eminence from which he had been driven.

"As soon as the command was rallied & the lines reformed on the ground whence we had moved to the attack, you sent me to report to the Commanding General the result of the action. He directed me to tell you to maintain your position if possible and that he had ordered Anderson's brigade to reinforce you. "On my return a little after dark I found Anderson's brigade just arrived and forming on the left of the Division. Soon after, stationing strong pickets, you moved the whole command back several hundred yards and prolonged it in a line with the position which Hanson's brigade had occupied before the action, that brigade resuming its position. "Your Division remained in this position until about midnight on the 3^d when it was put in motion to cover the retreat of Hardee's Corps by the Manchester road from Murfreesboro.

"I am, General, Very Respectfully

"Your Obedt Servt

"THEODORE O'HARA

"A. A. A. Genl

"Maj: Gen. BRECKINRIDGE

"Commandg Division."

3. —Inspector-general Wilson's Report.

"TULLAHOMA TENN: Jan'y 20 | 63.

"GENERAL,

"I have the honor to submit the following memoranda of the operations of your Division in the late battles before Murfreesboro.

"The following is the disposition of the four Brigades composing your Division on the morning of the 28th of December last. The Brigade of Brig Gen Adams had its right resting on the Lebanon Pike, about one mile in front of Murfreesboro, and in continuation of his line towards the ford over Stones River

"on the Nashville Pike, were posted successively the Brigades of Preston, Palmer & Hanson, the left of the latter resting on the East bank of the river near the above-mentioned ford. The Batteries were advantageously posted on eminences adjacent to their respective Brigades, in such a manner as to command almost the whole of the open fields which lay in front of our line. Cobb's Battery of four guns, supported by Col Hunt with three Regiments of Hanson's Brigade, was subsequently thrown forward some six or eight hundred yards, to occupy an eminence which commanded not only your own, the first, and Maj Gen Cleburns, the second line of Lt Gen Hardee but a great part of the right wing of Lt: Gen Polk on the opposite bank of the river.

"Brig Gen Jacksons Brigade having been assigned to your command, was sometime during the next day posted on the right of the Lebanon Road, a little in advance of Brig Gen Adams' right.

"On Tuesday, by withdrawing Jacksons Brigade from the East side of the Lebanon Road, you were enabled to advance your right about half a mile and still occupy the whole line between this Road and the ford over Stones River. But late in the evening the original line was resumed, with these exceptions; Hanson's entire Brigade had been advanced to the hill held by Col Hunt which had already been strengthened by several pieces of Artillery added to Cobbs' Battery; Adams was moved to Hanson's old position in rear of this, and Jackson took Adams' position with his right on the Lebanon Road. This evening the second line under Maj Gen Cleburn, was withdrawn and moved to the West side of the River, leaving us without support.

"On Wednesday morning, by 7½ O/c, the firing upon our left assured us that the battle had begun. We could distinctly hear the rattle of the small arms and the cheers of our men as they swung round towards the Nashville Pike, driving the enemy before them in confusion and rout. Making a pivot of the strong position occupied by Gen Hanson, you now commenced to swing around your right in order to close in and complete the work so bravely begun by the left wing. Your right under Gen Adams had already advanced one mile when an order was brought from the Comd'g Genl by Lt Col Buckner of your Staff, for you to send at least one Brigade to the support of Lt: Gen Polk. This order was promptly executed, the Brigades of Adams & Jackson passing without delay across the ford to the ground indicated. Our

"movement of closing in to the left was now continued with only three brigades, but in a very short time and before we had encountered an enemy, another order was received from the Com'd'g General, for you to take your whole force, excepting Hansons Brigade, to the West side of the River. The Brigades of Preston and Palmer were immediately put in motion in obedience to this order, and yourself and Staff hastened across the river. Upon your arrival on the West bank, you found that the Brigades of Adams and Jackson, in attacking a very strong position held by the enemy between the Nashville Pike and Stones River, had been severely repulsed and were falling back in some confusion. They were soon rallied however and reformed while Preston & Palmer were forming about one hundred yards to their rear. These Brigades now moved forward and passing between the files of the line in front of them soon came under a murderous fire from the batteries of the enemy planted in the strong position above referred to, but without faltering they pressed on, till, reaching a heavy cedar brake, to the right and front of which were drawn up the enemy's lines, by partially changing direction to the right the line was made parallel to that of the enemy and halted near the edge of the brake. Brigades of the Divisions of Cheatham, McCown and Cleburn now came up and were formed in prolongation of the left of your line. Adams Brigade was also brought up and formed on the right of Preston. In this position our line remained until about One O'c in the morning when an order was received from you (then at the H^d Qtrs of General Bragg) to move Palmers Brigade to the East side of the River and to a position about Eight hundred yards to the right and slightly in advance of Hansons right. Thus on Thursday morning, you had on the right bank of the river, to guard the entire line upon which your whole command had heretofore been posted, but these two Brigades of Hanson and Palmer. At an early hour this morning while passing over the open field between these Brigades, we discovered that the enemy had during the night brought across the river and planted a Battery of Artillery about fifteen hundred yards in front of the line we now occupied. I was now convinced that quite a considerable force of the enemy had been thrown on this side of the River during the night, and while we had no force to oppose them but that of Hanson, which was fully a mile from the point at which they must have crossed, and whose position would have been greatly hazarded had he advanced to contest the crossing.

"On Friday at about 2½ O'c P.M. I was informed that you had received orders from the Com'd'g General in person, to attack the position I have just spoken of as occupied by one of the enemies' Batteries. You were to form your four Brigades in two lines, and after having swept the enemy from the hill with your infantry, to plant your Artillery upon it and enfilade their lines on the West bank of the River, it being supposed that this position commanded them. Your first line was composed of the Brigades of Pillow, (who had just been assigned to the command of Palmers Brigade) and Hanson, the former upon the right. The 9th Ky Reg't under Col Hunt was left to support Cobbs Battery on Hansons Hill. The Brigades of Preston and Adams, the latter now under command of Col Gibson, were withdrawn from the West side of the River and formed your second line, the former taking the right. In rear of your second line were the Batteries of Slocomb, Wright and Moses, the first of six, the others of four guns each. In their rear was a Battery of six 12 pdr Napoleon guns commanded by Capt Robertson who had been ordered to report to you with his own and Semples Battery of four 12 pdr Napoleons. This last named Battery was placed about fifty or sixty yards to the right of Prestons line. At Four O'c the signal was given and the lines moved forward. Between them and the enemy was a corn field about five hundred yards in width, and no sooner had they emerged from the skirt of timber in which they had formed than our lines were under the fire of the long range small arms of the infantry on this side and of the Batteries on the other side of the River. Pushing forward under this fire which then became more deadly than any I have ever seen, our men drove the enemy, far superior to them in numbers, from the coveted position and to the other side of the River. As soon as the hill upon which it was desired you should plant your Artillery, had been cleared, all your Batteries except Capt Robertson's, which had not arrived, were under the supervision of Maj Graves, promptly posted, but it was soon found that instead of this position commanding the enemys lines, it was completely commanded from the other side of the River and that the enemy had there massed an overwhelming weight of metal. Under these circumstances, and having already lost Seventeen hundred out of the Forty Five hundred men with whom you had made this attack, you thought proper to retire to the cover of the wood in which you had formed your attacking lines. While this movement was being executed, the enemys

"infantry again crossed the River but were gallantly held in check by our Batteries on the hill, until our lines were reformed and quite ready to receive them. The Artillery in thus covering our retreat, necessarily sacrificed the lives of many brave men. Three of our pieces with their dead canoneers around them fell into the hands of the enemy.

"After our lines had reformed and the Artillery had fallen back upon them, the enemy appeared in force upon the hill which had cost us so dearly, but did not venture to attack us. About dark, and after the firing had ceased upon both sides, Brig Gen Anderson with his fine Brigade came up and reported to you. Shortly afterwards you moved the whole force to the line you occupied before this attack was determined upon, and in this position it remained till withdrawn to cover the retreat of Lt: Gen Hardee's Corps, on the evacuation of Murfreesboro.

"I am, General

"With Respect

"Your Obedt Svt

"JAS WILSON

"Maj & A. I. Genl

"Maj GEN BRECKINRIDGE"

4.—Report of Major R. E. Graves, Chief of Artillery, Breckinridge's Division.

"CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

"January 25th 1863

"GENERAL,

"I have the honor to submit a report of the operations of the Artillery of your Division in the late battles before Murfreesboro.

"The troops having been placed in line of battle on the morning of the 28th of December, the batteries of the Division were disposed as follows: Cobb's battery (four guns) was attached to Hanson's brigade and posted on the extreme left near Stone river; Moses' battery (four guns), commanded by Lt Anderson, was attached to Palmer's brigade and posted in a skirt of wood on the left centre of the line; Wright's (four guns) was attached to Preston's brigade and posted on the edge of a field on the right centre of the line; Sloan's (six guns), commanded by Lt Vaught, was attached to Adams' brigade and posted on the right near the Lebanon pike. Lumsden's battery (four guns) came up with Jackson's brigade on the morning of the 29th, and on the same day Semple's with his battery of Napoleon guns reported for duty with the Division; thus making the total number of guns and howitzers in the command twenty eight. Of these Cobb, Anderson & Wright had each two 6 pr. guns and two 12 pr. how-

itzers; Vaught the same with the addition of two James' rifle guns; Lumsden two rifle guns and two 6 pr. guns, and Semple six Napoleons.

"Along the whole front of our line was an open space of undulating fields of an average width of some six hundred yards fringed with open woods. Immediately in front of Capt. Cobb and near the river was a small hill of some forty feet elevation above the surrounding country. As this position completely commanded Polk's right and Hardee's left, it was of the last importance that we should possess it. Accordingly Cobb's battery with a portion of Hanson's infantry was ordered forward on the evening of the 29th, the artillery to occupy the crest of the hill, the infantry directly in rear with a strong line of skirmishers in front of the battery. Towards nightfall Lt Genl Hardee visited the position and was of opinion that the command should be withdrawn, and he accordingly ordered it to fall back to the original line as soon as darkness should cover the movement. Before the order could be executed, however, the skirmishers were driven back upon the reserve. Capt. Cobb immediately called for reinforcements, but before they could arrive a strong body of assailants rushed to the crest of the hill and delivered a heavy volley of musketry at short pistol range. Fortunately the cannoneers were ordered to lie down, and thus escaped without injury, save one detachment which not hearing the order remained standing and were all either killed or wounded, Lt James being among the latter. By the timely arrival of the 9th Ky Regt the battery was rescued. The command was then withdrawn. A few hours after an order came from Headquarters to re-occupy the hill at all hazards, and it was accordingly done about midnight by the 9th Ky & 41st Ala without opposition, Cobb's battery moving up and taking position a short time after.

"Early on the morning of the 30th the enemy deployed a heavy body of sharpshooters who attempted to dislodge us from the hill, but they were successfully met by the Kentucky riflemen. About 10 O'Clock A.M., the sharpshooters having failed in their attempt, a heavy fire was opened upon the position by the enemy's batteries, which was soon silenced by Cobb. About 10½ A. M. an order was given for the hill to be fortified. About 12, M. Brigadier General Chalmers, fearing an attempt would be made by the enemy to cross the river and turn his right, requested that a battery should be placed in the plain to the left and rear of Cobb to frustrate any such

"movement. Four rifle guns under command of L^t A. C. Gibson were accordingly posted for the purpose and remained in position during the day.

"In the evening Capt. Cobb, in attempting to prevent the occupation of the ground immediately in his front on the West bank of the river and to the left of Cowan's house, lost quite heavily.

"During the night of the 30th the four rifle guns (sections from Vaughn's & Lumsden's batteries under command of L^t Chaleron and Tarrent respectively) which had been posted to the left and rear of Cobb, were ordered up to the hill, and Semple's battery took their place behind an earth work which had been hastily thrown up under the darkness.

"At daylight on the 31st loud and continued cheering was heard all along the front of Hanson's line. Directions were given to the battery commanders to open with spherical case as soon as the enemy should make his appearance within proper range. Very soon the occasion presented itself for executing this order, and it was faithfully and effectively obeyed. As the rattle of small arms grew to one continuous roar on our left, and told that Herdee was pushing his victorious columns forward, dense masses of the enemy came in view on an extensive plateau directly in front of the artillery posted on the hill. Cobb, Chaleron and Tarrent opened upon them with great effect. Semple's battery was moved up to the hill and also bore an efficient part in this cannonade. Line after line of the enemy would come upon the plateau to be driven back a mass of broken and disorganized fugitives. Also as the retreating masses of the enemy, flying before our advancing lines, crowded upon this point, every gun upon the hill was brought to bear upon them with murderous effect. Thus did this portion of our artillery continue the contest throughout the day, sometimes sweeping away from before our lines the masses of the enemy's infantry, at others engaging his batteries with damaging effect, and contributing in a very material measure towards the general success of our arms in the great battle of the 31st of December. The batteries of Wright, Vaught, Anderson & Lumsden accompanied the brigades to which they were respectively attached to the West of Stone river. The reports of the brigade commanders will have informed you of the part taken by these batteries on that bloody day.

"The conduct of the artillerymen under a very severe and continuous fire from the opposing batteries was eminently satisfactory. Not in a single instance did any officer, non-commis-

sioned officer or private shrink from the performance of his duty. I desire particularly to commend to your notice the gallant & meritorious conduct of Captains Cobb and Semple, and L^ts Chaleron & Tarrent. These officers were at all times present directing their commands with coolness energy and skill. Throughout this and the several preceding days I received efficient and valuable assistance from L^ts Gibson and Spencer whose conduct on the field was marked by the highest courage. Corporals Smith of Chaleron's section, Hawes of Cobb's battery & Beoul of Semple's battery were conspicuous for their coolness and the excellent manner in which they handled their pieces. I cannot omit to mention an admirable feat of skill performed by Corporal Smith. Observing one of the enemy's ammunition wagons crossing the plateau in front of our batteries, I ordered the Corporal to explode it. He did it handsomely at the second shot.

"On the morning of the 2^d of January two guns of Capt Byrne's battery (which had reported for duty with the Division) under charge of the Captain were advanced to the front of Palmer's right and opened fire upon some houses occupied by the enemy's sharpshooters driving them from their shelter. Not having proper ammunition these guns were replaced by Vaughn's battery, upon a charge was made but repulsed. At 12 M. an order came from you to cease firing and withdraw the battery.

"At 3 P. M. orders were given for the concentration of Wright's, Vaught's and Anderson's batteries in an open field some twelve hundred yards in a direction a little north of East of where the skirmish had taken place in the morning. The infantry of the Division was formed in two lines immediately in front of the artillery. Capt. Wright was posted on the right, L^t Anderson in the centre, and L^t Vaught on the left, each having two 6 pr. guns and two 12 pr. howitzers. Being summoned to your presence I was informed by you that the Commanding General had ordered you with your command to take a hill on the East bank of Stone river now some eight hundred yards in your front—that the infantry would first advance, and as soon as the crest of the hill should be carried the artillery should be moved up at a gallop and take position upon it. You further informed me that Capt. Robertson, commanding a battery in Withers' Division, had reported to you with his own and Semple's battery, and had been directed by you to post one battery on the right and the other on the left of the artillery of the Division. At 4 O'clock, at a

“given signal, the infantry moved forward to the attack and had advanced to within some five hundred yards of the eminence when the enemy showed himself in force on the right flank of the Division in a wood. You ordered me to bring up a battery and place it in position to dislodge him. Wright’s battery was moved up and unlimbered under a very heavy fire within short range. The officers and men of this battery behaved with the utmost gallantry, but finding it impossible with this battery alone to dislodge the enemy, I rode to a battery some three hundred yards to the right and rear of Wright’s position (which I found to be Semple’s now under command of L^t Fitzpatrick. I asked him if he could not advance to within canister range. He replied that Capt Robertson had given him no orders or instructions; and that his battery was at my command. The battery was advanced to within four hundred yards of the enemy and opened with canister. By the combined fire of the two batteries the enemy was driven from his position with great loss. Here L^t Bell of Byrne’s battery who had volunteered with me for the fight and who had borne himself most gallantly was wounded & carried from the field. L^s Vaught & Anderson advanced promptly and taking the positions assigned them on the crest of the hill (which had cleared by the infantry) opened fire. L^t Fitzpatrick was ordered to a position directly in front of his second position. Capt Wright was moved up on the right of L^t Anderson, but finding the ground unfavorable went into battery on the left of Fitzpatrick. The infantry had by this time passed some distance beyond the crest of the hill and driven the enemy before them & across the river. The ground to the left of Wright & Fitzpatrick was rough and woody, that to the right was an extended field. The enemy’s artillery on the west side of river swept the crest of the hill, the ground on which his batteries were placed being much higher. Moreover he had crossed the river below with a superior force which advanced upon our flank. Assailed by this force as well as by the enemy’s batteries from his commanding position beyond the river, our infantry was compelled to fall back, which they did very deliberately. As the infantry retired the enemy’s fire became truly awful, the air being filled with missiles of death. I called upon the officers & men as they passed through the batteries to stop & support the artillery. Most of them complied, but finding that this only subjected the command to an increased & ineffectual loss of life, I ordered all who thus rallied to fall back to the woods.

“Feeling that this was one of the cases when it becomes necessary to sacrifice one arm of the service for the safety of another, I resolved to maintain the artillery in its position as a barrier between the advancing enemy and our retiring infantry, although officers, men and horses were fast being shot down. It was now that the gallant Wright was killed. Tennessee offered up on her own bosom a sacrifice to our cause of inestimable value in this untimely fall of one of her most heroic sons. L^t Mebane of Wright’s battery was also wounded & forced to leave the field. As the infantry passed back the enemy’s lines were discovered to be within less than two hundred yards of the batteries. Fitzpatricks Napoleons and Wright’s howitzers greeted them with a bloody welcome. Their first and second lines and part of their third were driven. Rallying they again pressed forward & poured in a terribly destructive fire upon us. The ground was torn by minie balls and bursting shells. Wright and a third of his men were killed and wounded. Fitzpatrick lost half of his officers and men. Still the batteries sustained the unequal contest; and it was only when the enemy was within pistol shot, and all our artillery ammunition was exhausted, that the order to limber to the rear was given. Three guns—one of Fitzpatrick’s and two of Wright’s—were lost & there no one left to limber them up. I cannot speak in terms of too high praise of the behavior throughout this terrible conflict of the officers & men of the batteries of Capt. Wright and L^s Vaught & Fitzpatrick. I saw but little of L^t Anderson’s fire. I did not see Capt. Robertson’s battery during the engagement, nor am I aware that it took any part in it; nor did I see the Captain himself until proceeding to the rear in consequence of a wound which I received about the close of the action I met him three quarters of a mile from the battle field.

“I cannot close without mentioning the valuable services and distinguished gallantry of L^t William Gilmore who acted with me in this engagement, and who signalized himself by a brilliant courage which I have never seen surpassed.

“Very Respectfully, General,

“Your Obedt Serv^t

“R. E. GRAVES

“Major & Chf of artillery

“Maj. Gen. BRECKINRIDGE

“Commandg Division

“Tullahoma, Tenn.”

5.—Letter from Captain F. H. Robertson to General Breckinridge, transmitting copy of the

special Report sent to General Bragg, on his requisition, February 18, 1863.

"SHELBYVILLE TENN. April 6th 1863
"Maj. Genl. BRECKINRIDGE

"Comdg Division
"GENERAL

"You will remember that in pursuance of my official duty I addressed you a report of the operations of the Artillery in the attack of the 2nd of Jan. 1863 after Maj Graves (your Chief of Arty) was disabled and left the field.

"Subsequently to my making that report I received from General Bragg a note, of which I enclose a copy, calling for a Special report 'to be made direct' to his Hd. Quarters 'of the operations of all the Artillery on that occasion.'

"I think it proper to furnish you with a copy of this report covering as it does details not embodied in the one before addressed to you

"Very Respectfully

"Your Obt Servant

"F. H. ROBERTSON

"Capt &c."

6.—Adjutant-general John A. Buckner's Letter to General Breckinridge.

"HEAD QUARTERS—

"BRECKINRIDGE DIVISION

"May 20th 1863

"GENERAL

"In recalling the operations of your Divⁿ in the engagements before Murfreesboro I can mention nothing of importance as having occurred previous to Wednesday the 31st of Dec. except the retaking of the prominent Hill on the East bank of Stone's river in front of your left wing.

"About dark on Monday evening the Enemy threw a large force across the ford immediately in front of the Hill and by a bold & rapid dash drove Cobbs Battery from its position, but by the promptness and coolness of Col Hunt, it was quickly retaken by the 9th Ky and 41st Ala. Reg^{ts} and held throughout the subsequent engagements.

"The morning of the 31st of Dec^r found the approaches to Murfreesboro on the East bank of Stone's river, defended solely by your Division; consisting of Hanson's, Palmer's, Adam's, & Preston's Brigades; and the small Brigade (900 effectives) of Brig^r Genl Jackson, which had been ordered to report to you the day before.

"Your line of Battle extended from the Lebanon Turnpike to the bank of Stone river—

"You had but one line, and this was broken at intervals for Batteries of Artillery.

"Your front was covered by a Cavalry force

"under Brig^r Genl Pegram thrown forward of your line about one mile—

"While the battle was raging on the west Side of the river on Wednesday, you received frequent reports from this Cavalry that the Enemy were on the East side and were marching

"to attack you. A report to the same effect was sent you at an early hour on Wednesday

"by Genl Bragg, and it was not until you had sent forward two members of your staff, and

"the Captain of your Escort, for the purpose of watching the movements of the Enemy,

"that you were relieved from these frequent erroneous reports— About 11 O'clock A. M.

"you rec^d an order from the Genl Commanding to advance your Division to the front, and

"as promptly as possible, the line was put in motion, and had swung around about a half

"mile upon Hanson's Hill as a pivot, when you rec^d information that the Enemy was advancing on the Lebanon road, and you were ordered

"by the Commanding General to suspend the movement, and reoccupy your old position.

"The Enemy not appearing you remained in your original line until you rec^d the order

"from the Genl commanding to send at least one Brigade across the river to sustain Genl

"Polk's right, as He was said to be hard pressed. This order I bore you, & witnessed the

"prompt departure of Brig^r Genl Jackson's small brigade and that of Brig. Genl Adams.

"About an hour after the departure of these Brigades you were ordered to send two more

"Brigades to still further reinforce Genl Polk's right.

"Leaving Hanson to defend the important Hill before alluded to, you led Palmer's & Preston's Brigades rapidly across Stone's river, and

"on arriving on the West bank, found the Brigades of Jackson & Adams falling back in

"considerable disorder, over the ground across which you were ordered to advance.

"As soon as these troops could be cleared from your front, you moved forward across a

"level, open field about one thousand yards in width, which was raked by a cross fire from

"Several batteries of the enemy massed on a slight eminence in our front. The troops

"moved forward in beautiful order until they reached the burnt ruins of Cowans House.

"Here the strong Pickett fence around the yard & garden, the walls of the House and the

"Rail road cut, checked your advance and separated the 20th, Tenn. from the balance of

"Preston's Brigade.

"The 20th Tenn advanced on the right of the Rail road & near to the river bank— After

"making a gallant charge in which they captured 25 Prisoners they retired before a very

"heavy fire of Artillery.

"The balance of your command; unable to advance in the face of so terrific a fire of Artillery and Small arms (concentrated just at the time the line was disturbed by the fences & ruins of the House just named)—moved by the left flank into a dense Cedar brake and held the position, although directly in front of a strong force of the enemy posted in an open field at short range—
 "Shortly after you entered this covert of cedars you met Lieut Genl Hardee, with whom you advanced to the edge of the timber in close proximity to the lines of the Enemy— After this reconnoissance you both rode along the line of Infantry to our extreme left flank— The line was not in condition to advance, there being no reserves and the front being imperfectly formed.
 "It was now after Sundown and on returning to the immediate vicinity of your command you established a Bivouac for the night.
 "At about 11 O'clock at night you ordered your Staff across to the East side of the river and your old Head Quarters were resumed. Palmers Brigade having been ordered back to the east Side of the river, and having occupied a position in front of your old line, was fired on by a rifled Gun of the Enemy about 10 O'clock on Thursday morning—
 "This disclosed the fact, that the Enemy had thrown a body of troops across the river while your command was on the west side, and the movement was evidently intended to protect the point against which his left flank was then resting; his whole left wing having been moved back to that point under cover of Wednesday night—
 "On Friday the 2nd of Jan^y about 10 O'clock A. M. you were consulted with regard to firing a few Shots at this new position taken by the Enemy, for the purpose of developing his strength. Your consent was obtained, and after a few shots, without a Single reply, the Battery of the Enemy was moved to the rear and out of Sight.
 "A strong line of Skirmishers was developed extending along the bank of the river some eight hundred yards— While thus developing the force of the Enemy, an order from you was received to cease firing— and in a few minutes afterwards you appeared on the ground having received an order from the Commanding General to take the Hill by assault— men held by the Enemy in your front— The balance of your Division having been removed across Stone's river to the east Side, the Four Brigades were formed as follows.
 "The first line, composed of Hanson on the left and Pillow on the right, was some 250 yds

"in front of your Second line which was formed by Adams' on the left and Preston on the right. Brig^{er} Genl Adams being wounded, Col Gibson commanded his Brigade—
 "The plan of attack as you several times repeated to the Brigade commanders was for the Artillery to move in rear of the Second line and as soon as the hill was cleared of the Enemy, to take position on the crest and hold it.
 "You had Wright's, Slocumb's & Moses' Batteries attached to your Division, with Samples and Robertson's, reporting for the particular occasion— The movement was made precise^{ly} at 4. O'clock P. M upon the firing of one gun as a Signal; it having been determined that the Enemy should be engaged on the West side with Artillery, Simultaneous with your Attack, on the east side.
 "The charge was the most brilliant I have ever seen in any engagement— The Hill was soon cleared and all the Batteries save Robertson's were quickly in position as you had directed— For this fine Battery of Napoleon guns you repeatedly enquired; and sent me twice to look for it, but it could not be found anywhere on the field—
 "After the Infantry cleared the hill it became necessary for them to advance and drive the enemy across the river as the timber between the Hill and river afforded him excellent protection and the Hill could not have been held with Artillery until it was done. A large number of the Enemy's Guns had been massed on the west Side of the river on ground some Ten or twelve feet higher than on the east side— these guns bore directly upon the crest of the hill we were fighting for, and a more terrific fire of Artillery I have never been under than in this position. The Enemy was driven across the river and a part of our forces in the impetuosity of the charge pursued him to the opposite bank—
 "The bend in the river at this point, caused the left of our line to crowd upon the center, and while thus divided and crowded together, two Divisions and a Brigade of the Enemy crossed above and came down upon our flank.
 "Our troops were compelled to fall back, and in doing so, there was some confusion and disorder, but on reaching the skirt of timber from which the assault began, the line was reformed and remained; prepared to dispute the advance of the Enemy, until after dark.
 "The Artillery attached to your Divⁿ under your Chief of Artillery, held the position we had won until all of the Infantry had retired & until the Enemy had advanced to very close range— In retiring three Guns were left, the Horses and men belonging to them being nearly all killed. In the same skirt of woods

"where the Infantry reformed, the Washington
"Artillery took position and aided in arresting
"the advance of the Enemy.

"About dark and after your new line had been
"formed, more than a half hour, and skirmish-
"ers were established in your front, Brig^d Gen
"Anderson reached the Scene of action with
"his Brigade.

"The fighting had ceased, and this Brigade
"formed the prolongation of your line, until
"Some time after night, when you ordered the
"whole command to retire to a position 700
"yards in rear, leaving Picketts thrown well for-
"ward to the front.

"In this repulse there was some confusion but
"I have seen worse in three Battles before, and
"quite as bad in the Wednesdays fight before
"Murfreesboro.

"Your loss was very heavy— the fire of three
"Divisions with not less than Fifty pieces of
"Artillery having been faced for one Hour &
"twenty minutes—

"Nothing of consequence occurred on the
"following day—

"Shortly after midnight on the night of the
"3^d of Jan^r your Division was put in retreat
"covering the retreat of Gen^l Hardee's Corps on
"the Manchester turnpike—

"The Enemy did not pursue nor did anything
"of consequence occur after the retreat began.

"Respectfully

"JOHN A. BUCKNER

"A. A. Gen^l

"To

"Major Gen^l BRECKINRIDGE

"Com^ds Division,

"Army of Tennessee "

V.—EARLY RECORDS OF TRINITY- CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY.—CONTIN-

UED FROM PAGE 288.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, NOW FIRST
PRINTED.

[*. The words, *in italics*, enclosed in brackets, are
those words, in the original manuscripts, which were
erased; the words, *in Roman*, enclosed in brackets, are
those words, in the original manuscripts, which have been
obliterated by time or accident.]

At a meeting of the Vestry in Newyork the 2^d
day of May 1699

Present the reverend William Vessy Rector
Alderman Thomas Wenham, Church Warden
John Guest Esqr Cap^t Jeremy Tothill
Matthew Clarkson Esqr William Huddleston
Will^m Anderson Lieut John Hutchin
Cap^t Lancaster Simms Cap^t Ebenezer Wilson
James Evetts David Jamison
Will^m Morris

Ordered Alderman Thomas Wenham Do pay to
the Widdow Dekey the sum of one hundred &
eighteen pounds money of Newyork in full of
the bond & interest due for two hundred pounds—
which the Church had at the interest of Six per
cent and that the s^d Alderman Wenham do take
up the s^d bond & cancell it

At a meeting of the vestry of Trinity Church at
Newyorke the 21st day of June 1699

Present The Reverend Mr William Vessy Rector

Alderman Thomas Wenham Rector

William Nicoll John Gest Esqr

Jeremiah Tothill Mathew Clarkson Esqr

Thomas Burroughs Richd Willett

William Anderson James Evetts

Ebenezer Wilson William Morris

David Jamison

Peter Whites work about the Chancell at his re-
quest is referred to two workmen the Vestry
choose John Ellis joyner & Mr White chooses his
broth^rs journeyman

Ordered in the mean time Peter White be paid
fifteen pounds to answer his present occasion &
the remainder be paid him when the referees
shall report under their hands what they do
agree he may reasonably deserve

Mr ffarnley gave to the Church £3: 0:9

Mr finch - - - - - £1: 7:0

Mr Whigg - - - - - £0: 6:9

Mr Martin - - - - - £0: 6:0

Cap^t Syprian Southake - - - £1:11:1½

Mr Tothull & Mr Simms being collectors of the
contributions for some time past with the above
benevolence delivered in their amount of Cash
received amounting to Sixty two pounds twelve
shillings out of which is paid to Peter White
fifteen pounds & to Captain Tothull in full of his
account fifteen pounds one Shillings & Sixpence
Mr Wenham received into custody Seventeen
pounds 7 Sh 7 pence & fifteen pounds the re-
mainder is in Capt Simms hand to be paid to Mr
Wenham when he comes to Town

Mr Wilson & Mr Morris are desired to proceed in
the collection of the contribution

At a meeting of the Vestry of the Church at
Newyorke the 14th of July 1699

Present Thomas Wenham Esqr Church Warden

John Gest Esqr Jeremy Tothill

Thomas Burroughs Thomas Jves

Lancaster Simms David Jamison

John Hutchins William Anderson

James Evetts William Huddleston

Thomas Clark William Nicoll

It is agreed that for the better Support of Our

minister Mr Vesey he be allowed and paid weekly out of the contribution made in the Church the summe of twenty four shillings money of Newyorke any former order for the disposition of [that] the money arising by that means notwithstanding

At a meeting of the vestry of Trinity Church in Newyorke the 5th of September 1699

Present Thomas Wenham Ch Warden

John Gest Esqr	Michael Howdon
Matth Clarkson Esqr	John Hutchins
Jeremiah Tothill	John Crooke
Ebenezer Wilson	David Jamison
William Morris	William Anderson
	Lancaster Simms

William Anderson delivered in of benevolence money the Sum of £11:8.10½ Viz^t

from Mr Finch	- - - -	1.13.9
Doctor Tosor	- - - -	2. 0.0
Mr Wick	- - - -	3. 7.1½
Mr Butman	- - - -	0.11.0
Cap ^t Motts	- - - -	0.11.0
Mr Stewart	- - - -	3. 6.0

£11.8.10½

Cap^t Wilson & Cap^t Morris brought in of eleven weeks contribution in the church from June 23 to the 3^d of Septem^r the Sum of £34.3.0 and the sum of £9.12^s pd Mr Vesey for 8 weeks

Mdm^{rs} to Mr Vanderburgh £54.12.10½

Viz^t By Cap^t Simms £ 4. 1. 0 a gift of Mr Sproud

By the Sectry £ 5. 0. 0 a gift of Mr Koyss (?)

In Cash 45.11.10½

54.12.10½

Cap^t Morris Cap^t Tothill Cap^t Simms & Mr Anderson are appointed to Collect the money for the pews in order to clear off our debts & a list given them accordingly

Ordered Rich^d Willett & Rob^t Lurting be Collectors in the Church untill further order.

City of } ss Att A Vestry of Trinity Church
N: Yorke } held On Thursday y^e: 19th day
of October Anno Dom 1699

Present the Reverend Mr William Vezey Rector
Thomas Wenham Church Warden

Rob ^t Lurting	} Vestry men	
Ebenezer Willson		
William Morris		Michael Howdon
William Anderson		Lancaster Syms
Jeremiah Tothill		Will Huddleston
John Guest		Thomas Burroughs
John Hutchins		

Order'd that Mr Wenham Church Warden doe pay to Mr Peter White the Sum of fifteen pounds Currant Money of New Yorke in full for his worke done for making of the Banisters & Wainscott of the Communion Table of Trinity Church which Compleats the Sum of thirty pounds, fifteen pounds having been Already paid him.

New York y^e: 14th October 1699

These are to Certifie that J Adam Buldrige doe Give my halfe parte of my Pew in Trinity Church Unto the Said Church to be disposed of as the Church Wardens & Vestry Shall See meet and Convenient for them
Witness my hand

Adam Balldrydg

William Morris Jeremiah Tothill Lancaster Syms And William Anderson Reporte they have paid to Direck Vanderburgh On Account the Sum of forty three pounds ^p Order of Cap^t Wenham as Appears by his Receipt which is Allowed Accordingly

At a meeting of the Church Wardens & Vestry of Trinity Church the 21st of Novem^r 1699

The Reverend Mr Vesey

Present Tho. Wenham	Thomas Burroughs
Jere Tothill	James Emott
Ebenezer Wilson	John Gest
Will Anderson	David Jamison
Will ^m Morris	John Crooke
Tho Jves	Michal Howdon
Rob ^t Lurting	

Ordered Mr Howdon & Mr Jves do oversee the getting of the paying stones from the Pink Blossom & lodging them in the steeple being a gift of his Ldp of Bristoll to Trinity Church
Cap^t Tothill did report that Mr Ellis joyner has agreed for eighteen pounds to make a pew with a canopy like to Coll fletchers pew in all things to finde Stuff nails and all werkmanship which is approved by the Vestry

At a Vestry held the 2^d of January 1699-1700

Present the Reverend Mr Vesey Rector

Thomas Wenham	James Evetts
Rob ^t Lurting	John Crooke
William Nicoll	James Emott
Thomas Burroughs	Mich Howdon
Ebenezer Wilson	William Huddleston
Richard Willett	John Hutchins
William Anderson	David Jamison
William Morris	

Mr Lurting & Mr Willett did give an account of the contribution in the Church for Seventeen weeks amounting to £270.4^s.6^d of which p^d to

Mr Vesey £20.8^s for 17 weeks & to Cap^t Wenham £49:16^s:6^d

Mr Anderson & Mr Huddleston do serve to take the Collections till further order

It is agreed that Andrew Law Alex Stewart & Samuel Burgesse have the pew next the wall on the South Side the Church on the right hand of the Governours pew they paying for the same

Also that Richard Playsted & Wright have two thirds of the middle pew on the South Side between the South door & the Governours pew upon the Same terms

At a meeting of the Church Wardens & Vestry the 29th of March 1700

Present the Reverend Mr William Vesey
Thomas Wenham Ch W.

Matth Clarkson Esqr
Will Morris
Will^m Anderson
Lancaster Simms
Thomas Burroughs
Rob^t Lurting

Mr Huddleston & Mr Anderson returned of the Sundays collection from the 7th of Jan^r last to the 24th of March instant the Rector allowance being paid out of the same the sum of £23: 8^s: 10^d

William Morris Jer Tothill Lancaster Simms & Will Anderson do bring into the board moneys collected by them for pious & benevolence since the last sume brought in by them £72: 5^s: ½^d

Out of this p^d order p^d by Cap^t Simms £7:15:3 for money sent for England &c

[Mem to Dirck Vanderbergh p^d order]

brought in afterwards on account of Cap^t Shelley pew the sume of nine pounds

brought also by Mr Sharpas the sume of fifty shillings & three pence on account of William Taylor of Boston Merch^t being in full of his £5 gratuity to the Church

Payd out to Cap^t Simms on account of Dirck Vand^rburgh the sume of Sixty pounds

Payd to Cap^t Wilson p^d order on account of Coll Heathcote thirty nine pounds Seven shill ninnence halfe penny

Ordered that Cap^t Wenham do pay to Ebenezer Wilson the sum of tenn pounds twelve shill^s two pence halfe penny to make up fifty pounds pd to Coll Heathcote this being p^d by Cap^t Wenham there remains in his hands the balance of his account of Cash £14: 5^s: 6^d

▲ ryall & ½ was lost upon bad money

At a meeting of the Rector Church Wardens & Vestry of Trinity Church tuesday the 2^d of April in Trinity Church 1700

by majority of voices of the Communicants Thomas Wenham & Richard Willett was chosen Church Wardens for the year ensuing

William Morris	William Anderson
James Emott	John Hutchin
Will ^m Nicoll	John Guess
[Math Clarkson]	Roger Baker
John Crooke	Robert Skelton
Lancaster Simms	Rob ^t Lurting
Thomas Burroughs	[James Evelets]
Will ^m Huddleston	Jeremy Tothill
Ebenezer Wilson	Michael Howdon
Tho. Jves	John Tudor
[George S ?]	Gab Ludlow
	David Jameson

are elected Vestry men for the year ensuing by the majority of voices.

Mr Howdon & Mr Jves are appointed to Collect the Sunday contribution untill further order

At a Meeting of y^e Church Wardens & Vestry of Trinity Church Aprile 16th 1700

Present

Thomas Wenham	} Church Warden
Rich ^d Willett	

Michael Hawden	William Morris
Jn ^e Crook	Roger Baker
Ebenezer Wilson	Thomas Burroughs
Rob ^t Skelton	Rob ^t Lurting
William Anderson	

Ordered y^t Ebenezer Wilson, Jn^e Crook, & Roger Baker being assisted wth William Morris or William Anderson be a Com^{rs} to go about & collect in moneys for y^e Church till further order

At a meeting of the Church Wardens & Vestry of Trinity Church July 8 1700

Present the Reverend Mr Vesey

Thomas Wenham	} Church Wardens
Rich ^d Willett	

Rob ^t Lurting	Thomas Burroughs
Lancaster Simms	John Crooke
Jeremy Tothill	
Rob ^t Skelton	
David Jameson	

Mr Wenham did report that Mr Matthew Lang Merch^t batchelor had paid him 20 dollars being £5:16^s towards his portion of the batchelors pew

Ordered the s^d sume of five pounds tenn shillings be paid to Mr Ellis the joyner in part for making the same pew

Ordered Mr Storks Mr Playsted Mr Loveridge & Mr Wright the tallow bandler have the foremost pew next the door, the south side of the Church next before Mr Skeltons pew they paying

for the making the pew and proporsionably to the Church to make up £24.

At a meeting of the Church Wardens & Vestry of Trinity Church September the 23th 1700

Present

The Reverend Mr William Vesey Rector

Thomas Wenham } Ch Wardens
Richard Willett }

John Tuder	Thomas Jves
Ebenezer Wilson	John Guest
Will ^m Huddleston	William Morris
James Emott	Michael Hawdon
Jeremiah Tothill	John Hutchins
William Anderson	Thomas Burroughs
Robert Lurting	John Crooke
Roger Baker	David Jamieson

Lancaster Simms

the Rector Mr Vesey did acquaint the board that His Excell the Govern^r did send for him last night and desire him to call together the Vestry and to signify to them that he desired he might have liberty to sett benches in the Isles of Our Church for the conveniency of the soldiers [*of the Garrison the Chapp*] there being no Chaplain at Psent to the Garrison

This [*board*] board having considered that the late Chaplain is suspended and as no other [*apointe*] at present to officiate doe give consent that Benches be sett in the Isles for the accommodation of a Chaplain to the Garrison provided the Church Wardens be consulted in the ordering & placing of sd benches.

At a meeting of the Church Wardens & Vestry men of Trinity Church the 15th of Novemb^r 1700

Present the Reverend Mr Vesey Rector

Tho Wenham } Church Wardens
Rich^d Willett }

Ebenezer Wilson	Lancaster Simms
Michel Hawdon	David Jamieson
Tho Burroughs	William Anderson
Will ^m Huddleston	John Crooke
Rob ^t Lurting	Roger Baker
Rob ^t Skelton	
Jeremy Tothill	

It is agreed that fifty shillings of the [*money Given by Govern^r Nyhols*] poors money be laid out in provision & Given to John Perry being poor & having a numerous family of small Children

It is agreed that thirty shillings of Govern^r Nicholson's tenn pound sterling given to the poor be p^d to M^r Berryman being a poor widdow woman & Communicant of the Church

Agreed that M^r Welsh the sexton be allowed

ninepence a quarter for cleaning the Church & pews from each family or person that is single frequenting the Church & having a settled place to sett in the Church

It is ordered tht Robert Skelton & Roger Baker after next Sunday do attend the Collection for two months next ensuing

Ordered M^r Tothill do provide the sextons boy a Wastcoat coat breeches shoes & stockings & 2 neckcloaths

It is agreed between the board & John Ellis Joyner in manner following

M^r Ellis does agree to build a handsome gallery in the West end of the Church from the south door to the north according to a draft thereof made by M^r Evetts to furnish all timber & materials used by a joyner to build the pews therein to make a pair of stairs in the steeple handsome & large to make the door from the bell free into the gallery & to finish this worke against Aprile or May next

In consideracon whereof the Church Wardens & Vestry doe agree to pay M^r Ellis out of the Churches money eighty pounds this Country money when the worke is finished & the remainder being eighty pounds more at the end of one year next after the finishing of s^d gallery

The first eighty pounds shall be paid as the worke goes on locks and hinges are not to be furnished at the joyners charge

It is agreed that a letter be wrote to the Bishop of Winchester to Desire his Charity to send over the tenn Commandments & the Lords prayer & Creed to be hung up in the East end of Our Church

At a meeting of the Wardens & Vestry of Trinity Church January the 22th [*of*] 1700

Present the Reverend Mr William Vesey Rector

Tho Wenham } Ch Wardens
Rich^d Willett }

James Emott	John Hutchins
Robert Lurting	Thomas Burroughs
William Morris	Ebenezer Wilson
Robert Skelton	David Jamieson
Thomas Jves	Michael Hawdon

M^r Ellis joyner brought in his account for sundry services done in the Church & materials other than what is comprehended in his agreement whereof sixteen pounds is for building of pews in the Church his whole account amounting to £35:3:3 Ordered he be paid in full thirty one pounds the rest being abated

Ordered what moneys are in the hands of the Collectors of the Sundays contribution or otherwise be paid in to M^r Wenham in order to clear the accounts of M^r Ellis & others

At a meeting of the Wardens & Vestry of Trinity Church this 25 day of febr^y 1700

Present the Reverend William Vesey Rector

Tho Wenham } Ch. Wardens
Rich^d Willett }

Ebenez^r Wilson John Crooke
Gab Ludlow Rob^t Skelton
Will^m Anderson Michael Hawdon
Roger Baker David Jamison

It is agreed that the gallery be divided into four pews by the length with two alleys each pew 9½ foot long

Ordered Mr Willson & Mr Anderson Do succeed in going about with the plate on Sundays

Att A Meeting of the Rector, Church Wardens & Vestry men of Trinity Church the Tuesday in Easter Week being the 22^d April 1701

Present The Reverend Mr William Vesey Rector

Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens
Richard Willett }

James Emott Rob^t Lurting
Lancaster Symms Michael Hawdon
William Huddleston John Tudor
Thomas Jves Gab^l Ludlow
William Anderson Jeremiah Tothill

Pursuant to the Directions of the Charter for the Incorporating the Inhabitants of the City of New Yorke in Communion of the Church of England as by Law Established the Inhabitants of the said City in Communion as Aforesaid did this day Conven'd together in Trinity Church According to publick Notice thereof And did then unanimously Elect the persons hereafter Named to serve in the Respective Offices of Church Wardens & Vestry men of the said Church for the yeare Ensueing.

Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens
Richard Willett }

William Morris John Hutchins
James Emott Roger Baker
William Nicoll Rob^t Skelton
John Crooke Rob^t Lurting
Lancaster Symms Jeremiah Tothill
Thomas Burroughs Michael Hawdon
William Huddleston John Tudor
Ebenezer Willson Gab^l Ludlow
Thomas Jves David Jamison
William Anderson Peter Matthews

Vestry men

At a Meeting of y^e Wardens & Vestrey of Trinity Church Jn New York June 2^d 1701

Present

The Rev^d W^m Vesey Rector

Tho. Wenham } Church Wardens
Rich^d Willett }

James Emot John Hutchins
Jn^s Crook Roger Baker
Lancaster Symms Jerem. Tothill
Tho. Burroughs Mich. Hawden
W^m Huddleston John Tudor
Ebenr. Wilson Gabriel Ludlow
W^m Anderson Peter Matthews

The Vestrey Examined y^e Churches Library according to y^e Catalogue sent from Dr Bray & Returned y^e Same signed wth an Acc^t of what Books were wanting, & what were not in the Catalogue

Ordered That y^e Church Wardens wth y^e Assistance of whom of y^e Vestrey they sh^{ld} think fit do draw up an address relating to y^e Churches affairs in Generall to be presented to y^e Governour & y^e in congratulate his safe Arrivall.

[Blank page.]

A Copy of y^e King's Letter

WILLIAM R

Right Trusty & Right Well beloved Cousin, We Greet you well

Whereas we are informed, that y^e Inhabitants of our Town of New-York in that our Colony, having at their Great Expence & Charge Erected & built a Church there, for performing divine Service, according to y^e Usage of y^e Church of England, & that they are under apprehensions of being dispossessed and deprived thereof, upon a pretence of a Flaw in their Grant or Charter, whereby they hold their said Church: We have thought [thought] fit hereby to Signify unto You, & Accordingly our will & Pleasure is, That in case any Suit be already Commenced, or shall hereafter be commenced against their said Charter, to y^e prejudice of their said Church, or any of y^e Rights or Revenues. thereunto belonging, that You do not proceed definitively thereupon, untill their said Charter, or an Authentick Copy thereof, together wth y^e whole State [thereof] of y^e Matter, be first transmitted hither, and laid before us in our Councill, And Our further Pleasure be thereupon signified unto You. And so we bid You heartily Farewell.

Given at Our Court at Hampton Court y^e 27th day of January 1700, In the Twelfth Year of our Reign

By his Maj^{ties} Command
C. HEDGES

To Our Right Trusty and Right Wellbeloved Cousin Richard Earle of Bellomont, Our Cap^t Generall & Gouvernour in Chief of our Province of New-York in America

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VI.—“VERMONT CONTROVERSY.”—

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 297.

A SERIES OF UNPUBLISHED PAPERS, CONCERNING THE RELATIONS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE AND THE EARLY VERMONTENSE, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

[24.—*Letter from the Convention of the “pro-testing members” of the Assembly of Vermont, assembled in Convention, to the President of the Continental Congress, denying the authority of Ethan Allen to represent the Vermontese before that body and delegating Colonel John Wheelock for that purpose.*]

WINDSOR ON THE NEW-HAMPSHIRE GRANTS
October 23 A D 1778

SIR

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY

The Assembly of the State of Vermont had a report laid before them on the 13th Instant signed by Col: Ethan Allen purporting that Congress had received sundry matters of information or complaint relative to the proceedings of the N^w Hampshire Grants, and which they had determined to take into consideration; but at his solicitation were deferred, till opportunity might be had to communicate the intelligence to the people on those Grants, respecting which we beg leave in justice to our cause to remark, that Col. Allen nor any other person (that we know of) has as yet been authorized by the people on these Grants to appear in their behalf at Congress (except those persons who preferred a petition which was dismissed last Year) & which measure they had omitted from an apprehension that Congress were desirous not to be troubled with the matter at present nor do we by this mean any thing further than to inform them that, on the above mentioned representation, and copies of Letters from the Honble the President of the Council of New Hampshire to their Members at Congress and to Governor Chittenden, the Assembly of Vermont in a Committee of the whole agreed on the enclosed out-lines of a plan for settling all matters of controversy with New Hampshire

We apprehend we can, and are now in pursuit of measures to make it evident to impartial Judges that the New-Hampshire Grants on both sides of Connecticut River, are on the same footing, and ought never to be divided— On that principle the Committee above mentioned proposed and the Assembly agreed to the enclosed plan, as having in their opinion the most effectual tendency to support a union of the two sides of the River, and lay a foundation for an amicable settlement with the State of New Hampshire so that Congress may not have occasion to interpose in the matter.— Yet an apprehension, arising in the minds of sundry Mem-

bers of Assembly that such an Union (though in its nature reasonable and just) would through the influence of ex parte representation occasion Congress to come to such resolutions as might prevent the establishment of a State on said Grants, has been the Occasion of differing sentiments with respect to measures proper in the present Juncture, and which have arisen to such a pitch as to prevent a pursuit of the proposed plan in the channel pointed out by Assembly, by a protest and withdraw of near one half the Members who composed that body.— The protesting Members notwithstanding, desirous that the same plan might be persued, formed a voluntary convention who are in pursuit of measures whereby the whole of the Towns on said Grants may unite in such proposals to New Hampshire as we fatter ourselves will put an end to all disputes with that State.

An apprehension that measures will be attempted to procure an acknowledgment at Congress of a new State containing only part of the Grants which lie west of Connecticut River (which we conceive will be very disagreeable to a Majority of the Inhabitants on said Grants) is the occasion of our transmitting this by Col: Wheelock, whom we have also desired to inform Your Excellency or Congress more fully of the matter than the limits of this letter will admit, and request that nothing may be done at Congress which shall prevent the good effects of the measures now taking for an happy settlement with the State of New Hampshire—

I am, Sir, in behalf of said Convention with Great deference and respect.—

Your Excellencys most obedient
and most Humble Servant
JOSEPH MARSH Chairman

His Excellency
HENRY LAURENS Esq^r }
President of Congress }

[25.—*Draft of President Weare's reply to the letter of Ethan Allen.*]

STATE OF NEW- } EXETER NOVEMB^r 5th 1778—
HAMPSHIRE }

SIR— I received yours of the 22^d ult. by Ira Allen Esq^r and at the Same time a Letter from Thomas Chittenden Esq^r purporting a Resolution of the State of Vermont concerning their late Connection with some Towns part of the State of New Hampshire in the following words “That no additional Exercise of Jurisdictional Authority be had (by this State) East of Connecticut River for the time being— Which by no means expresses their future designs or intentions in the matter.

Nevertheless as you have been so full & Explicit in your own Sentiments I trust the Body of

your People will be of the same Opinion as I am Sure every Sensible person will, notwithstanding the blind design of some uneasy and never to be contented persons whose views must certainly be more detrimental to you than they possibly can be to New Hampshire— Whatever may be determined by Congress relative to the acknowledgement of your Independancy will be freely acquiesced in by New Hampshire—

Col^d ETHAN ALLEN

[26.—*Letter from Ira Allen, Commissioner from Vermont, to the Council and General Assembly of New Hampshire.*]

TO THE HONORABLE COUNCIL AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE NOW SITTING AT EXETER IN SAID STATE.

GENTLEMEN.

Persuant to my appointment (by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont) to wait on the Hon^{ble} Mesheg Ware Esq^r President of the Council of the State of New Hampshire with a letter from His Excellency Thos^d Chittenden Esq^r and as in the sd. Letter Reference were had to me for further Particulars Relative to the Union of Sixteen Towns on the East side of Connecticut River with the State of Vermont and as it has been the Desire of the Hon^{ble} General Assembly That I would Give them a Short state of facts Relative to the said union &c— I Therefore Begg Leave to State the following as a Short and Consise State of the Matter (viz)

The first movement to forme the State of Vermont was from the West Side of the Green mountain in Consequence of which several Committees was sent to the then Counties of Cumberland and Gloucester to see if the People there would Unite with the People on the west side of the mountain to make one Body Politick— about Two years ago Col. John Wheelock, being Apprised of that movement went to the Town of Norwich where one of S.^d Committees were and Proposed to them for a number of Towns on the East Side of the River to Unite with Those towns on the west of S.^d River But was answered by said Committee that they were not acquainted with the situation of New-Hampshire Therefore they should do nothing about it. Last March after the Governor and Council was Declared Chosen and the assembly formed agreeable to the Constitution of S.^d State There Came in a Committee from the East side of the River s.^d to be Chosen by a Convention of Committees whereof Mr Estabrooks was Chairman and moved in behalf of the New Hampshire Grants East of S.^d River (as they were Pleased to stile it) for a Union with the State of Vermont in Consequence of which a Committee was Chosen from Both Houses to Confer with Said Com-

mittee and make Report of their Opinion thereon to the House, the Committee after all the Debates thereon Reported to the House as their Opinion not to Connect with Said Committee in no way or manner Whatsoever The House after mature Deliberation Voted to accept of S.^d Report; which Gave such Dissatisfaction to several of the members of the Council and Assembly that Lived near Connecticut River that they Declared if Them People (Meaning those on the East side of the River) were to be intirely Excluded from Connecting with S.^d State they would withdraw from the then State of Vermont and Connect with them People and form a New State. Then after Long and Tegious Debates the whole was Referred to the People at Large and to be brought before the Assembly again at thier Next Session in June Col. Payne and others of that Committee Then Publickly Declared that they Had Conversed with a Number of the Leading Members of the Assembly of N. Hampshire from the Eastern Part of the State who had no Objection to their Joining with the State of Vermont but some member in the western part of S.^d State was opposed to it But Gave it as their Opinions that New Hampshire as a State would make no Difficulty about it; this Last Idea was Carried to the people and under this Mistake of the matter a Majority of the Towns in the State Voted for the Union, which the General Assembly Could do no otherwise Than Confirm they being Prioviously Instructed so by their Constituants; the assembly then Proseeded to business amongst which there was an Order Given out for Each Town in the State that see fit to Choos a Justice of the Peace and several Temporary Acts were Made all to stand untill the Rising of the Next Assembly

Sum Time in the month of Aug^s Govern^r Chittenden Rec^d a Letter from the Hon^{ble} Mesheg Ware Esq^r President of the Council of N. Hampshire Shewing the Disapprobation of S.^d State to the Union

Sum Time in September Col. Ethan Allen was appointed to wait on Congress to see how the Political State of the State of Vermont was vewed by Congress who after the Assembly was formed in October Last Reported to the House that the Members of Congress was unanimously opposed to the Union of the Sixteen Townes Otherwise they Had none of them any Objection to the State of Vermont being a State (the New york members only Excepted) at the Session in October last Several members from the East side of the River Took their seats in Consequence of the union Before Mentioned Then the Assembly Proseeded to Business But there appeared such Divisions and Debates Relative to the Union that for about thirteen Days there was Very little Business Done at which Time three

Votes were Passed which Gave rise to a Desents being brought in to the House the Next day signed by Twenty seven Members of the Council & Assembly (both the Votes & Desent I have Delivered to the Hon^{ble} Council) The General Assembly then Prosecuted to the Business of the State and Revived sum old Acts and made sum new amongst which they Ordred one Commission to be made for the Justices of Each County and all the names of the Justices in the County of Cumberland to be Put in the Commission for that County & in like manner the County of Bennington— I was Credably informed by several Worthy Members of the Council & Assembly that the second Vote above Referred to in Its Original was Passed as follows (Viz) Whether the Towns East of the River included in the union with this State Shall be Annexed to the County of Cumberland, Past in the Negative— By several flying Reports was informed that after the above mentioned Twenty seven Members with Drew they formed a Convention Chose a Chairman & Clerk and then Proposed to Give an Invitation to all the Towns on the Grants to Joine them and form a New State by the Name of New Connecticut; they then adjourned their Convention to sum time the Next weak to be Held at Lebanon there was about Eleven Townes on the west Side of the River Joined them in this Convention

These Gentlemen I have Given a Short State of the matter which I do Certify Upon Honour is the Truth According to the Best of my Memory

IRA ALLEN

EXETER November 4th 1778

[27.—*Letter from Ira Allen, with two enclosures, to President Weare of New Hampshire.*]

WINDSOR December 12th 1778

HON^D SIR /

As I wish to do nothing that Concerns a Neighbouring State but what Should be there made Known I there fore herewith Inclose to you my Printed Letter to the Inhabitants of this State as also an Extract of the Prosedden of a Convention Called at the Request of those Gentlemen that with Drew from the Council and Assembly of Vermont at their Session in October last said Convention was held at Cornish on the 9th day of Instant Decem^r— as I Providentially Happened at Said Convention and as I have been Conversant with the Principal men in most of the Towns between this and Cohoos shall make a few Observations on the Present Confus'd State of Affaires in these Parts

There was Eight Towns Represented in said Convention from the West side of the River and Probable two or three more may joine them But in most if not all of said Towns there is a Leauge Minority in Opposition to such Procedure In the Sixteen Towns sed to be in union with

this State since the Brake in the Assembly in October Last the Party that was in favour of New Hampshire have Considerably Increased

Within the Disaffected Towns on both Sides of the River are Several Gentlemen whose Design is to Brake up this State and Connect the Whole to New Hampshire for the Sole Purpose of Bringing the Seat of Government on Connecticut River at or near the College and to Establish a Plan of Government Similar to Vermont

There is no Authority Exercised East of Connecticut River by this State and I Dare Engage at the Risque of my Reptition as a man of Honour or Common sence that the future General Assembly of this State will not Countenance an Encroachment on the State of New Hampshire

In the year 1764 by an Arbitrary Act of the Crown the Grants West of the River was put under the Jurisdiction of New York where the Inhabitants have since Experienced all the Evils that a Colden Dunmore and Tryon together with a Clan of New york Landjobers Could invent and Inflict in the Course of which Troubles (as I am informed) Application was made to New Hampshire to Assert their Clame which was Refused The Inhabitants on the West side of the Green Mountain Boldly Asserted their Rights and Defended their Property untill the Late Revolution soon after which Overtures was made to the Inhabitants of the Then Counties of Cumberland and Glouster who had in some Degree Submitt to the Arbitrary Power of New york and had there members in the Provential Congress of said State after many Persuasive Arguments the Inhabitants in Said Counties Connected with those on the West side of the Green Mountain to form a State and Proseded to form a Constitution &c

Had it not been for that the Inhabitants of this State would by their own Consent been Effectually bound to New York by Connecting with them in forming a Constitution &c— Had that been the Case no one would have been so hardy as to have Thought of Claiming the Antiant Jurisdiction of New Hampshire nor Even New Hampshire of Claiming the now State of Vermont any more than the Massachusetts Bay the Southerly part of Said State— But it seems a few Resteless Uneasy men not having the Good of Either of the States at Heart (but their own Private Interest and Immoliment) are about to Claim the Antient Jurisdiction of New Hampshire— Should that be the Case doubt not but they will meet with such Treatment as to Justice may Appertain

I am Hon. rd Sir with due Respect
your most Obedient

Humble Servant

IRA ALLEN—

The Honourable
MESSECH WEARE Esq^r

[ENCLOSURES IN THE PRECEDING LETTER.

A.—For Allen's "printed letter" to the inhabitants of Vermont.]

TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE
STATE OF VERMONT.

GENTLEMEN,

WHEREAS the General Assembly of this State did appoint me to wait on the Honorable Meshech Weare, Esq; President of the Council of the State of New Hampshire, with a Letter from his Excellency Thomas Chittenden, Esq; and another from Col. Ethan Allen, &c. And whereas several of the Members of the Honorable Council and Assembly of this State, desired me to write to them (on my return from New-Hampshire) the state of affairs relative to the Union with sixteen Towns east of Connecticut-River and this State: I therefore beg leave to state the following as a short state of the matter, viz,

When I arrived at Exeter found the General Assembly then sitting, delivered said Letters to the President, who after examining the same in Council, sent them to the House for their inspection: the said Letters were again read and largely discoursed on, and a Committee appointed from both Houses to answer the same—I being then present besides having many other conferences with the Members of both Houses, found that they were unanimous for maintaining Inviolable their Jurisdiction to the East Banks of Connecticut-River, but that they had no disposition to interfere with the State of Vermont in its first described Limits which will more fully appear by their Resolution in the affair of Mr. Hovey, and an Extract to President Weare's Letter to Col. Ethan Allen, which are as follows, viz.

"STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,
"In the House of Representatives,
"Nov. 10th, 1778.

"According to the Vote of the House of
"this, the Honorable Council and House being
"met in the Assembly Chamber, the Honorable
"Meshech Weare, Esq; in the Chair, preceded
"to take under Consideration the Petition of
"Nathaniel Hovey, preferred to the Honorable
"Committee of Safety of this State on the
"24th, of September last, and the further trans-
"actions thereon—and upon consideration of the
"same, came to the following Resolutions and
"reported, that Two Hundred Pounds be grant-
"ed to the said Hovey, out of the Treasury, by
"order of the President, for his present neces-
"sities, to be by him accounted for; and that
"the persons named as Rioters in his complaint
"and Petition, together with Nehemiah Esta-
"brook, of Lebanon, be notified to attend the
"hearing of said Petition before the General

"Assembly if sitting, or Committee of Safety
"of this State in the recess, on the second
"Thursday of December next, and that the
"Secretary be directed to issue proper notice to
"the said persons; and that Capt. Samuel At-
"kinson, of Boscowen, be directed to Notify
"them accordingly, which Report was read and
"accepted."

"Sent up for concurrence.

"JOHN DUDLEY, Speaker, Pro. Tem.

"A Copy Examined by E. THOMPSON, Sec'y."

"As you have been so full and explicit in
"your own sentiments, I trust the Body of your
"People will be of the same opinion, as I am
"sure every sensible person will; notwithstand-
"ing blind designs of some uneasy and never
"to be contented men, whose Views must cer-
"tainly be more detrimental to you than they
"possibly can be to New-Hampshire,—What-
"ever may be determined by Congress relative
"to the acknowledgement of your Independ-
"ence will be freely acquiesced in by this
"State."

I find by enquiring into the situation of the Grants (so called) east of the Connecticut River, that the Towns in the County of Cheshire are almost Unanimously Represented in the General Assembly of New-Hampshire—and that about twelve Towns in the County of Grafton are also Represented in the Assembly of New-Hampshire—and that in the sixteen Towns in connexion with this State by said Union, there is a large Minority in opposition to said Union.

Amongst the arguments made use of by New Hampshire to support their Claim to Connecticut River are the following, viz.

That by the determination of the Court of Great-Britain in establishing Provinces in North America, said Lands were included in the Jurisdiction of New Hampshire, and in consequence of that, many Charters for Towns was Granted by the Governor of said Province with all the Priviledges and Immunities that any other Towns in said Province did enjoy, which they held under the crown untill the Revolution, at which time circular Letters was sent to the several Towns thro' that Province, to choose Members to form a Congress to transact the political business of the State; at which time several of those Towns now in Union with this State sent Members. About a year after a second Congress was chosen, and some of said Towns sent Members. Said Congress then established a plan of Government which was to remain in force untill the exigencies of the State would admit of more leisure time to form another which plan or Constitution said State has ever since and now remain to be governed by. Since the depreciation of Money, an additional pay

has been given by the State of New-Hampshire to the Militia of said State, in addition to their Continental pay when in such service; which pay has been cheerfully received by the Militia of said Towns.

Thus Gentlemen I have given you a short state of facts, agreeable to the best information I can get, by which you will observe that the State of New-Hampshire are willing that the State of Vermont should be a State in its first described limits west of Connecticut-River.

I have also to observe, that by several authentic accounts lately received from the Honorable Continental Congress, that the Delegates are willing that the State of Vermont should be a State within its first described limits, (the Delegates of New-York are accepted) which fully appears from that Honorable Body's not passing any Resolves against any of the proceedings of the State of Vermont since its first formation, altho' often requested by New-York.

Having met with several printed papers published by order of those gentlemen that withdrew from the General Assembly of this State, at their Session in October last: But as I did not design this Letter for an answer thereto, shall make but few remarks thereon.

In the course of which papers there is a request to all the Towns on the Grants on both sides of the River, whether united with the State of Vermont or not, to send members to form a Convention to consult and agree upon measures whereby we may all be united together, by being and remaining a distinct State, on such foundation that we may be admitted into Confederation with the United States of America, and under their protection, &c.

A very large part of the Towns on the Grants west of the Mason Line, and east of Connecticut-River, are Represented in the General Assembly of New Hampshire, and consequently they are Represented in Congress: therefore they cannot withdraw from New-Hampshire, and connect with any other body politick, and present themselves to Congress to be taken into Confederation with the United States, for they are already taken into Confederation by the way of New-Hampshire—The way them Towns could act were they to send members to said Convention, would be to act on the latter clause of the Warrant, which is to claim the antient Jurisdiction of the Government of New-Hampshire, and in that way defend ourselves against the pretended right of Jurisdiction of any other State, and thereby become one entire State according to the extent of New-Hampshire Province as it stood before the Decree of 1764 took place—But whether that is the design of the Convention or not I leave the candid reader to determine.

I appeal to every person's own conscience in the State of Vermont, whether, when the Inhabitants on the west and east sides of the Green Mountain, first connected together to become one body politick, they did it under a view that the Grants east of Connecticut-River would join them, and if it had not been for that, they would not have joined in said plan.

All those that did unite together in one body politick to form a State west of Connecticut-River, will, I doubt not, on due consideration, pursue that desirable object; (if any difficulties should arise so as unhappily to separate those Towns east of Connecticut-River from this State) for in that view of the case we should then enjoy all we first expected; and as the Constitution of this State is so happily calculated to preserve inviolable the rights of the people; and as in it there is ample provision made for the propagation of the gospel, together with proper Seminaries and Schools of learning which are among the greatest blessings God in his wisdom ever bestowed on the fallen race of man.

By what has been already elucidated, it appears that the State of Vermont is in favor with the United States of America: therefore, if the people in said State are, and continue steadfast to maintain the same, they will without doubt support the Independence of said State, as long as the United States do theirs.

Since the choice appears to be in the breast of the good people of this State whether they will be governed by the agreeable Constitution they have made, or lay that a side and seek for connections with a neighbouring State which is some in debt, and whose known plan of representation is by numbers, so that it would take five or six of our new Towns to send one member, and when we consider that those infant plantations have gone thro' numberless fatigues and expences to defend their just rights from the arbitrary power of New York; and since this present contest we have been a frontier to three neighbouring States, our inhabitants have been obliged to flee before their enemy, our Soldiery often called forth by alarms, who have fought and bled nobly in the field for the defence of their country—Is there not a much greater probability that we should be considered for those extraordinary difficulties, by the Honorable, the Grand Council of America, in defraying the expence of this unnatural war, than by the legislature of any State whose private interest would be nearer connected with ours.

I doubt not but every reasonable person will, on due deliberation determine that it is best, wisest, and cheapest for the good people of this State, to steadily pursue their plan of government, which will transmit to posterity the blessings of a free State.

*I am, Gentlemen, with due respect,
Your most Obedient,
Humble Servant,*

DRESDEN, November 27th. 1778. IRA ALLEN

N. B. The Laws of the State is come to hand, and will be ready for Sale in a short time.

B.—Extract from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the "protesting members" of the Assembly of Vermont and their friends, assembled in Convention, at Cornish, December 9, 1778.]

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF A CONVENTION HELD AT CORNISH December 9th 1778.

Voted first that the Members of this Convention will unite together for the Purpose of Persuading such Legal & Regular measures as may have attendancy to secure to ourselves the benefit of Government without any Regard to the Distinction made by the arbitrary Line drawn on the western bank of Connecticut River by the King in Council in the year 1764

2nd a major Part of the Committee appointed to draw at Large a Declaration Proposed in the Report of a Committee of Assembly of Vermont on the 17th of Oct^r last Laid before this Convention a Pamphlet drawn by them in Pursuance of Said Appointment which was Repeat^{dly} Read and unanimously Approved Whereupon Voted that 1500 of the above mentioned Pamphlets be Printed and Transmitted to Congress and other States and to all the Town on the New Hampshire Grants agreeable to Report—

3rd Whereon notwithstanding the above mentioned request for this Convention but few of those Towns whose members Continued to Act with Said Assembly after the Protesting members had withdrawn have Sent members to this Convention and the Conduct of the Assembly in Passing the Votes and Resolves Contained In their Printed Journals the Protest remarks &c have rendered it impracticable to Carry said resolve into execution by said Assembly as therein Proposed which Difficulty will Continue so long as Said Votes Stand in force— and the People in Those Towns by Justifying the Conduct of the assembly in Violating the Constitution will thereby Dissolve the Solemn Compact which they entred into by the Consideration and the People Consequently become Discharged from their Oaths of Allegance—Therefore Voted that the following Proposals be mad to New Hampshire in Pursuance of Said Resolves

1st to agree upon and Settle a Dividing line between New Hampshire and the Grants by Committees from both Partys or otherwise as they may mutually agree

2nd if That is not Complied with that the whole Dispute with New Hampshire be submitted to the Desision of Congress in such way and manner as Congress and the Parties may agree always

Providing the Grants be allowed equal Priviledges in espousing and Conducting their Cause in the Tryal with the other Party

3rd That we will agree with them mutually to a point and Constitute a Court of Disinterested Judicious men of the three New England States for the Purpose of Hearing and Determining the Dispute if Neither of the foregoing ways Can effect the Settling of the Controversy in Case New Hampshire and we Can agree upon a Plan of Government we will Consent that the whole of the Grants Connect with N. Hampshire and become with them one entire State as it was Limitted & Bounded before the Settling of Said line in 1764— and Untill one or other of the foregoing Proposals be complied with we Shall endeavour to Defend Ourselves in every lawfull way and trust our cause with the all wise Governing providence to Succeed us

and that the Inhabitants of those Towns on the Grants in the State of Vermont who have not sent a representative to this Convention and whose members joined with a Majority of Said Assembly in Passing said Votes be Requested to direct their members to Rescind the Same and joine in said Proposals

4th That all the Other Towns on Said Grants be request to joine us in making the foregoing Proposals to New Hampshire and that those Towns agree to joine us therein be requested to Transmit Copies of their Votes to Governor Marsh M^r Woodward Col Morey Maj^r Childs Col. Payne and Gen^l Baley a Committee Appointed by this Convention for Resciving them and Carrying the fore Going Votes and Prosedings into execution so soon as the Towns on the Grants Can have Opportunity to joine us therein

5th In case those Towns whose members Continued to act with the Assembly of Vermont Still remain firm and Steadfast in Supporting and Continuing the Votes of the Assembly which are Complained of as Unconstititutional and neglect to joine in Carrying into execution said report their Committee we Shall make Overtures to joine with New Hampshire on the last Article in Said Proposals

6th That Said Committee be impowered to Call a Convention from the Towrfs on the Grants whenever any thing Shall Arise which Saall in their Opinion render one necessary—

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

—Mr. W. I. Norris lately presented to the Philadelphia Historical Society, a collection of documents relative to the early history of Pennsylvania.

—Washington's watch has turned up in Indiana, and Napoleon's in Ohio.

VII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—*Ed. His. Mag.*]

TWO NOTABLE BELLS.—It is not a pleasant task to spoil a good story; but the cause of truth requires a correction of a fine local item, in the *Petaluma Argus* of Wednesday, concerning the history of a notable bell which graces the belfry of the Baptist Church, in Petaluma.

The *Argus* assumes that this is the veritable bell which summoned the people to the Plaza, during the exciting times of 1851, and says: "The first occasion on which its tones struck 'terror to the bands of organ 'Hounds' of 'California, was on the tenth day of June, '1851, when one John Jenkins paid the penalty of safe stealing, by hanging from a projecting beam of an old adobe building that then stood upon the Northwest corner of the 'Clay-street Plaza. As sentence of death was 'being passed upon the criminal, this bell, 'which had only a few hours before given the 'signal for the assembling of the Committee, 'toll'd; and its solemn sound, at that unusual 'hour, (midnight) filled the anxious crowd with 'awe. This first summary execution of Jenkins succeeded in frightening some of the 'more timid rogues from San Francisco. But 'this exodus was not complete; and the remaining and more desperate ones soon gathered courage to renew their career of crimes. 'The old bell continued to summon together 'this self-organized band of men, who had 'taken upon themselves the task of executing 'convicted criminals, until the eleventh day of 'July, in the same year, when its customary 'taps rang out the life of another murderer— 'James Stewart. Again, on the twenty-fourth 'day of the following month, this ominous 'bell toll'd the death-knell of Whittaker and 'McKenzie, whose careers of crime are familiar 'to most of our readers."

All this is true, but not of the bell in question. The *Petaluma* people probably have the bell which was used in 1856, the year of the most notable "Vigilance Committee" ever organized. That bell was probably sent to Petaluma; and, as related by the *Argus*, became, in 1867, the property of the Baptist-church of that city, and was hung in the steeple, where it remained, until the Fall of 1862, when a difficulty arose among the members of the church, and the bell was removed by the party owning the controlling property in it. The quarrel was not of long

duration. A compromise was effected; and the bell again found its way to the church steeple, where it still remains, though badly cracked, in consequence of a foul blow given to it, at midnight, by some persons apparently not satisfied with the manner in which the church quarrel had been settled.

The "Original Jacobs" bell—the bell of 1851—which summoned the hosts that witnessed the execution of Jenkins, is now in possession of the Pioneers, and bears a plate on which is the following inscription:

"Presented to the Society of California Pioneers, September 3^d, 1863, by Monumental Engine Company. The first fire-alarm bell 'erected in San Francisco."

This bell is also cracked; but it is claimed to have been in use, during the year 1851, when the first execution referred to took place.—*San Francisco Bulletin*.

WILLIAM TELL, AT HOME.—It is painful to every mind susceptible of poetic feeling to be forced, by the incontestible evidence of historical records, to abandon belief in cherished traditions, long accepted as literal truth, and to exchange for them dry narratives around the moral foundations of which there is no garment of romance.

The Historical Society of the Old Cantons—that is, Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Zurich—which was founded thirty years ago, and which has conducted its inquiries in the most cautious spirit for the last twenty-seven years, under the presidency of the historiographer of Lucerne, Joseph Schneller, has rendered pre eminent services in investigating the early history of Switzerland. The honor of having first penetrated into this field of research and of having torn off the legendary veil which hid the true history of the liberation of the forest Cantons, is undoubtedly due to the lamented Professor Eutychias Kopp, of Lucerne. No doubt, about one hundred years before him, the Genevese preacher, Uriel Freudenberger, made an attempt, in an essay devoted to the subject, to shake the historical foundations on which the story of Tell rested. He was not, however, in a position to convince historical students that the details of the Swiss Revolution were mythical. This book, however, did attract attention, for it was publicly burned under the gallows, in Altorf. Kopp was more successful. He brought forward positive evidence to show that the received version of the events which led to the foundation of the Swiss Confederation were at variance with historical fact. His conclusions were these; There never was a Landvogt Gessler nor a William Tell.

Tell never refused to lift his hat; never fired at an apple placed on his son's head, although the very cross-bow with which the deed was done is exhibited at Zurich; he never crossed the Lake of Lucerne in a tempest of wind and rain; he never boldly jumped upon the Tell-platte; never spoke his speech in the defile at Kusnacht; and never shot the Landvogt. What is more, the inhabitants of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden never met, by night, on the Rûch.

Johannes von Müller, the great historian, adopts the mythical story and tells it in his *History of Switzerland*, as if absolutely true; but the chroniclers of the period knew nothing of William Tell, and the story appears, for the first time, a century and a half later. Kopp skilfully separates the legendary matter from the historical facts; and, with the records in his hand, estimated at their true value the fables which were first dressed up, as historical narratives, by Tschudi. Those who know with what affection the Swiss cling to the story of Tell and all the romantic incidents which belong to it, will not deny that much personal courage was required to say plainly, to them, that there was no truth in traditions so intimately interwoven with all their thoughts and feelings and with all their political institutions. Professor Kopp displayed this courage; and the Historical Society has based its inquiries on his labors.

By the publication of a number of valuable papers, on local history, in the *Friend of History*, and by addresses delivered at the annual Society meetings, new light was spread on the early history of the districts surrounding the Lake of Lucerne. The Society held its thirtieth meeting, in this month, at Zurich; and, from the numerous sittings, it is evident that great interest was felt in the proceedings. Addresses were delivered by Herr Joh. Schneller, Dr. Casper Kaiser, and Choir-master Aubi. The mediæval history of the district was not the only subject discussed. There were exhibited a number of objects found in the newly discovered pile-dwelling, in the Bladdegger Lake. Herr Schneller, the Chairman of the general meeting, who, for the last twenty-seven years, has presided over this Society, expressed a wish to retire in favor of a younger member. The meeting, however, would not hear of his resignation; and he was again unanimously elected President.—*Cologne Gazette*.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF ANNISQUAM.—Hon. J. J. Babson of Gloucester, Massachusetts, in an interesting historical sketch of Annisquam, read before the Essex Institute, remarked, upon the ministry of Rev. Ezra Leonard: "I look

"upon the conversion of this Pastor and his people from the ancient faith of the New England churches, to the doctrine of universal salvation, as one of the most remarkable events in the history of the town. Here is a Minister, a graduate of Brown University, educated in the strictest doctrines of Calvinism, and settled over a church which has for many years listened to him as the expounder and advocate of these doctrines, who announces to his people that a great change in his religious belief has taken place, and that he must, if not there, elsewhere, henceforth, preach a doctrine he has all his life been laboring to destroy; and these people, after serious deliberation, conclude that it is better to change their religion than to change their Minister. This action was a striking testimonial to the superiority of Christian character over sectarian profession; and the result of it was an abundant harvest of religious harmony and joy, throughout the twenty years of his continued ministry. The memories of these people are, even now, forty years after his death, full of the kind words and good deeds of this honored and beloved Pastor. The description of the good Minister, in Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, will apply to him. 'E'en his failings leaned to virtue's side;' so, at least, must have thought the poor, ill-shod woman whom he met in the road, as he was walking home, one wintry day, and to whom he gave the pair of shoes, which, to supply an urgent need of his wife, he had been to the harbor to buy."

THE OLDEST RELIGIOUS NEWSPAPER.—I am a great stickler for accuracy in the presentation of historical facts, and this leads me to call your attention to an error in an article on page 48 of the General Assembly's *Journal*. The article commences, "After no inconsiderable discussion, it is now admitted, on all hands, that the first religious newspaper, as such publications are now known, was the *Weekly Recorder*, established by Rev. John Andrews, at Chillicothe, Ohio, on the fifth of July, 1814."

Now, Mr. Editor, I have lying on my table, a file of the *Religious Remembrancer*, a weekly-religious paper, the first number of which was published in Philadelphia, on the fourth of September, 1813. This paper was issued weekly, until August, 1818.

The history of the origin of this newspaper is thus given by Doctor Archibald Alexander, when a Pastor in Philadelphia. He says: "In considering the wants of the people and the difficulty of reaching the multitude with re-

religious instruction, I conceived the plan of a religious newspaper, a thing at that time unknown in the world. But as the thing was new, I mentioned it to none but two or three of my Elders; and it met with approbation. It was suggested that we had a printer, who was a well-informed young man, John W. Scott. I conversed with him, and he drew up a well-written but rather florid address, to accompany a prospectus. Before the plan was carried into effect, I was removed to Princeton; but Mr. Scott went forward with the enterprise, and published, for a number of years, before any other work of the kind was thought of, the *Religious Remembrancer*."

I think Doctor Alexander was in error as to this being the first religious newspaper ever published, one having appeared in New England, long before. The *Religious Remembrancer* was a four-paged quarto, published every Saturday, and was in every respect a weekly religious newspaper. Therefore the *Weekly Recorder* fails to establish its claims.

—*Evangelist*.

HISTORICUS.

GENERAL MEADE'S DREAD OF POLITICS.

The *Philadelphia Age* has printed a note which the late General Meade addressed to its Editor, in March, 1871:

"I am glad to hear you say that, notwithstanding your long acquaintance with me, you are not able to define my party character, because this has been the position I have always endeavored to maintain; and though I am not without my own private views on public questions, I have never given any utterance to them, in public, or allowed them to influence my official action as a soldier.

"I should esteem a nomination for the Presidency a misfortune. I am, and only desire to be, a soldier. I have always objected to politicians making themselves soldiers, for political ends, and equally condemn soldiers becoming politicians, so long as they are soldiers. I am in favor, as between politicians and soldiers, of each 'shinnying on their own side.'"

If more of our soldiers had the same dread of politics, it would be much better for the service; but, unfortunately, too many of them make the profession of arms but the stepping-stone to political preferment.

STAGES AND RAILWAYS.—The first stage-coach in America started from Boston, from the site of No. 90 North-street, in 1661. The first line of stage-coaches between Boston and New York, was established in 1732—a coach

leaving each city once a month; fourteen days were required to complete the journey. In 1802, the mail stage started from Boston, for New York, on Monday morning, at eight o'clock; and was due, in New York, at noon, on Friday.

On the seventh of April, 1834, the first train of railway passenger-cars started from Boston, for Needham, to which place the Worcester Railway was then opened; the Western Railway was opened to Albany, on the thirty-first of December, 1841. Railways did not cross the Mississippi-river until 1851; and on the tenth of May, 1869, they reached the Pacific.

GENERAL LEE.—The *Nashville Union and American* gives the following account of General Lee's room, in the Washington and Lee University, Virginia: "The private room in the University, which the General occupied, has been left just as it was when he went out of it the morning he took to his bed, and from which he never arose. The General went into his room, at the usual hour, that morning; put on his slippers; took a seat near the window, from which he drew the curtain partially back; and began reading a copy of the *Nashville Union and American*. He had been complaining of feeling unwell; and, after reading a short time, he laid the paper on the table and left the room, never more to return. To-day, the visitor to the University is shown the room, which he is allowed to enter, but is prohibited from touching anything. On the dust-covered table he sees the paper as it dropped from the hand of the chieftain, and near the chair, which is partly turned around, his slippers. The curtain is in the same position which the General had placed it; and in the inkstand is the deeply corroded pen, just as it had been left when last used. A guard is mounted at the door, every day, to see that nothing about the room is disturbed by any one visiting it."

SCRAPS.—*Dodd's Register* gives the origin of the name of Stable Point, on the East Haven shore, as follows: "After they" [*East Haven residents*] "returned to their former connection with New Haven Society, Deacon John Childsey, John Potter, and John Austin obtained liberty, of New Haven, to buy one quarter of an acre of land of the Indians, at the ferry-place, to build housing for their horses, when they went to New Haven. They obtained a deed for the land, on the fourth of March, 1686, which was signed by the Narranshanott, George Sagamore, Wang, and Rebow. They

"paid six shillings for it; and it was afterwards called Stable Point."

—An interesting literary relic is announced for sale in London. It is Oliver Goldsmith's *Political View of the Present War with America upon Great Britain, France, Prussia, Germany, and Holland*, an original autograph manuscript, forty pages folio, believed to be unpublished, which came from the library of Isaac Reed, to whom it was presented by George Stevens, who had it from Hamilton, the printer.

Mr. Hawes's account of Goldsmith's use of James's powders, in his last illness, which was printed in 1774, accompanies the manuscript.

—The bedstead upon which President Washington slept, when he visited New Hampshire, is still shown in the mansion where President Weare lived, at Hampton Falls, in a chamber where can be seen paper hung with nails, in the olden style.

The table-cloth used for state dinners, by President Weare, is still kept in a well-preserved condition, by one of the President's descendants, a lady of Portsmouth; while other descendants, resident in Salem, cherish like keepsakes of their celebrated ancestor.

IX.—NOTES.

JOHN SMYTHE, ESQR., OF PERTH AMBOY.

From my father, John Moore's, family record:

"My Grand Fathers (Col. Jno. Moore) third daughter, Susannah, married the truly amiable John Smyth Esqr" of Perth Amboy, a man "that had not an enemy before the year 1775. "The rage of the times which succeeded, his "placid & engaging manners notwithstanding, "created him, as they did every Loyalist, a "host of illiberal foes. He was clerk to the "Board of last Jersey Proprietors, & Treasurer "of the Province, when the Revolution commenced. He remained at Amboy till the "evacuation of the whole Province by the "Kings Troops, which took place in July 1777, "when the ill judged & fatal expedition "against Phil^a left N York. Mr Smyth, wife & "son Andrew, with Fanny, the daughter of my "Uncle Charles, who had lived with them "since her infancy, and my aged Grand Mother "Moore, with her two maiden daughters, were "obliged to quit their delightful residence & "property, and removed to New York, & they "all lived with me free of expence to them for "some time. He was then appointed Treasurer "to the fund raised from the houses of the "disaffected inhabitants, who had most un-

"wisely left the city the preceding year, on the "British army's first invasion.

"Mr. Smyth was proscribed by the States of "New Jersey & New York, and by a base & inhuman Law of New York, called the Trespass Act, made amenable to the State for all "the monies he had so collected for the support of the Alms House, all of which was "most faithfully applied to its intended use by "Commissioners appointed for that purpose. "He was therefore obliged to fly with his family to England in 1784, where he died, broken "hearted, with character irreproachable, in "1790. The British Gov^t allowed him during "his life £100. stg a year, & his Widow during "her life half that sum, but all the compensation he rec^d for his property, confiscated in "New Jersey was not, I believe, above one "thousand pounds. His Widow, son Andrew, " & Fanny her Neice, returned to N York in "1791—"

Andrew, the son of John Smythe, married first a daughter of James Parker, Mayor of Perth Amboy—had no issue. His second wife was a daughter of Philip I. Livingston, of Throggs Neck, Westchester-county, by whom he had two children—Francis, married to Mr. Aldis, an English gentleman, and John, married to a daughter of Mr. Cogwell.

You will, of course, understand that John Smythe married Susanah Moore as his second wife.

NEW YORK CITY.

T. W. C. MOORE.

THE MOVEMENT ON DANBURY, 1777.

The Americans having formed extensive magazines at *Danbury* and other places on the borders of Connecticut, a detachment of the Seventeenth (*Light Dragoons*) formed part of the force sent from New York, under Major-general Tryon, to destroy the stores. Sailing from New York in transports, the troops arrived, on the evening of the twenty-fifth of April, 1777, off Norwalk, landed without opposition, and commenced their march at ten o'clock that night for Danbury, where they arrived about two in the afternoon of the following day. On their approach the American soldiers fled; and as no carriages could be procured to bring off the stores, they were destroyed by fire; the flames communicating to the town, it was also destroyed. On the following morning, the British commenced their march back to their shipping, but had to fight their way through troops assembled to oppose them. They overthrew one body of Americans at *Ridgefield*, routed another party at the *Hill of Compo*, and afterwards embarked without

molestation for New York.—*Historical Record of the Seventeenth Regiment of Light Dragoons, Lancers—London, 1841—pages 19, 20.*

CONGREGATION "SHEARITH ISRAEL," *Anglice*,
"THE REMNANT OF ISRAEL," IN NEW
YORK.

The first Minutes of Congregational affairs now in our possession, are written in Spanish on the twentieth of Tishree, 5489, (1729) and have reference to certain wholesome rules and regulations made about the year 5466, (1706) by the Elders of the Congregation, "to preserve peace, tranquillity, and good Government among them and those after them." The following names are affixed: Moses Gomez, Daniel Gomez, Benjamin Mendez Pacheco, Abraham Riviero, Mordecai Gomez, Nathan Levy, Isaac d' Medena, Joseph Nunez, Doctor Nunez, D. Costa, Abraham Franeks, Baruch Judah, Jacob Franks, and Moses Gomez, Jr. Ten years afterwards, the following names were added: J. Myers Cohen, David Gomez, J. R. Rodrigues, Judah Hays, Judah Mears, and Solomon Hays.

Before the erection of a regular Synagogue, prayers were read in a frame building, in Mill-street, in the First Ward, about one hundred feet East of the lot on which the first Synagogue was built, in 5489 (1729). This place of worship was taken down and re-built, on the same site, in 1817, the Congregation, in the interim, worshipping in a large room, in an engine house, in Beaver-street, a few doors West of Broad-street.

During the prevalence of yellow-fever, in 1822, service was performed in a school house, corner of Henry and Oliver-streets. In the Spring of 1833, the property in Mill and Beaver-streets was sold, and the Synagogue removed to Crosby-street, the Congregation worshipping, in the meantime, in a room over the New York Dispensary, corner of White and Centre streets. This Synagogue was removed to Nineteenth-street, in the year 1860.

The first Jews arrived here in 1654, but were soon expelled by Stuyvesant. In the year 1655, Jews came here, from Amsterdam; and obtained a burying place from Governor Stuyvesant, in the year 1656. Its location is not known. The first Jewish Cemetery known was on the corner of Madison and Oliver-streets, purchased in 1681, on a high hill, adjoining the ground purchased in 1729, extending to Chatham-street, then called "the King's High-way." Another one in Gold-street, (lots 80 and 82.) unknown, at present, and perhaps never used.

Interment having been prohibited by the Common Council, a portion of the first ground was sold to the Tradesmen's Bank, and the entrance to the ground containing the dead was made in Oliver street, facing Henry-street. The Cemetery was then removed to Eleventh-street, near Sixth-avenue; then to Twenty-first-street, near Sixth-avenue, in 1829; then to Cypress-Hills, in 1851.

These are the Cemeteries connected with the Congregation "Shearith Israel;" and do not include those of other Congregations.

With Doctor FISCHER'S Compliments.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF OLDEN TIME.

It may be amusing and entertaining to have some account of the customs and manners of living of the people, sixty-five, seventy, seventy-five years ago. As to what took place in seaport towns and places which had a dense population, I can give no account; but, in the town where I was brought up—which I suppose was not materially different from the general state of other country towns—I will attempt to describe. In the Winter season, the dinners were generally uniform; the first course was a dish of broth, generally called porridge; these, generally, had a few beans in them, and some dry Summer Savory scattered in. The second course was an Indian pudding with sauce; the third was a dish of boiled pork and beef, with round turnips for sauce. Potatoes were then a scarce article, three bushels being considered as a very large crop; and I was a considerably large lad before I ever saw a potato as large as a hen's egg. For suppers and breakfasts, they generally had a dish of the same broth. Those who had milk—which were not many in the Winter—had that with toasted brown bread or roasted apples, for breakfast, and hasty pudding, for supper. For an exchange, they sometimes had a basin of sweetened cider with toasted bread in it, with a piece of cheese. On Sabbath day morning, they generally had chocolate, coffee, or bohea tea; the chocolate and coffee sweetened with molasses, the tea with brown sugar; with it they had pancakes, doughnuts, brown toast, some sort of pie—some of all of them. Dinners they had none; but, immediately after the afternoon service, they had a supper, a roast goose or turkey, a roast spare rib, or a stew pie—and this was the common course, through the Winter season. In the Spring and Summer, they generally, on week days, had milk for supper and breakfast. For dinners—then potatoes were generally gone and round turnips were too pithy to eat—they used French turnips, till

greens came; and then greens were used for sauce till peas and green beans were ready for use. As for flour, it was a thing unknown; at that time I doubt there ever having been a barrel of flour in the town. Every farmer broke up a piece of new ground and sowed it with wheat and turnips, and would raise from five to fifteen bushels of turnips. This when, by the help of the sieve, was a substitute for flour.

In general, men, old or young, who had got their growth, had a decent coat, vest and small clothes, and some kind of fur hat; these were for holiday use, and would last half an age; old men had a great coat and a pair of boots, the boots generally lasted for a life. For common use, they had a long jacket or what was called a fly-coat, made something like our surtouts, reaching down about half way to the thigh; a striped jacket to wear under it; with a pair of small clothes like the coat. These were made of flannel cloth, fulled, but not sheared; flannel shirts and stockings and thick leather shoes; a silk handkerchief, for holidays, which would last ten years. In the Summer time, a pair of wide trousers—now out of use—reaching half way from the knee to the ankle; shoes and stockings were not worn by the young men and but by few old men, in farming business. As for boys, as soon as they were taken out of their petticoats, they were put into small clothes, Summer or Winter. This continued until long trousers were introduced, which were then called *tongs*; they were but little different from our present pantaloons. These were made of tow cloth, linen or cotton; and soon were used, by old men and young, through the warm season; at last, they were made of flannel cloth and of thick cloth; and were the general costume of the Winter. Young men never thought of great coats, and surtouts were then unknown. I recollect a neighbor of my father's who had four sons between nineteen and thirty years of age; the oldest got a pair of boots; the second a surtout; the third a watch; and the fourth a pair of silver buckles. This made a neighborhood talk, and the family were considered as on the high road to insolvency.

As for the women, old and young, they wore flannel gowns, in the Winter; the young women wore, in the Summer, short wrappers or shepherdess, and about their ordinary business did not wear stockings and shoes; they were generally contented with one calico gown, another of camblet; and some had them made of poplin. The sleeves were short, and did not come below the elbow; on holy-days they wore one, two, or three ruffles on each arm, the deepest of which were sometimes nine or ten inches; they wore long gloves coming up to the elbow, secured by what were called "glove tightens," made of black

horse hair. Round gowns had not then come in fashion, so they wore aprons, made of checked linen, cotton, and, for holy day use, of white cotton, long lawn, or cambric. They seldom wore caps when about their ordinary business; but they had two kinds, one of which they wore when they meant to appear in full dress; one was called "strap cap," which came under the chin and was there tied; the other was called "round cord cap" and did not come over the ears. They wore thick leather, thin leather, and broad-cloth shoes, all with heels an inch and a half high, with peaked toes turned up in a point at the toe. They generally had small, very small muffs, and some wore masks. The principal amusements of the young men were wrestling, running, and jumping, or hopping three hops. Dancing was considered as a qualification of the first importance, especially step tunes, such as *Old Father George*, *Cape Breton*, *High Betty Martin* and the *Rolling Hornpipe*. At their balls, dancing was a principal exercise; also singing songs and a number of pawn plays, such as breaking and setting the pope's neck, finding the button, etc.

At the time I allude to, a young woman did not consider it as a hardship or degradation to walk five or six miles to meeting; there was no chaise, or any sort of wagon or sleigh in the town. I recollect the first chaise that passed through, and it made a greater wonderment than the appearance of a mammoth. People were puzzled for a name, at last they called it a "cal-ash." A horse that would fetch forty dollars was considered as of the first quality; and a horse more than nine years old was considered as of little or no value. A farmer generally killed from three to five swine which would weigh from five to eight score each; but it was an extraordinary hog that would weigh nine score.

Acute fevers then were much more frequent than at this time. The principal fevers then were what was called the long or slow fever, which would run thirty-five, forty, or fifty days before it formed a crisis; there was also the slow nervous fever, which ran generally longer than the long fever. But consumptions were much less frequent than now, unless it was with very old people. In the year 1764, a young man fell into a consumption; he was between twenty and thirty years of age, and it passed for a wonder that a young man should fall into a consumption.

[Where or when the above was written, we cannot tell; we have had it in our scrap-book about forty years.]

STATESVILLE, N. C.

E. F. R.]

X.—*QUERIES.*

MARTIN GERRITSEN'S BAY.

Martin, Matthew, or Matta Gerritsen's Bay—where was it, and by what name is it now known?

We have been, many times, puzzled to locate this bay, which was, undoubtedly, on the North shore of Long Island, between the western bounds of the town of Huntington and the eastern bounds of the town of Flushing; but whether it is known, to-day, as Little Neck-bay, Manhasset (or Cow) Bay, Hempstead-harbor, or Oyster-bay-harbor, is the question.

In the Kieft Patent of the town of Hempstead, granted the sixteen of November, 1644, we find their West bounds begin at the head of "*Matt-thew Gerritsen's Bay*;" and the same is repeated in an Indian Grant to the town, in 1658, as well as in the Dongan Patent of 1685. This bay is now known as *Little Neck bay*.

In a paper entitled *Information relative to taking up land in New Netherland in the form of Colonies or private boweries. Delivered in by Secretary Van Tienhoven, on the 4th of March, 1650*, we find the following description of the bays of Long Island:

"*Oyster-bay*—so called from the great abundance of fine and delicate oysters which are found there—is about a short league across, or in width, at the mouth; deep and navigable, without either rocks or sands; runs inland, nearly West; and divides itself into two rivers, which are broad and clear, on which lie some fine maize-lands, formerly cultivated by the Indians, some of which are still worked; they could be had for a trifle. This land is situate on such beautiful bay and rivers, that it could, at little cost, be converted into good farms, fit for the plough; there are, here, also some fine hay-valleys.

"*Martin Gerritsen's-Bay*, or *Martinne houch*, is much deeper and wider than Oyster-bay, and runs westward in, divides into three rivers, two of which are navigable: the smallest stream runs up in front of the Indian village, called *Martinne-houch*, where they have their plantations. The tribe is not strong, and consists of about thirty families. There were, formerly, in and about this bay, great numbers of Indians Plantations, which now lie waste and vacant. This land is mostly level and of good quality, well adapted for grain and rearing of all sorts of cattle; on the rivers are numerous valleys of sweet and salt-meadows: all sorts of river fish are also caught there.

"*Schout's-Bay*, on the East River, is also very open and navigable, with one river running into it. On said river is a very con-

venient hook of land, somewhat large,* enclosed by a large valley and river, where all descriptions of cattle can be reared and fed, such convenience being a great accommodation for the settlers, who otherwise must search for their cattle frequently several days in the bush."

As Van Tienhoven was in command of the party of soldiers who were sent by Governor Kieft, in May, 1646, to break up the English settlement then forming in Schout's-bay, we should suppose he would have been pretty well informed as to the situation of these bays, particularly of the latter, which he visited.

Although there are several points in his description on which doubts might be raised; yet we think there is sufficient evidence to identify his "*Oyster-bay*," with the present Cold-spring and Oyster-bay-harbor—the former opening into the latter, "in a westerly direction."

His description of "*Martin Gerritsen's-Bay*" would not altogether agree with a description of the present Hempstead-harbor; yet Hempstead-harbor lies next West of Oyster-bay-harbor, and "is much wider and deeper than Oyster-bay." Though Hempstead-harbor has no streams tributary to it which would now be classed as "rivers," yet it has three considerable streams "two of which are navigable"—Glen-Cove-creek, and the stream on which the village of Roslyn is located. A third, and smaller, stream runs in, near the little village of Glen-Wood.

The name of "*Martinne-houch*" may have been confounded with, or perhaps written for, *Matinecock*—the name of quite an extensive tribe of Indians who claimed the lands lying along the North shore of Queens-county; and who had considerable tilled lands and several settlements along the shores of Hempstead-harbor, perhaps answering for Van Tienhoven's "Indian Plantations" and "Indian Villages."

If this bay is identical with Hempstead-harbor, there can be but little doubt that "Schout's-Bay" is now known as "Manhasset Bay," or, a few years since, as "Cow Bay"—on the eastern shore of which, Thompson, in his *History of Long Island*, says, was made the attempted settlement of Lieutenant Howe and party, in the Spring of 1640.

In 1659, Governor Stuyvesant patented, to Govert Lockermans and others, "a parcel of land situate in *Martin Gerritsen's-Bay*, called, in the Indian tongue, 'Matinecough,' or Hog's-Neck, or Hog's-Island, it being, in times of high water, an island." This island they sold, in 1665, to the Town of Oyster-bay, and still insist in locating it in "Martin Gerritsen's

* Great Neck, formerly Mad Man's Neck?—J. T. B.

"Bay," though it lay in *Oyster-bay-harbor* and only half a mile from the village of *Oyster-bay*, which had been settled in 1653.

From the foregoing memoranda it will be seen that the name "*Martin Gerritsen's-Bay*" had been applied to the present *Little Neck-bay*, by Governor Kieft, in 1644; to the present *Hempstead-harbor*, by Van Tienhoven, in 1659; and to the present *Oyster-bay-harbor*, in 1659, by Governor Stuyvesant.

In these early times, boundaries must have been described as represented by the applicants for Patents—the Governors having but a vague idea of their situation. Secretary Van Tienhoven, however, had been to "*Schout's Bay*," and was, probably, as well, if not better, informed of its location, as well as the location of both the other bays named, than any of the Governors. Until we find evidence to the contrary, we shall conclude that *Hempstead harbor* was the true "*Martin Gerritsen's Bay*."

Can any one inform us as to how the name of "*Martin Gerritsen*" came to be associated with this bay, or further information as to its location?

GLEN COVE, L. I.

J. T. BOWNE.

NAMES OF LOCALITIES, IN ASIA AND AMERICA.

When and by whom did the lakes *Ladoga* and *Onega*, in northern Russia, receive those names? They do not occur in Keith Johnson's *Ancient Atlas*, that comes down to the eighth century. In Koeppen's *Atlas of the Middle Ages*, in the maps of the fourth century, no name is given to either. In that of the beginning of the sixth century, the western one is *Aldoga*, the other has no appellation. On that of the times of Charlemagne, neither one is named. That of the second half of the tenth century, has *Aldoga* changed to *Ladoga*, and the other is yet nameless.

In the time of the Crusades, we have *Ladoga* and *Onega*. At the end of the fourteenth century, *Ladoga* and *Onega*, as now, are found. Are they Slavonian or to what language do they belong? Latham says that they, i. e., the Slavonians, at one time, extended from the Adriatic to the Arctic sea. The Mongol Tartars had possession of Russia, from 1224, for a long time. These names attract attention from the fact that they are so different from the general run of geographical names in all that part of the world; and from the fact that they are so similar to a great many of the Indian names in this country—*Conewago*, *Owego*, *Oswego*, *Tioga*, *Ladoga*, *Neoga*, *Witoga*, *Conestoga*, etc.

So in Japan, *Atago*, *Tonago*, *Tanega*, *Nagasaki*, etc. Can they all have had a similar origin, and that Tartaric?

STATESVILLE, N. C.

E. F. R.

HIS. MAG. VOL. I. 24.

THE OPERATIONS ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER, IN THE LAST WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

Why did the Americans give up all their successes, blow up Fort Erie, and evacuate the peninsular of the Niagara, after the waste of blood and treasure therein, to obtain a foot-hold?

GROSVENOR LIBRARY,

ALEX. SHELDON.

BUFFALO, N. Y.

XI.—REPLIES.

"HEATHCOTE."—[*H. M., III., i., 245.*]

Your favor of the third of April—postmarked the fourteenth—with enclosure of correspondent's inquiry, in reference to "*Heathcote Ward*" of this city, came to hand; and I am glad to be able to give you the desired information. It may be found in a book so well known as Stevens's—*Rev. William Bacon*, now Bishop of Pennsylvania—*History of Georgia*. I presume your correspondent has not access to this book, for he would naturally look to it for information.

In the Appendix to the first volume, you will find in the list of "*Trustees of Georgia*," appointed by the Charter—the fifth on the list—the name of "*George Heathcote*, M. P., "*Alderman of London*, and, in 1740, elected "*Lord Mayor*, but declined." In the list of "*Trustees elected in 1733*"—the thirtieth on the list—occurs the name of "*Sir William Heathcote*, Bart, M. P. He married the only daughter of the Earl of Macclesfield, Lord "*High Chancellor of Great Britain*." Sir William was a Member of Parliament, and died "*in 1751*." This latter is the person from whom "*Heathcote Ward*" is named.

Stevens—Vol. I., pp. 99–100—says: "Accordingly, on the 7th of July, [1733] the emigrants met in a body on the bluff, before his [Oglethorpe's] tent; and having joined in offices of prayer and thanksgiving, imploring, upon themselves and the Colony they were to found, the blessing of God, they proceeded to name the Wards and assign the lots. One square was laid out, which, in honor of the Governor of South Carolina, they named Johnson Square. Four Wards were marked off, to which were severally given the names of "*Heathcote*, "*Percival*, "*Derby*, and "*Decker*, to commemorate the valuable services of Lord Percival, the first President of the Trustees, the Earl of Derby, "*Sir William Heathcote*, and Sir "*Matthew Decker*, large benefactors to the design."

"These four Wards were divided into sixteen *Tithings*, of which fourteen bore the names of the following Trustees, viz.: Derby, Car-

"penter, Frederick, Tyconnel, More, Hucks, "Town, *Heathcote*, Eyles, La Roche, Vernon, "Belitha, Holland, and Sloper."

Heathcote Tything is named, not from Sir William Heathcote, but from *George Heathcote*, one of the original Trustees, as I infer from the fact that the other Tithings are named from his associates, appointed with him, under the Charter. What relationship, if any, existed between these two, I am unable to say.

SAVANNAH, GA.

WM. S. BOGART.

MARSHAL GROUCHY.—[*H. M., III., i., 302.*]

In *The National Register*, for January 30, 1819, [*vii., 80*] will be found a letter from the Marshal to Messrs. Frick & Co., dated "SMYR-MA, DEL., Jan. 23," promising "a refutation "of the errors," concerning his conduct, near Waterloo, which had been published in London, a short time previously, by General Gourgaud. His whereabouts, at that time, will be seen from that letter.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

II. B. D.

HON. WILLIAM DARLINGTON, M.D.—[*H. M., III., i., 32-34, 243.*]

The series of historical sketches referred to, entitled *Notæ Cestriensis*, was the joint production of Doctor Darlington and myself, and was undertaken at my solicitation. About three-fourths of the numbers were written by Doctor Darlington, and the remainder by myself—the latter being indicated by my initials. I am gathering materials for additional sketches, and design to prepare the whole for publication, in book-form, at no distant day.

WEST CHESTER, PA.

J. S. FUTHEY.

MILES STANDISH.—[*H. M., III., i., 56, 251.*]

I.

Mr. Drake substantiates the point that he never joined the Church in Plymouth, the which is now in the State of Massachusetts. If my information is correct, the Standish family are now, and have been, from before the Reformation, Catholics; and so far as Miles had not embraced any other Confession of Faith, is probably regarded, in the family archives, as a Catholic.

ELIZABETH, N. J.

J. G. S.

II.

I ask the indulgence of the readers of the Magazine, while I call their attention to some features of Miles Standish's character and as-

sociations which, hitherto, have not been noticed.

The family of Standish is a very ancient one. In 16 Edward I., Jordan de Standish held the manor of Standish of the Earl of Ferrars; but it is uncertain whether the ancient castle of that name gave name to the family or the family that to the castle. In 1381, Rafe Standish assisted William Walworth, Lord Mayor of London, to disperse the insurgents headed by Wat Tyler and Jack Straw; and was knighted for his services and loyalty. In 12 Richard II., Robert de Standyshe was High Sheriff of Lancashire; and, three years later, that office was held by Sir Ralph Standish. In 1482, Sir Alexander Standish was created a Baronet for gallantry on the battle-field of Haddon-field. Henry Standish, D.D. Sir Alexander Standish's second son, was Bishop of St. Asaph and one of Queen Katharine's Counsel, in her defence against the bill filed by her husband, Henry VIII., for divorce. From that period until the accession of William and Mary, the family was active in the employ of the Crown.

From the beginning, until now, the family has been Roman Catholic in its church relations. Henry Standish, the Bishop of St. Asaph, of whom mention has been made, was a Franciscan; Guardian of the Convent of that Order, in London; and Provincial of his Order; and the archives of the English College, at Rome, (*Volume I, Page 29*) indicate that he was one of the "Pilgrims from England to Rome," in May, 1506. John Standish, another of the family, was a noted writer in opposition to the Reformation; Thomas Standish, another of the family, was a Captain in the Royal Army against the Parliament, and was killed at Manchester; Ralph Standish married Philippa Howard, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, one of the most influential of the Catholic families in England; and Mr. Baines, in his elaborate *History of Lancashire*—*iii., 505*—says "The 'Lancashire Plot' "of 1694, which had for its object the de-thronement of William III. and the re-establishment of the family of Stuart and the Catholic religion, is supposed to have been concocted in Standish Hall; and a reward "was offered, by Royal Proclamation, for the apprehension of Mr. Standish, one of the alleged conspirators, but without success."

Speaking of Standish Hall, the ancient seat of the family, Mr. Baines says—*History of Lancashire, iii., 505*—it "is a large brick house, "irregular in form, to which is attached an "ancient Catholic chapel, still used for that purpose."

Duxbury, the seat of a younger branch of the same family, is in the same parish of Standish as Standish Hall, the seat of the eldest branch;

and no one pretends that the same religious sentiments do not prevail in both these family residences.

Those who shall desire to learn more on this subject, are respectfully referred to Baine's *History of Lancashire*, iii., 502-519; Britton's *Beauties of England and Wales*, ix., 174, 175; *Collectanea Topographica & Genealogica*, v., 72, 74; Playfair's *British Family Antiquity*, vi., Appendix, xxxviii.; etc.; and all such will concur with us in the conviction that the Standishs have been Roman Catholics, from the beginning, and still remain so—an excellent reason for the failure of Miles to "join the church," in Plymouth Colony, if he was really a Standish, and an admirable illustration of the toleration which "the Pilgrim Fathers," unlike their "Puritan" neighbors, at Boston, freely extended even to Roman Catholics.

But there is another feature in this matter of Captain Miles Standish which will bear investigation. Mr. Baines—*History of Lancashire*, iii., 519—and Mr. Playfair—*British Family Antiquity*, vi., Appendix xxxviii.—both give elaborate pedigrees of the Duxbury branch of the family; and *there is no such name as "Miles," in any part of either of those pedigrees*. I must be pardoned, therefore, if I express a doubt concerning the origin of the celebrated Captain Miles Standish of New English reputation. If he was a *legitimate* Standish, he was, evidently not of the *Duxbury* branch, as hitherto pretended; and if not of that branch, after what has been said of him, it may be reasonably doubted if he was, legitimately, a Standish at all.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

H. B. D.

COLONEL JEDEDIAH PREBLE, IN THE OLD
FRENCH WAR.—[*H. M., II., x., 113.*]

Mr. Choate is mistaken in saying that, in my *Genealogy of the Preble Family*, 48, I conjectured that my grandfather, Colonel Jedediah Preble, was in command of the Provincial troops, under Wolfe, at Quebec. If he will turn to my book, he will find I endeavor to convey a very different impression. After stating that it is a *family tradition* that he was present at the siege of Quebec and near Wolfe, when he fell, and was wounded in the action, I say: "I am led to doubt his being present and wounded in that battle, as I can find no account of any large body of Provincial troops being engaged; and had he been, his rank as a Brigadier general would have made him a prominent actor in the battle," etc. I then, in a foot-note, state that of the sixty-eight hundred men raised by Massachusetts for the invasion of Canada,

twenty-five hundred served in the garrison at Louisburg; several hundred in the Navy; three hundred joined Wolfe, before Quebec; and the remainder served under General Amherst, etc.; and—*Query*—"was General Preble the Brigadier commanding the Provincials under Wolfe?"

General Wolfe fell on the thirteenth of September, 1759, and Jedediah Preble's commission, as Brigadier-general of Provincial troops, now in my possession, is dated March 12, 1759.

It is now rendered certain, by the very interesting Journal of a Provincial officer, in 1758, which Mr. Choate has communicated to your Magazine, that Jedediah Preble was the second Colonel, in point of seniority, in the expedition under General Amherst; and which is confirmed by his commission, now in my possession, as "Colonel of a Regiment of foot raised by me [*Thos. Pownall*] for a general invasion of Canada," dated "March thirteenth, 1758." Copies of both the commissions, above referred to, will be found in the *Genealogy of the Preble Family*, pages 117 and 118.

BOSTON, MASS.

G. P. H.

SACRAMENTAL TOKENS.—[*H. M., III., i., 57, 246.*]

At the close of the War, in 1865, I purchased a lead Sacramental token from a negro lad; and, on tracing its origin, I found that, in the year 1800, the Scotch Presbyterian Church of Charleston had dies engraved, in England, from which silver tokens were struck, having on them the name of the church and the representation of a communion-table. About the year 1820, tokens in lead were struck for the use of the colored membership of the church. The Rev. John Forrest, D.D., is the Pastor of the church, and is fully acquainted with the history of these tokens. The one that I purchased, and which is the only one that I have seen, is now among a valuable collection of coins and medals belonging to the late James H. Taylor of this city.

CHARLESTON.

WILLIAM G. WHILDEN.

STROUDWATER.—[*H. M., II., iv., 144.*]

The querist finds among the names of subscribers to Prince's *Chronology*, published at Boston, in 1736, that of Mr. Richard Fry of Stroudwater, and asks, "can any one give any particulars of Mr. Fry; or say where Stroudwater is or was?"

Stroudwater is a little hamlet in Westbrook, Maine, near Portland. It is located upon a small stream known as Fore River, but which,

in early days, was called Stroudwater, and still retains the name among the older residents of the place. I have no doubt it was named after the Stroud, in England.

BROOKLYN, N. Y. ISAAC B. CHOATE.

CONNECTICUT ON THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES.—
[*H. M., III., i., 246, 303.*]

For a history of the Prudence Candall case, let "J. F. S." consult the following works: *Life of Arthur Tappan*, published by Hurd & Houghton; and the Rev. S. J. May's *Recollections of our Anti-slavery Conflict*, published by J. R. Osgood & Co.

NEW YORK CITY. L. S. M.

MOBLEY'S MEETING-HOUSE.—[*H. M., III., i., 243.*]

Being at Chesterville, a few days since, with Hon. James Hemphill, I learned of your inquiry, from him, about the affair at Mobley's Meeting house, in Fairfield county, in this State. Meeting with a reference to it, in a paper formerly published in this place, I have had it re-published in the *Southern Presbyterian*, and enclose it to you. Mobley's Meeting-house is about twelve miles, in a direct line, North-east, from Winstboro, on the South Fork of Little-river, a tributary of Broad-river, which unites with the Saluda, and forms the Congaree-river, at this place.

COLUMBIA, S. C. GEORGE HOWE.

MRS. GENERAL ARNOLD AND THE SHIPPEN FAMILY.—[*H. M., II., viii., 363.*]

In a foot note—*HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, December, 1870—you say "E. Burd, afterwards married a sister of Mrs. Arnold."

Colonel Burd, of this County, married Sally Shippen, sister of Mrs. Benedict Arnold. His son, Major Edward Burd, married Elizabeth, daughter of Chief-justice Edward Shippen, brother of Mrs. B. and Mrs. A.; consequently, Edward's wife was his cousin german.

The whole story is a curious and interesting one. It mined the high standing of my grandfather's old neighbor and friend, Colonel James Burd, of Tinian (modernized into "High Spine") Dauphin-county.

HARRISBURG, PENN. A. B. II.

SCRAP.—An engraved likeness of Ethan Allen, copied from a painting, made Trumbull of Connecticut, in 1872, has recently been brought to light in New York. Until its discovery, no portrait of that Revolutionary leader, was known to be extant.

XII.—WHAT WE HAVE TO SAY ABOUT IT.

[Under this caption, *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* proposes to "have its say" on whatever, concerning the History, Antiquities, and Biography of America—living men and their opinions and conduct as well as dead men and dead issues—it shall incline to notice, editorially.]

IS IT MALFEASANCE, OR SOMETHING ELSE?

A body corporate, organized for certain specified purposes, with certain specified duties imposed upon it, and prohibited, by the organic Statute which created it, from extending its attention or employing its franchises or properties to any other object, cannot assume any other duties nor devote its energies to any other purposes than those defined in its Charter, without positively violating the written law of the land; its officers cannot employ its property, nor any part of it, for any such forbidden purposes without becoming malfeasant; and both the corporation and its officers, thus violating the law, expose themselves to those penalties to which, as offenders, they are, by law and by propriety, equally made liable. It is true that eminent respectability in the offenders, or their abundant means, may shield them from the doom which inevitably awaits those who are less respectable and encumbered with smaller pocket-books; but the offence is the same, and the penalty *should* be equally so, whether the offender is luxuriantly seated in a free-stone edifice which is screened from the tax-collector or in a tenement-house, from which the taxes are squeezed, to the last farthing, from the anxious mudsills who seek shelter, under its roof, from the peltings of the pitiless storm.

On the tenth of February, 1809, the Legislature of the State of New York passed an Act entitled *An Act to incorporate the New York Historical Society*, in the Preamble of which Act—Preambles were then in fashion, in such cases—it was stated that the persons thus made one, in a body corporate, had "formed themselves into an association * * * for the purpose of discovering, procuring, and preserving whatever may relate to the natural, civil, literary, and ecclesiastical history of the United States in general, and of this State in particular," and had asked the Legislature to make them a body corporate, "that, thereby, such, the purpose and design of the said Society, may be the more effectually subverted and promoted." No other "purpose and design" was alluded to or insinuated, as those of the proposed Corporation, than those, concerning the "history of the United States, in general, and of this State, in particular," which we have described; and to secure the State from

any possible mistake—for those were the times when Legislatures sometimes faced one direction and rowed in another—the fifth Section of that Act provided “that in case the aforesaid Society shall, at any time, appropriate their, “or any part of their, funds to *any purpose or purposes other than those contemplated by this Act*, and shall be thereof convicted by due “course of law, that, *thereupon, the said Corporation shall cease and determine, and the estate, real and personal, whereof it may be seized and possessed, shall vest in the PEOPLE OF THIS STATE.*”

When this Act was passed, Daniel D. Tompkins was Governor of the State and Matthias B. Hildreth, of Montgomery county, the Attorney-general, while De Witt Clinton and Nathan Sanford headed the delegations from the city of New York in, respectively, the Senate and the Assembly; and, with the record of the Manhattan Company and some other bodies recently incorporated by the State before them, neither the Legislature nor the Executive was disposed to create another body which, under the disguise of historical literature, was really to be devoted to something else. Whatever might be done, without positive infractions of the law, by other Corporations, this, certainly, should be confined, in all its operations, to the interests of students of the *history* “of the “UNITED STATES, in general, and of THIS “STATE, in particular;” and whatever should be accumulated by the Corporation, whether of real or personal estate, was, by the organic law, sacredly devoted to the cause of AMERICAN history.

When that Act was passed, the respectable gentlemen who were the incorporators, honestly intended to respect the law, in its spirit as well as in its letter. It never entered into the schemes of Egbert Benson, Bishop Moore, Rev. Doctors Mason and Miller, De Witt Clinton, and their associates to do more, in this connection, than to “discover, procure, and preserve whatever,” in the line of the “*history* “of the United States, in general, and of this “State, in particular,” they could honestly lay their hands on; and there is no evidence, as far as we know, that they ever either did more than that or tried to do so. There was not, then, any more taste, among the multitude, for *American* history, than there is, to-day; but the mission of the young Society was an humble one—it was only to get all it could, *in its line*, and to keep all it thus obtained, for the use of others as well as of itself; and if it was not to be very brilliant it, certainly, might become very useful.

Years rolled around, and the Corporation still lived and discharged its modest duties, as

imposed by the Statute. It had had its dark days as well as its light ones; but sometimes through one instrumentality and sometimes through another, it really had “discovered, “procured, and preserved” some of the most important of the materials for American history which the student of that history can hope to enjoy. A new era, however, was opened in its history by the advent, some twenty or thirty years ago, of a new controlling power—a power behind the throne which was destined to be stronger than the throne itself: a power, in fact, which, for some time, at least, not only inspired the throne, but elevated and depressed its occupants with all the skill of a master workman. A new system was gradually introduced into the Society; and, after the fashion of the Puritan fathers of the Bay Colony, those who assumed the government, in these new days of the Corporation, quietly obeyed the law, where it suited their purposes, and as quietly disregarded it, where it interposed a bar to their schemes. What was a law of New York to those who were of purer blood? Why should those who were following the star of empire, westward, as the shepherds of Judea followed the star of Bethlehem, trouble themselves or allow others to trouble them, concerning the heathen whose cabbage-gardens they might invade, while pushing forward toward the Great South Sea? Why should not a “higher law” than that of the Commonwealth—the law of expediency, as defined by the party in interest—be that which should occupy the first place in their respect? A FREE LUNCH, therefore, was established in the institution—the prototype, we believe, of those other “free lunches” of which the flaring show-cards tell the passers-by of many a gin-mill, in New York, and, undoubtedly, for the self-same purpose of drawing custom—and “their funds,” to that extent, at least, have been “appropriated” and expended, from that day to this, in all the necessary arrangements and provisions which such an entertainment demands. Indeed, for the “purpose of discovering, procuring and preserving whatever may “relate to the natural, civil, literary, and ecclesiastical history of the United States in general “and of this State in particular,” more than one-half of one of the floors of the Library-building, now occupied by the Society, has been “appropriated” to a reception-room for guests, *while luncheon*, to a restaurant, in which *several hundreds take their monthly “historical choce-“date,”* and for a kitchen, in which *the viands are prepared* for the hundreds, members of the Society and strangers, who resort there, on the occasion of the regular monthly meetings. Next, it was evidently thought that AFRICAN ART should be included in its attractions—just

as Tom Riley used to think that relics of Washington would increase the attractions offered in his Fifth Ward bar-room—and nearly the whole of another floor of the Library-building was “appropriated” to the “purpose” of exhibiting various mummies—men, bulls, and cats—and various other monstrosities, more or less *Egyptian*, and more or less relating to “the national, civil, literary, and ecclesiastical history” of the *United States* in general, and of *this State*, in particular.” Next, a PICTURE-GALLERY, it was evidently thought, would “popularize” American history; and so another floor of the Library-building was “appropriated” to a display of ancient and modern *European* pictures, more or less, genuine; and crowds of noisy visitors, *some to look at the pictures and some FOR PURPOSES LESS CREDITABLE IN CHARACTER*, have been permitted to “appropriate” that portion of the Society’s property to everything else than *historical scholarship*.

With one floor mostly occupied for *gastro-nomic* purposes, with another floor mostly occupied with specimens of more or less *African* art, and with a third floor occupied wholly with pictures mostly of *European* origin and nearly all of *European* subjects, the real “purposes” for which the Society was constituted are crowded into a Lecture-room—which is shared, for a consideration, with a respectable church—two small store-rooms, a small Committee-room, and one floor, occupied by the Library. Its collections of books, thus displaced from the space, within the Society’s building, which the law of the State has wisely appropriated to them, are in heaps, in store-rooms and elsewhere, very many of them uncatalogued, and not often accessible to those who ask for them; its collections of coins and *American* curiosities are absolutely inaccessible even to students of American numismatics and ethnology; its splendid collection of manuscripts, without having been catalogued, *except for private use*, are absolutely inaccessible to the great body of historical students, unless they shall happen to know of the existence of a particular paper and ask for it, specifically; its income is “appropriated,” largely, for gas-bills and attendants made especially necessary by the injection into its “purposes” of *African* and *European* art and for equipments, and attendants, and groceries, for the conduct of its system of free-lunches; and three full-grown men, with little time for their more legitimate duties, are required to police the establishment and keep it running—all for “the purpose,” it is gravely pretended, “of discovering, procuring, and preserving whatever may relate to the natural, civil, literary, and ecclesiastical history of the

“*United States*, in general, and of *this State*, in particular!!”

No one has ever heard of the New York Historical Society encouraging a student of American history, by subscribing for his proposed publication. No one has ever seen the New York Historical Society among those, rich and poor, whose subscriptions were found necessary, and given, to secure the publication of choice historical monographs. No one can go to its desk and ask for a dozen ordinary American historical publications and find one half of them—not even a manuscript catalogue of the additions to its Library, during the last dozen years, is to be found on its desk, or elsewhere, unless it has been very recently put there, Article XX. of the By-Laws to the contrary notwithstanding.

Will any one pretend to assert that free lunches, and African art, and pictures of other than American subjects can possibly be construed, honestly, as more connected with the history of the United States, in general, and that of this State, in particular, than the matters above referred to, or better entitled to enjoy the Society’s patronage? Will some one, in authority, be so kind as to tell the world why, if they are not so, the matters last referred to, above, have been thus criminally neglected, while other matters, neither American nor historical in their character, have been allowed to absorb the “funds” of the Society, in open violation of law?

The By-Laws of the Society (*xxiii.*, page 21) declare that the Treasurer of the Society shall deposit “the FUNDS” of the Society, “in “some Bank,” in New York; and that those “funds,” thus deposited, “shall be drawn “thence on the check of the Treasurer, for THE “PURPOSES of the Society ONLY.” We have seen what those “purposes” are specifically defined to be by the Statute; and we have seen, also, that the Society is specifically forbidden, by law, to expend those “FUNDS” for any other than the “PURPOSES” thus specifically designated in the Statute. There is a remarkable coincidence, too, in the technical terms employed, respectively, in the Statute and the By-Laws of the Society—“PURPOSES” and “FUNDS”—and there is, also, a scrupulous similarity in the spirit of the Charter and the By-Laws of the Society. But there the similarity ends. *The Treasurer of the Society, evidently, either by checks or in some other manner, HAS NOT CONFINED HIS PAYMENTS, as required by the Charter and the By-Laws of the Society, alike, TO “THE PURPOSES “OF THE SOCIETY, ONLY,” as those “PURPOSES “ARE” are specifically defined in the Statute; and it will be a question, some day or other, whether or not, to the amount of those illegal expenditures, at least, the Treasurer is not indebted to the Society more than, by his books and*

accounts, he now appears to be; and whenever that question shall arise, with a resolute man behind it, it will have to be met and answered agreeably to the Statute incorporating the Society and the By-Laws of the Corporation, whether it shall please or displease the eminently respectable gentleman who, more than the excellent Treasurer himself, runs the finances, as he runs other portions of the corporate machinery, agreeably to the promptings of that higher law of which he is, himself, the author.

There are some persons whose New York education and New York associations have led them to suppose that, in New York, an Act of the Legislature of "this State," on such a subject as that under consideration, is the supreme law; and they have been so little enlightened by the Puritanic sunshine with which they have been favored that, in their ignorance, they regard an offender against the provisions of that law as a fit subject for judicial notice and executive punishment. They know no difference, in such a matter, between the most insignificant and the most eminently respectable of their neighbors; and they insist that a law-breaker is an offender against the peace of the Commonwealth and entitled to be chastised by her authority, therefor, quite as much, if he is an LL. D., as he would have been had he been only a fiddle de-de. The attention of the learned Attorney-general of the State, therefore, has been called to this case of eminently respectable law-breaking, and requested to take measures for an early inquiry, before the Supreme Court, concerning the way in which the property and the franchises of the New York Historical Society have been employed; and we shall probably be enabled, some time, through the official light which that gentleman and the Court shall throw on the subject, to learn exactly what authority, in law, the Treasurer of that Society has had for his expenditure of a very large portion of its funds; whether or not the Society and its controlling power are not, now, and have not been, for several years, open violators of the public laws of the State and subject to their just penalties; and exactly what relation there is between mummied cats, and grotesque altar-pieces, and very poor ham-sandwiches, on the one hand, and the "discovery, procuring, and preserving whatever may relate to the natural, civil, literary, and ecclesiastical history of the United States, in general, and of this State, in particular," on the other.

"Fly swiftly round, ye wheels of time,

"And bring the welcome day."

We propose to notice, in our next, another branch of this eminently respectable mode of running The New York Historical Society.

XIII.—BOOKS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG, & Co., Booksellers, 674 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient to them.]

TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*The Holy Bible according to the authorized version (A. D. 1711), with an explanatory and critical Commentary and a Revision of the Translation, by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church.* Edited by F. C. Cook, M. A., Canon of Exeter. Vol. II. Joshua—Kings. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. title-page and verso, 624. Price \$5.

We have already noticed this excellent work; and we return to the subject with pleasure, on the appearance of the second volume.

There is, in this work, no elaborate display of varied learning, such as we see in Lange; and yet it deals with the translation as well as with the meaning of the text. It is a plain, compact, and yet a comprehensive, exposition of the Scriptures; and, although the comments are such as prominent members of the Established Church of England may be expected to write, they will, nevertheless, be widely welcomed by plain, old fashioned people, of all denominations, and be as widely useful.

The work is printed from English plates and is very handsome.

2.—*Systematic Theology.* By Charles Hodge, D. D. Volume II. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. xi., 752. Price \$4.50.

Systematic Theology. By Charles Hodge, D. D. Vol. III. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. viii., 880. Price \$5.

We noticed the first volume of this elaborate and learned production, some months since; and, now, we have pleasure in noticing the second and third of the series.

In the original prospectus of the work, it was announced that the first of these volumes would be devoted entirely to *Anthropology*; and the cover of the volume seems to indicate a continued intention to have that proposed arrangement carried out. But, on examination, we find that only three hundred and eight of the seven hundred and thirty-two pages in the volume are thus occupied; while four hundred and twenty-four are assigned to *Soteriology*, which, under the programme, belongs to the third instead of the second volume.

We do not know why this change has been made, in the two volumes; but it is very evident that a radical change has been made in the author's system, since his work has been in progress—the Second Part, devoted to "Man; his

"origin, nature, primitive state, probation, and "apostasy," having, meanwhile, in some of its parts, experienced an unexpected collapse. Has it been in his original ideas concerning the *Origin of Man*, or in those which, originally, portrayed his views concerning the *Unity of the Human Race*?

The third Part, which has found a place in the second and third volumes instead of in the third only, embraces the leading subjects of "God's purpose and plan, in relation to the salvation of men; the person and work of the Redeemer; and the application of that work, by the Holy Spirit, to the actual salvation of the people of God"—the whole of which are grouped as "Soteriology."

The fourth Part, which is wholly in the third volume, relates to the state of the soul of man, after death, to the second coming of Christ, to the resurrection of the body, to the general judgment and end of the world, and to the theories concerning heaven and hell.

The plan of the author embraces an examination of the theories of those who are antagonistic to himself—in which, not unfrequently, he is more diligent and profuse than in any other portion of his undertaking—as well as in a definition and establishment of his own particular belief; and, as far as his mere plan goes, these volumes afford to their readers every thing which can be desired in a body of divinity. But, as we have said, the author seems to have been vastly more anxious to tear down the structures of others than to construct his own; he has hunted his opponent, however humble, wherever he could find him, with the zeal and malignity attributed to an Inquisitor; and he seems to have taken for granted, too often, that, having overcome his opponent, in his *ex parte* contest, his work has been accomplished—that it is not necessary to bring his own creed to the test of that standard which is "the only rule of faith and practise." In short, the mode of the author is that of an old hen with a brood of chickens—vastly more ready to fly at a passing stranger, who had no thought of troubling her or her little ones, than to stay near them, for their immediate comfort and protection.

The faulty mode of which we have spoken, has led the author into the error of becoming a mere partisan, rather than such a seeker for the truth, *per se*, which a learned divine, engaged in such a work, should have been. It would become us very poorly were we to start out, in any of our literary undertakings, with pre-conceived theories to which all the testimony we could collect and all our conclusions thereon must, necessarily, be bended; and, what is true in a writer of history is equally true in a writer of theology. An honest man, whether an his-

torian or a parson, will find frequent reason for modifications of his pre-conceived theories, if he discharges his duty with fidelity—new evidence or old evidence, then first seen, will necessarily produce such a result in any one who does not arrogantly conceive that he has learned, already, all that need be learned—and those who refuse to be thus controlled by credible evidence, whether historian or parson, is unworthy of respect, because he is dishonest. Now Doctor Hodge, with all due respect to his cloth, on our part, has recklessly written "at a mark," throughout his entire work; and when the testimony has conflicted with his original notions, the testimony has been made to fit the notions without disturbing the notions, themselves. In brief, it is the work of a partisan, evidently written for partisan purposes, and will produce only the result of partisanship—the confirmation of Princeton theology among Princeton theologians, without either convincing the judgment or commanding the respect of those who are not of Princeton, and who prefer the authoritative "Thus saith the Lord," to anything other evidence.

The three volumes already published, have evidently left the author where he does not desire to be left—without having closed his story, in the form in which he desired to leave it. It is announced, therefore, that a supplemental volume is in press; and we will await the completion of that, before examining and referring to those partisan inconsistencies and partisan misrepresentations which we have noticed in the work.

As specimens of book-making, these volumes are very handsome—they come from the Riverside Press, and are fair specimens of the good work of that noted establishment.

3.—*Zell's Descriptive Hand Atlas of the World.* By J. Bartholomew, Geogr. Philadelphia: T. Ellwood Zell. Sine anno. Quarto. Nos. 11-16.

We have already noticed this work, generally; and, with the concluding numbers before us, we return to the subject, with pleasure.

The maps, as we said before, are very elegant; and the arrangement of marginal letters, by means of which and accompanying tables, any name given on the maps may be found without difficulty, is very convenient. It is proper for us to say, however, that, in the maps of the United States and of the several States, the Publisher has evidently overlooked that excellent promise which he made, at the beginning of the undertaking, that the maps would be constructed on a scale, larger or smaller, "according to their relative importance from an American point of view;" and has given,

instead, maps of the United States and of each of the States, on a much *smaller* scale than those of England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland. The result is that it is made to appear that our own country is less important, "from an *American* point of view," than several others, on another continent; and we have, too, maps of our own country—more important than any others—projected on so small a scale that they are less useful, for every-day reference, than those in some of our better school-geographies, such as Colton's and Guyot's. We are sensible of the cause of this mistake; but the Publisher should either have withheld the promise to which we have referred or, by the expenditure of a little more money, have more carefully fulfilled it and more completely discharged the contract which, at the beginning, he made with his subscribers.

The general introduction is interesting and useful; but the general index of *all the names on all the maps*, with references to the marginal letters on the maps as well as to the maps themselves, is a feature of this work which will command the attention and respect of our busy and not always intelligent countrymen, and ensure for it that hearty and extended support which, after all, is more welcome to the Publisher than any mere excellence, unappreciated by the world and unproductive of its dollars. It is a solid good feature; and the Publisher deserves an ample reward for adapting it to his work with so much good judgment.

4.—*Our Flag. Origin and Progress of the Flag of the United States of America, with an introductory account of Symbols, Standards, Banners, and Flags of ancient and modern nations.* By Geo. Henry Preble, U.S.N. Albany: Joel Munsel. 1872. Octavo, pp. x, 8-355.

This long-looked-for volume has come at last; and, both for its own sake and for that of its excellent author, it is welcome.

It is very much larger than we expected; and, although we had a right to look for more than ordinary beauty of typography, from the Munsel Press, our expectations in that respect—with some exceptions—are also fully realized.

The First Part of the work is devoted to *The Standards, Flags, Banners, etc., of ancient and modern nations*; and in it is discussed and presented nearly every feature of that abstract subject, interspersed with references to American subjects. The Second Part treats of the discovery and exploration of America and the flags which were probably displayed at that time; of the Colonial and Provincial era, and the flags which belong to it; and of the pre-revolutionary and revolutionary periods, until the adoption of the "stars and stripes." The Third Part relates to *The Stars and Stripes*, in all their varied forms, from their origin, in 1777,

until 1818, when their present form was established. The Fourth Part relates to the same *Stars and Stripes*, from 1818 until 1861, when the recent War opened a new era in everything that was American. The Fifth Part embraces the history of the flag during the War and until 1872. The Sixth Part forms an *Appendix*, in which are descriptions of the several naval and military flags and of the Seal and Arms of the United States; as well as of the several Yacht-club flags; closing with "our National Songs," and a good Index.

From this survey of the contents of the volume, it will be seen that the title of the work hardly describes the exact character of the many subjects which the author notices in the course of his narrative. It is, indeed, a history of the origin and progress of the flag of the United States; but it is also very much more than that—very often considerable space is occupied with interludes in which "the flag" was only incidentally presented; and not unfrequently the thread of the author's story is disturbed and weakened by a parenthetical anecdote or narrative which unduly directs the attention of the reader from the subject to which the volume is especially devoted.

We know how faithfully Captain Preble searched for information which illustrated, even remotely, the subject to which he had devoted his attention; and we know, too, how conscientiously he employed that material, in the construction of this volume. But we incline to the belief that two distinct volumes—one devoted to *Flags, their history and uses*, the other to *Our Flag, its history and employment*—would have been better than one. The history of "Our Flag," in that case, would have been made accessible to a greater number of readers—the size of the volume and its cost forming an element in limiting the circulation of such works—while those who desire to know more of the general subject of "Flags, their history, and their uses," would not be deprived of the opportunity afforded by a volume especially devoted to that subject.

The typography of the volume is very handsome and—except where some difference of taste in the use of capitals and italics has marred the narrative—it will meet the reasonable expectations of every reader. The illustrations, both wood cuts and lithographs, are appropriate and very neatly executed.

5.—*History of the Press of Maine*, edited by Joseph Griffin. 1872. Brunswick: From the Press, established A.D. MDCCCXIX. Octavo pp. 284.

"At the close of half a century's labor, in Maine, the writer, under the impression that he

"had been established in business, as a printer, publisher, and bookseller, for a longer period than any other person in the State, thought it might be a pleasure, possibly a duty, to devote himself to the business of gathering up, while they could be gathered, the fragments for a History of the Press in Maine." In that commendable work—certainly an appropriate one for the termination of a life of honorable and honored labor—the author accordingly embarked; and, in the volume before us—from his own pen, generally, but, sometimes, assisted by those of others—we find the result of his well-directed enterprise, in that unusual occupation of old age. We have, indeed, a *History of the Press of Maine*—both the newspaper press and the book-press of that well-to-do offshoot from the old Commonwealth of Massachusetts—and very little, if anything, has now been left, ungarnered, in that hitherto ungleamed harvest-field of Maine's bibliographical history.

The first Press established in Maine was, evidently, that of Benjamin Fitcomb, at Falmouth, now Portland; and the first newspaper published in that State was *The Falmouth Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, established in January, 1785. In 1801, the number of the newspapers published in the District had increased only to five: in November, 1872, there were sixty-eight secular and four religious sheets published in the State. In the volume before us, the history of that press, from 1785 until 1872, is presented, County by County, with remarkable precision, in great detail, and, evidently, with great care and accuracy, interspersed, of course, with much local history, many biographical sketches, and not a little well-directed criticism of men and matters—the newspaper press, of course, occupying the greater proportion of the space. This series of local histories, is followed by a very extended *Bibliography of Maine*, arranged under the heads of the several publishers—not often giving the dates, but generally the sizes of the volumes, and sometimes illustrated with biographical and other notes—and a brief *Appendix* completes the work.

As we said, some portions of the work are from other pens than Mr. Griffin's; but there is, in all of them, the same sharp precision of statement, the same absence of waste words and merely "ornamental" accompaniments, the same abundant intelligence, directness of style, and earnestness of manner. Every part of it is evidently the work of business men, "meaning business," and doing it; and, when contrasted with some volumes of vastly more pretensions, it commends itself, without a word of praise from anybody.

There is a feature of this work, besides its literary peculiarities, however, which entitles it to especial notice. It seems to have been "set up" at the same "cases," if not "worked off" on the same press, which were presented to the venerable author, *forty-five years before* (after the Philistines of the law had spoiled his original office and closed it)—from which, also, "all his books" have been printed—and we incline to the belief that the greater part of the work has been done, also, by his own hands. The venerable workman certainly headed the workmen, and we suspect his own hands did the greater proportion of the work. Long may he live to enjoy the fruits of his long-continued and earnest toil; and may the *Supplements* which he has more than half promised become the welcome messengers, conveying to his many friends the tidings of his continued health, good-spirits, and prosperity.

As a specimen of book-making, the volume is a pattern of neatness: as a specimen of accurate proof-reading, we wish some others could equal it.

6.—*The Corwin Genealogy (Curwin, Curwen, Corwine) in the United States.* By Edward Tanjore Corwin. New York: S. W. Green, Printer. 1872. Octavo, pp. xxiv., 284. Price \$3.

In the preparation of this volume, its author has not followed the ordinary system of management, and, probably, will not satisfy the demands of those who are adepts in that branch of knowledge; but we find his system as convenient for reference as any other, and not more unintelligible to those who are not accustomed to this class of literature.

The volume opens with an *Introduction* devoted to the name, "Corwin;" the origin of the family of Matthias Corwin, who, about 1630, emigrated to America, and founded the family, here; a sketch of Matthias, the great original; the origin of the family of George Curwen, who founded the Curwens, of Salem, Mass., with a sketch of George's life; and notices of Samuel Corwine, Thomas Curwin, John Curwen, Malcolm Corwin, and Charles H. Curwen, respectively heads of other families, bearing those names, in America. The *Genealogy* follows, filling two hundred and thirty-two pages, and an *Appendix*—devoted to various papers illustrative of the subject—and elaborate Indices complete the work.

As this family, in its various branches and off-shoots, is widely scattered and, very often, prominent in society, this carefully-prepared record of its members will be widely read; and those who collect this class of works, as well as those whose lineage makes it interesting to them,

will be interested in the knowledge of its publication.

It is very neatly printed, and is sold by its author, at Millstone, New Jersey.

7.—*Americanisms; the English of the New World.* By M. Schele de Vere, LL.D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. 635.

In our number for February, 1872, we noticed this interesting volume, as it originally appeared; and we have greater pleasure, now, in calling the attention of our readers to a revised edition, in which the author has profited by criticisms from friend and foe, and corrected all the errors that have come to his knowledge, in the hope that the work will thereby be improved in its character.

It should find a place on the work-table of every one who pretends to authorship and of every one who pays any attention to the peculiar features of American conversation and of social life in America.

It is very neatly printed, on very thin paper.

8.—*Princeton College during the Eighteenth Century.* By Samuel Davies Alexander, an Alumnus. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. Sine anno. [1872?] Octavo, pp. xv., 2 unpagcd, 326.

This beautiful volume is composed of short biographical sketches of six hundred and forty-six out of eight hundred and ninety-four gentlemen who graduated at Princeton, during the eighteenth century; and, while it records the early history of the College, as that history is read in the lives and services of her sons, it also presents to the working student of American history and biography, one of the most useful of the books for reference with which he has been favored.

Princeton is more generally known as a Presbyterian institution; but such sturdy Baptists as President Manning, Joseph Clay, and Hezekiah Smith; such Reformed Dutch as Theodore D. Romeyn, William Linn, and John N. Abeel; such Congregationalists as John Luthrop, Samuel Spring, and Joseph Eckley; and such Episcopalians as Robert Blackwell and Bishops Clagget and Hobart, were educated there; and, whether Presbyterians or not, the institution which, in fifty-two years, could turn out such men as President Joseph Reed, Richard Stockton, David Matthews, Jonathan Odell, Domine Lydecker, James Jauncey, Doctor Benjamin Rush, Ebenezer Hazard, Tapping Reeve, President Jonathan Edwards, Samuel Kirkland, David Ramsey, Chief-justice Oliver Ellsworth, David Howell, Luther Martin, John Sergeant, Colonel Francis Barber, Hugh N. Breckenridge, Philip Freneau, Presi-

dent James Madison, Aaron Burr, "Light-horse Harry" Lee, Governors Mogan Lewis of New York, Tichenor of Vermont, Giles of Virginia, and Davie of North Carolina, Aaron Ogden, Chancellor George M. Bibb, John Pintard, James A. Bivard, Edward Livingston, Robert Goodloe Harper, Judge Smith Thompson, John Wells, John Forsyth, John McPherson Berrian, Silas Wood, Jacob Barnett, Mahlon Dickerson, Richard Rush, and Doctor David Hosack—men who were not born to die and be forgotten—needs no other monument than an honest record of its scholars.

These sketches are necessarily very brief; but, if they are reliable, this collection of them will be at once acceptable and useful.

As a specimen of book-making, this is a very handsome one.

9.—*The English in Ireland, in the Eighteenth Century.* By James Anthony Froude, M.A. In two volumes. Volume I. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. xiv., 638. Price \$2.50.

Whatever may be the animus of Mr. Froude, in writing history, no one can honestly say that he writes it carelessly, without reference to unquestionable authorities, or, at least, the appearance of a desire to ascertain the truth and to tell it; and we confess that, with care, in the use of words, due diligence in the examination of evidence, a disposition to ascertain just what the truth is, and a fearlessness in enunciating it, on his side, we care nothing for the motive which prompted him, nor in whose employ he may have been, while he wrote. A fact is not changed in its character simply because it was published for questionable purposes; nor is it necessary that an employee shall, in all his relations of life, be subject to his employer. It will require other evidence, therefore, than any which we have seen to sustain a charge against Mr. Froude's writings of infidelity to the truth, simply because he *may have been* actuated, in writing, by malice or avarice, of which motive, by the way, we have not yet seen an atom of evidence.

In the volume before us, after briefly surveying the relations of England with her sister kingdoms and Wales, Mr. Froude glances at the Norman Conquest of Ireland and its consequences, the Civil Wars in England and their consequences, and the condition of Ireland under the Tudors, the Stuarts, and the Commonwealth of England; and, in the "Second Book," he opens the record of "the penal era" of Ireland, of Protestant administration of Irish affairs, of the progress of centralization and union with Great Britain, of Irish internal dissensions, of Irish reckless defiance of the law

of the land, and of Irish anarchy, until 1760. It is a sad record—a record of the working of that “higher law” which recognizes, on the one hand, the sovereignty of man, and, on the other, the sovereignty of “the Government,” both, alike, disregarding the sovereignty of “the State,” which is another term for the sovereignty of “the People;” a record of the practical operation of forcing on an unwilling community a form of government which is distasteful to it and to which it will not give its “consent;” a record of the mischievous effects of centralization, contrasted with the more wholesome effects which a local self-government might have produced. It is a record, too, which appeals, very forcibly, to those who are “governing” the Southern States of the Union, to-day; and it is a record from which every thinking man who respects the old law of “like produces like” may gather wisdom, very usefully. The record of Irish lawlessness, in their dealings with their neighbors, and that of Irish infidelity to Ireland, when individual interests have stood in the way of Irish interests, as we have said, is a sad one; and it is one which may be studied, usefully, by all, of every nationality, who have Irish fellow-citizens and Irish neighbors.

The volume is a very handsome one, the work of the Riverside Press.

10.—*Columbus, Ohio: its History, Resources, and Progress.* With numerous illustrations. Jacob H. Studer. Octavo, pp. 586.

We have received from Messrs. Robert Clarke & Co., of Cincinnati, a copy of the volume which, under this queerly-arranged title page, tells of the capital of Ohio, “its history, resources, and progress.”

We suppose it is by Mr. Studer; but the title-page does not say so; and, although the title-page is studiously silent on the subject, we suspect that Mr. Studer is, also, the publisher of the work. At any rate, Messrs. Clarke & Co. sell it—a matter of some interest to some of our readers.

As a record of the history and resources of Columbus, the work seems to have been prepared with commendable care. It embraces all branches of the subject; notices all the minutiae; and really seems to have left little to be desired which has not been done. But, with the peculiar ill taste which he has displayed on the title-page of the work, the publisher has not contented himself with forming a supplement of advertisements, following the text of his history and statistics, but has thrust more than a hundred pages of those advertisements into that text and even covered three out of four

of the margins of his map of the city with the same unusual additions. A really useful local history and a very neatly printed volume, therefore, has been mutilated by what might, just as usefully, have been collected at the end of the text; and flaring advertisements of quack-medicines and Lager beer, corpse preservers and gin-mills, lawyers and grocers, burst upon the eye of the reader, uninvited, on the turning of a leaf, breaking the connection of the narrative, and compelling those who resort to it, for either amusement or information, to “skip a page,” every minute or two, in order to keep the run of his story.

The publisher who respects the good taste of his readers as little as the publisher of this volume, has not yet learned all that can be learned of his business, as his correspondents in Cincinnati can surely tell him.

As we have said, apart from this serious blemish, the volume is a very neat one and worthy of a wide circulation.

11.—*The Reformation.* By George P. Fisher, D. D. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. xxxiv., 620.

Opening with an inquiry concerning the origin and significance of the Reformation, the author of this volume next traces the rise of the Papal hierarchy and its subsequent decline, to the establishment of William and Mary, on the throne of England. Of course, in the latter portion of his subject, the Reformation is especially presented, in its character, origin, instrumentalities, events, and consequences—in Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Scandinavia, Great Britain, France, Italy, Spain, and America—and in the discharge of that important duty, the author has displayed excellent judgment, unusual impartiality, and an independence of thought and expression which is truly refreshing. Temperate in his judgment of those who differed from himself, in religious faith—Roman Catholics, Baptists, Unitarians, Separatists, etc.—and evidently cautious in his dependence on the writings of those who preceded him, in this field of historical labor, he nevertheless grapples with all the great questions involved in his subject, manfully disregarding what, in the conclusions of his predecessors, he considers to be erroneous, and bravely insisting, very often, that those who have been, hitherto, condemned without a saving clause, have been dealt with too harshly and were not nearly as bad as they may seem to have been. The spirit in which the work is written is admirable; the care with which it is written is evident, even in its less-important parts; and the rigid impartiality of its author is no where more dis-

tinely displayed, than in his unselfish description of the character and conduct of the fathers of the American Colonies—the Pilgrim Separatists, the Puritan churchmen, the Baptists of Rhode Island, and the Roman Catholics in Maryland.

We heartily commend this work to our readers, and, especially, do we congratulate those who shall resort to it on the admirable index with which the volume is furnished.

12.—*Anti-Slavery Opinions before the year 1800.* Read before The Cincinnati Literary Club, November 16, 1872. By William Frederick Poole. To which is appended a facsimile Reprint of Dr. George Buchanan's Oration on the Moral and Political Evil of Slavery, delivered at a public meeting of the Maryland Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, Baltimore, July 4, 1791. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. 84, 20.

The readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, during the year 1877, will not fail to remember the aspirant for authorial honors, at Boston, who, over the signature of "P," boldly and publicly accused Mr. Brodhead of "deliberate and malicious falsehood," when that distinguished scholar stated, before the New York Historical Society and in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, that, in the days of the Puritan fathers of Massachusetts, only members of the established Church of the Colony were allowed to vote for public officers and on the public business; and they will not forget, too, the response which was made to that impudent allegation, by THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, in its widely read exposition—II., i., 176-178—of *How they put things in Boston*.

Others of our readers will remember, also, the unprincipled misrepresentation of the Colony which, in 1607, under Chief Justice Popham, was planted at Sagadahoc, in Maine, which, soon after the assault on Mr. Brodhead, proceeded from the latitude of the Athenæum in Boston—HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, II., i., 184-187—and all will remember the half-faced attempt which was made, in the same vicinity, at a still later day, to fasten on the uncertain pen of an ILLITERATE carpenter, in Woburn, the authorship of *The Wonder working Providence*, with a hope, thereby, to detract from the merit of Gorges and to inflict a blow on the supporters of Maine's claims to priority of settlement, which only a willing bearer of false testimony would have attempted to inflict on any one.

The aspirations of "P" to become famous, where so many were famous before him, found little favor, however, in Beacon street, Boston; and "P" subsided and, soon after, was seen in Boston no longer—Boston has, since, recovered her breath, notwithstanding he has left her, and

Maine still lives; while only "P" has yet discovered—if, indeed, he has—that J. Romeyn Brodhead was a falsifier of the records of any Colony and unworthy of credit, and that THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE was only an organ of rebels.

We say "P" subsided, soon after his assault on Mr. Brodhead and THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, and disappeared. He probably went out to grass, with his shoes off, like other distanced and broken-down hacks of which we have heard; or, like a mammal of another species, he may have dropped below the surface, in order to escape from those who pursued him, and, "down below," awaited a fair opportunity to return, unobserved, and safely *blow* again. Whatever was the cause of his long silence, "P" has been silent, we believe, since 1867, until, last November, he thrust his head above water again, in Cincinnati.

In the beautiful volume before us, the discomfited traducer of better men and the manufacturer of bogus historians—"good enough Morgans until after the election"—to whom we have referred, has again emerged from his authorial obscurity, in order to tell the world what he had told the Literary Club, concerning *Anti-Slavery Opinions before the Year 1800*. He had discovered an old tract, in which, under the date of 1793, some anti-slavery opinions were declared; and he must needs make a noise about it, as if it were something wonderful. He had learned, also, that a Convention of Abolition Societies was held, at Philadelphia, on the following New Year's day—news that are too stale to be regarded as noteworthy, by any one who pretends to any knowledge whatever of the anti-slavery movement—and he must needs fly into print, as if he had discovered another Continent. He had read Mr. Moore's *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts* and talked with its author—which was no great feat, since both are perfectly accessible to every body—and he had learned, from *those sources*, that there were "anti-slavery opinions," before 1800, in various quarters; and he must needs repeat the oft-told and better-told story. In short, he evidently supposed that Western men and Western women needed light on the anti-slavery movement, prior to 1800—which is not impossible—and he impudently thrust before them, instead, a trashy re-hash of what Mr. Moore had already published, *in extenso*, with a flourish of trumpets about an old pamphlet of 1793, which all the anti-slavery men in Boston had seen and, very sensibly, considered unworthy of special notice. If the West asked bread, Mr. Poole has given them a stone; and nothing but an undue thirst for notoriety, at any cost, could have called forth so bald an imposition.

But there is yet another feature of the subject which deserves attention. This Oration of which Mr. Poole says so much, was delivered on the fourth of July, 1791; was very coldly received by the Society before whom it was delivered, as the Resolutions of the Society on the subject clearly indicate; and was not printed until 1793—two years afterwards—nor then by the Society nor in Maryland, but by somebody else—probably by the author of it, himself—and in a distant State.

If the Oration possessed as much novelty as Mr. Poole is inclined to assume for it, will he oblige the world by just finding the evidence of it, either in the Resolutions of the Society, concerning it, or anywhere else? Will he just show that anybody besides himself has ever discovered anything, either in the Oration or the delivery of it, which was very startling or productive of even a ripple in the current of events in Maryland? Let him try his hand at the job; and then we shall see how much or how little credit he is entitled to, and how much of the elegant typography which his publishers have so generously lavished on his bantling, that bantling really merits.

The truth is, Mr. Poole has found a community, in the great West, where, he supposes, he can spread himself and his shallowness, with a better prospect of success, than he can in Boston or New York; and he has made the impudent attempt. The superlative littleness of the poor fellow's supply of historical knowledge and capacity to acquire it is seen, however, on every page of his volume; and if, with this evidence before it, Cincinnati does not very soon take the full measure of the man, as Boston did, and put the proper estimate on both him and his capabilities, also as Boston did, that intelligent community has been very much over-estimated for shrewdness and is a fit subject for imposition.

With "the Ohio Valley Press" to help him, Mr. Poole has certainly turned out a handsome volume; and there the merit of the thing begins and ends.

13.—*Boston Illustrated*. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. Square octavo, pp. 24. 44.

Strangers' New Guide through Boston and its vicinity. A Supplement given away with *Boston Illustrated*. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1872. Square octavo, pp. 32.

This, we believe, is the last-published handbook of the city of Boston and its vicinity; and, unquestionably, it is one of the handsomest—indeed, we do not think that, as a specimen of handsome book-making, for general use, it can be excelled.

As a very important Boston "local," the attention of our readers who collect such works, is called to it.

14.—*The Foreigner in Far Cathay*. By W. H. Medhurst, H. B. M. Consul, Shanghai. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. vi., 204.

This is, certainly, a very out-spoken work on the real character of the Chinese, in China; and it, certainly, grapples with the story-tellers, concerning that remarkable people, with a boldness which is really interesting, because it carries with it an air of candor and fidelity to the truth, which is as unusual as it is useful. Such works will do good service in leading to a better understanding of our "coming man;" and prepare us to receive him and his political power with becoming humility, whenever he shall assert his "equality before the law," in the imperial We-t.

The volume is a very neat one.

15.—*Memoir of Ulric Dahlgren*. By his father, Rear-admiral Dahlgren. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. 308.

A memoir of Colonel Dahlgren by his father may be very accurate, as far as dates go; but it cannot be supposed to be very impartial. The volume before us, therefore, is little better than an eulogy; and, as far as our judgment is concerned, it possesses little value, either as a faithful biography or as material for history.

There is no doubt that Ulric Dahlgren was a very dutiful son, a very gallant soldier, and a very estimable young man; but it is quite as true, notwithstanding Admiral Dahlgren has not told it, that he was visionary, rash, and indiscreet. As we happen to know from one of the most distinguished of them—who is, also, a valued friend of our own—he was urged, by his best friends, to remain in camp, not only because of the utopian character of the proposed enterprise, but because of his own physical disability to withstand the fatigue which it would necessarily impose upon him. But, with the rashness—the recklessness we might say—of unbridled youth, he preferred to seek death in that way; and he found it. He drew the sword, and he died by the sword; and all that the Admiral has said of *assassination*, in his death, is mere clap-trap, unworthy of the pen of one who was, himself, of the profession of arms. Of the robbery of his ring, no honorable man, anywhere, will say a word of apology or withhold a word of unalloyed censure; but War is barbarism, at best, and barbarians are not to be counted as Christians, in such cases.

The Admiral affects, too, to despise the papers which were taken from Colonel Dahlgren's body—those which indicated what were those "certain purposes" (carefully concealed on page 210) for which his command of picked men was detached from the main body engaged in

the raid. But the story of those papers is too plainly told by the papers themselves, as they have been carefully presented to the world, in *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* for December, 1869, and April, 1870, by General Fitzhugh Lee, to be thus waived out of sight by a motion of the Admiral's pen; and if he were only aware of the fact that his own words, in this volume, serve only to strengthen the condemnation of his son which those papers indicated, he would have said less on that subject and more on some others.

There is little doubt that Colonel Dahlgren was wronged, while he was engaged in that rash adventure, where Death overtook him; but the wrong doer who most deserved the name, was he who led him into danger and then abandoned him. If his own countrymen and associates in arms thus maltreated him, what might an armed enemy, in time of war, in the enemy's own country, be expected to do for him, but to cut him down? And if that enemy—whom he would himself have cut down had he enjoyed an opportunity to do so—is to be charged with "assassination" because of his employment of the better opportunity which he enjoyed, what is to be the measure of condemnation, in the minds of honest men, every where—none the less, too, because the Admiral is silent on that subject—of him whose duty it was to cover the retreat of Colonel Dahlgren from the danger into which he had rashly thrust himself, but who ran away without doing so, and left the stripling and his command to be destroyed?

But we have said enough. As an eulogy, we have no objection to this volume: as either biography or history, it is simply unworthy of the dignity which attaches to those subjects.

The typography of the volume is excellent, as are all the works bearing the imprint of this well-known house.

16.—*Oriental and Linguistic Studies. The Veda; the Avesta; the Science of Language.* By William Dwight Whitney. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. vii., 417.

During several years past, Professor Whitney has contributed various papers, on Oriental Literature and the Structure of Language, to the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, the *North American Review*, and other periodicals; and it has been considered proper to collect those papers and re-produce them in a volume, for the use of those who are interested in those studies.

The volume is a very handsome one; in the well-known brown binding which this house has made peculiarly its own; and, to a limited number of scholars, it will be very acceptable.

XIV.—CURRENT EVENTS.

DELAWARE BATTLE-FLAGS: THEIR PRESENTATION TO THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

WILMINGTON, DEL., April 22. [*Special Despatch to The Inquirer.*] This evening, the battle-flags of the Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Regiments of Delaware Volunteers were presented to the State Historical Society, at the Grand Opera House, in the presence of the Wilmington Post, Grand Army of the Republic, the Historical Society, and a large audience.

A number of prominent strangers, civil and military, were present, including Major-general W. S. Hancock; General Adam King, Naval Officer at Baltimore; General Harry Bingham, ex Postmaster of Philadelphia; Doctor S. Emmerson, of Philadelphia; Doctor William Cummings, of Smyrna, Delaware; Alexander Fulton, Esq., of Dover; Colonel J. Hoffman; and others.

The building was well filled, in every part, with the fashionable people of the city, as well as residents from other parts of the State. The stage was beautifully and artistically set with a fine camp view. At eight o'clock, the officers and invited guests filed in upon the stage, while the City Cornet Band played a lively march.

Hon. Willard Hall, ex-Judge of the District Court, and ninety-eight years of age, the President, then assumed his position, in company with Doctor H. F. Asken, Doctor L. P. Bush, and Doctor R. C. Porter, who acted as Vice-presidents. Major-general Hancock, who had been selected to deliver the presentation speech, at this point, appeared upon the stage, accompanied by General Adam E. King, and was received with an outburst of applause.

Immediately following, came the bearers of the bullet-riddled flags; and, taking up a position in the rear of the stage, another round of applause was given by the audience.

The exercises of the evening were opened with an eloquent prayer by Rt. Rev. Bishop Lee, after which letters of regret were read from Governor Dix, Admiral David Porter, Governor Hartranft, Governor Ponder, General O. E. Babcock, Colonel John W. Forney, John H. B. Latrobe, President Maryland Historical Society, John W. Wallace, President Pennsylvania Historical Society, and others.

General Hancock was then introduced, and presented the colors to the Historical Society, in the following speech, during the delivery of which, he was frequently interrupted by applause:

"MR. PRESIDENT: When I look upon these "tattered banners, so gallantly borne by the "Regiments of this State, through the bloodi-

"est battles of our great War, I feel, very keenly, that lack of eloquence which would enable me, fitly, to express my own emotions, or to portray to this audience the host of glorious memories which they call forth, and which shall cling to them so long as the story of chivalrous courage and duty, nobly done, shall find a place in the records of our nation.

"These flags were borne to the battle-field by men moved by the highest motives of patriotism, by the truest love of country. They fought not for gain, not for conquest, not for military renown, but for the integrity of the Union of these United States, the maintenance and supremacy of the laws and the Constitution, and the existence of the Republic, as a great and honored power among the nations of the earth.

"Animated by these high purposes, they abandoned their peaceful pursuits, and, leaving all that was most dear in life, cheerfully encountered the toil, privations, and dangers of War.

"A vast number did not live to see the end of the prolonged strife; but the honored graves of these attest their fidelity to their country, in her time of need.

"Many others, some of whom are now before me, returned from the field, stricken and maimed by wounds, which tell more forcibly than words, of the manner in which they performed their parts in battle; and here I may state that, during the War, it was my fortune to command a portion of the Delaware troops, and I therefore speak from personal knowledge, when I say that their soldierly conduct and intrepid bearing reflect the highest honor upon their State as well as upon our whole country.

"Many distinguished soldiers of Delaware fell during the War, and the heroic deeds of some of them, are well known to me, from personal observation, as they served in my command. I should like to record, here, the names of those gallant dead; but as I cannot, from lack of accurate data, do this in reference to Regiments not commanded by me, I prefer to specify none, by name, lest I should omit some who could not justly be omitted from such a list.

"These, and many others like them, living and dead, were soldiers of the sternest valor, patriots of the highest type, whose names and fame remain, legacies of glory and honor to the gallant State which sent them forth, to represent her, when her best and bravest were called to the front.

"It is understood that, in some instances, these flags were received by the Delaware troops, from the hands of the fair ladies of the

State, which fact alone would be a powerful incentive to those chivalrous men, to bear them defiantly where fire was hottest, the contest most deadly; to protect them with their lives; and to return them proudly to their State, with the consciousness that, war-stained, faded, and torn, as they are, they would be treasured among her most precious possessions.

"To the keeping of the Historical Society of the State of Delaware, I am now instructed to confide them, as a proper custodian, feeling well assured that they will be preserved with jealous care; and that, in long years hence, when all now present may have passed away, these honored banners will, by the glorious memories and deeds they symbolize, incite coming generations—should our country again be imperiled by War—to emulate the actions of the men who bore them through the great struggle which called them forth."

William C. Spruance, Esq., then responded, on behalf of the Historical Society.

He reviewed, to some extent, the opening of the War for the Union and the prompt and hearty response that came from Delaware, to the call for men. When the conflict had continued for three years, this little State had eighteen thousand men in the field; during which time, the Legislature of the State was hostile, and never appropriated a dollar towards the common cause, while the Executive manifested the same spirit, except when Governor Connor was in the chair. Those flags have been rent by the bullets on many a fiercely contested field; and, at Spottsylvania, the colors of the Second Regiment were taken by the enemy, but recaptured.

The speaker called to mind several other instances of the bravery of the Delaware troops, and concluded as follows:

"We will keep these banners with tender care; and, when time shall have destroyed all that the storms of battle have left, the story of the dead and their achievements will be read by generations yet unborn."

General Adam E. King was then introduced, and delivered a stirring and patriotic speech, which provoked several hearty rounds of applause.

General Hofmann, of Maryland, followed, with an address; and General Henry H. Bingham, of Philadelphia, concluded the exercises, with a brief speech.

The guests then marched to the Clayton House, where they were entertained by a grand banquet, tendered by the Historical Society of Delaware.—*Philadelphia Inquirer*.

THE

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JANUARY, 1872.

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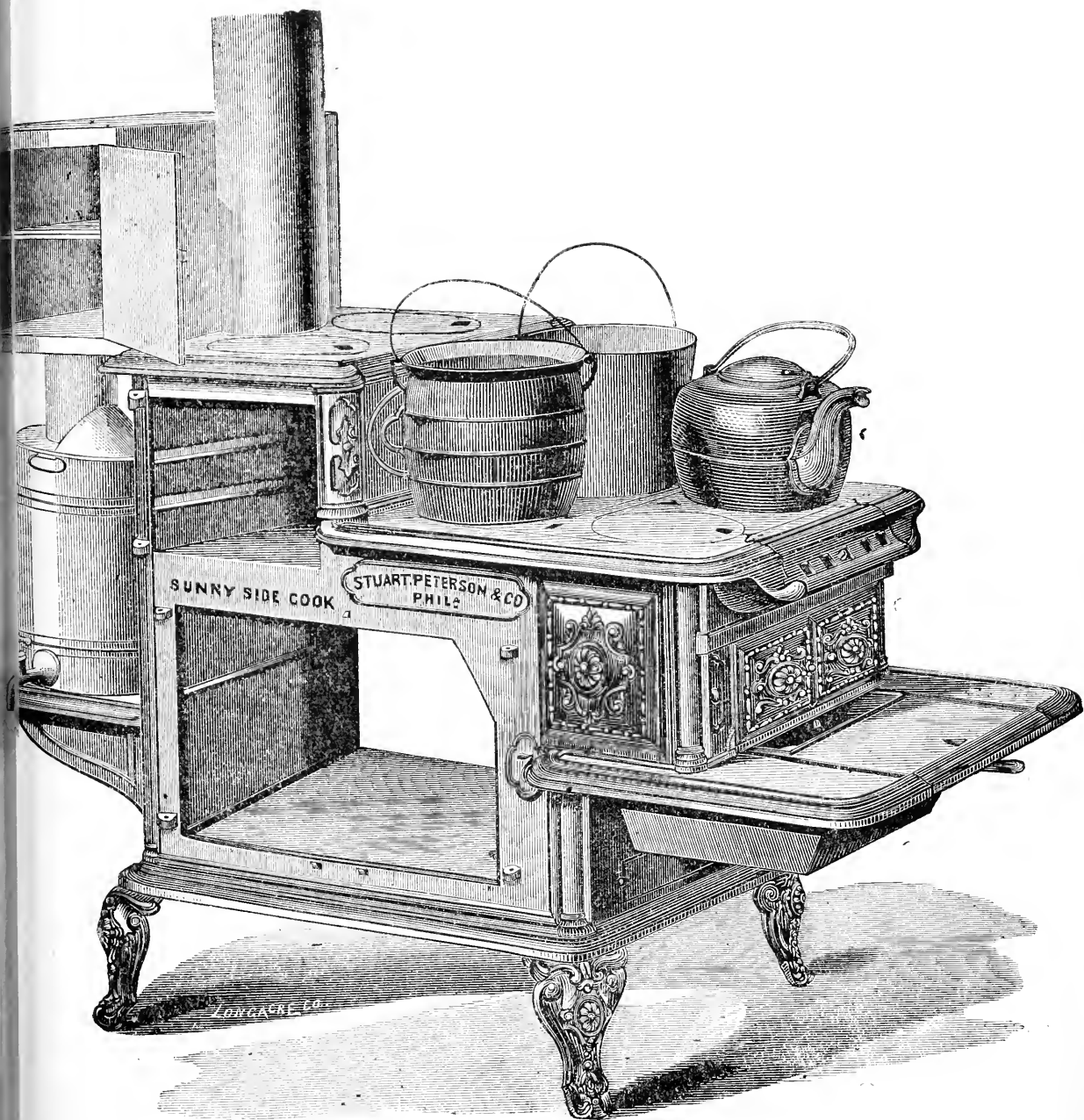
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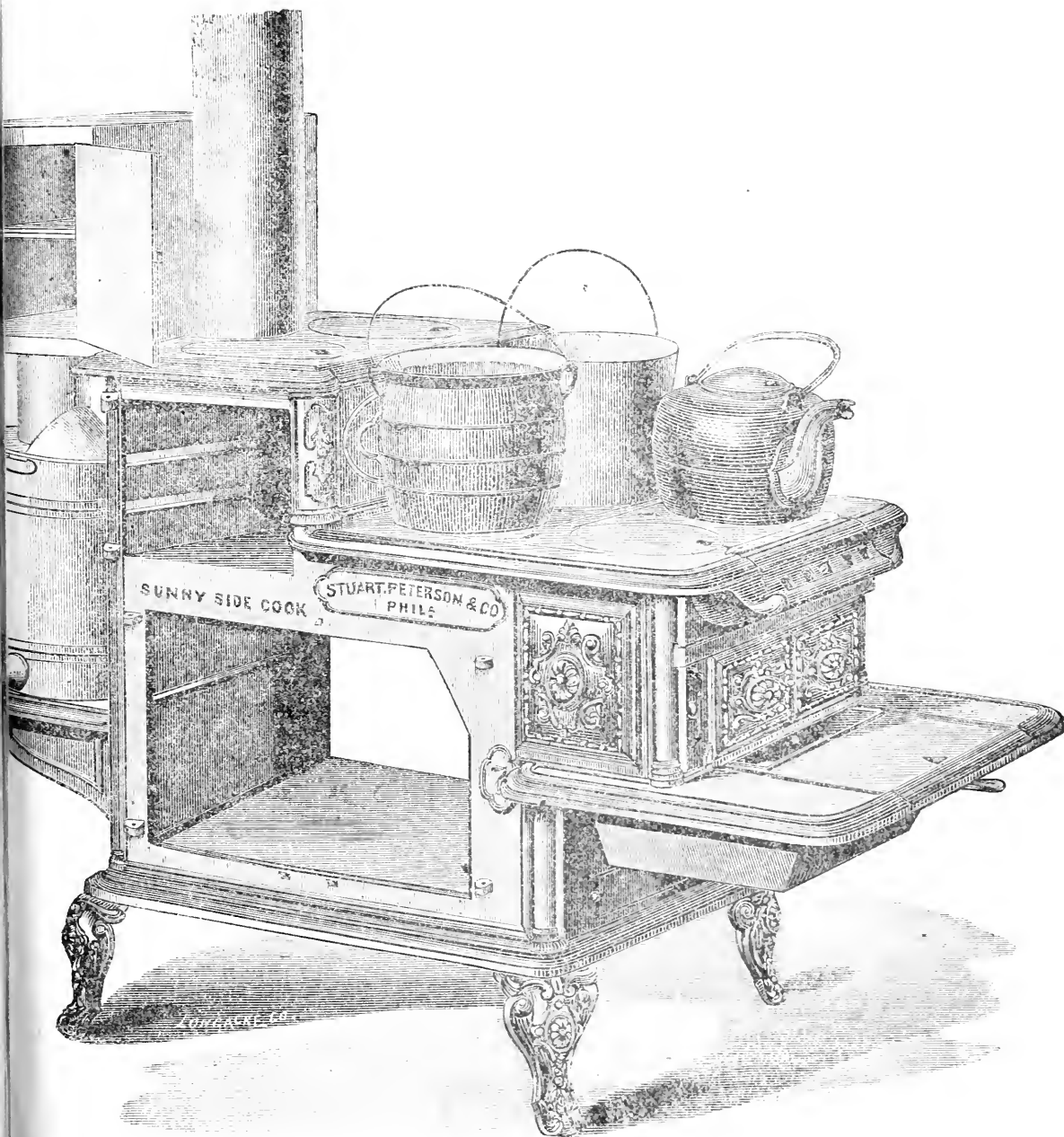
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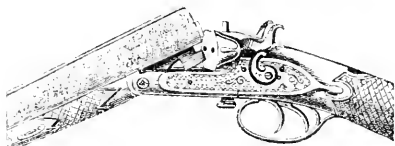
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CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER.

	Page.		Page.
I.—To our Readers, on the commencement of the Third Series of the Magazine, <i>By the Editor</i>	1	Archives of New Hampshire. <i>Communicated by Captain WILLIAM F. GOODWIN, U.S.A., of Concord, N. H.</i>	24
II.—The Morristown Ghost. <i>By Rev. JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D.D., President of Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana</i>	2	X.—Letter of Sir Bibye Lake, Bart., 1738, with an illustrative Note, <i>By JOHN WARD DEAN, Esq., of Boston.</i>	27
III.—The Early Records of Trinity Church, New York City, 1697–1716. <i>From the Original Manuscripts, belonging to Doctor JOHN C. JAY, of Rye, N. Y.</i>	10	XI.—Notable Places. 1.—The Green Dragon-tavern, Boston, <i>By Hon. NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, late Mayor of that City.</i>	28
IV.—Tobacco and the Clergy, in Virginia Colony. <i>By Rev. E. H. GILLET, D.D., Professor in the University of the City of N. Y.</i> ...	14	XII.—Letter from Matthew Mayhew, 1689. <i>From the Massachusetts Archives, with an illustrative Note, By WILLIAM B. TRASK, Esq., of Boston</i>	31
V.—Jacob Leisler. <i>An unpublished letter illustrative of his history, communicated by Col. T. BAILEY MYERS, of New York.</i>	18	XIII.—Going the Circuit, in New York, A.D., 1700. <i>Communicated by E. B. O'CALLAGHAN, LL.D.</i>	31
VI.—"The Green-mountain Boys" of Vermont. Minutes of the Proceedings of their Conventions, 1775–1777. <i>Now first printed, without mutilation, alteration, or interpolation, from the Original Manuscripts.</i>	20	XIV.—Our Historical Writers. 1.—William Darlington, LL.D., of Westchester, Penn. <i>By CHARLES LANMAN, Esq., Georgetown, D.C.</i>	32
VII.—Letter from John Gooch, 1776. <i>Communicated by JEREMIAH COLBURN, Esq., of Boston.</i>	22	XV.—The Conflicts of the War of Secession. 1.—The Story of Fort Sumter. <i>By the Editor.</i>	34
VIII.—Steam Navigation, in 1798. Roosevelt: Livingston: Fulton. <i>Communicated by THOMPSON WESTCOTT, Esq., of Philadelphia.</i>	23	XVI.—Flotsam.....	54
IX.—"Vermont Controversy." A series of unpublished papers, concerning the relations of New Hampshire and the early Vermontese, from the		XVII.—Notes.....	55
		XVIII.—Queries.....	56
		XIX.—Replies by JOHN WARD DEAN, Esq., of Boston; Hon. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, President of the Connecticut Historical Society; H. C. VAN SCHAICK, Esq., of Manlius, N. Y.; and Hon. CHARLES W. UPHAM, of Salem, Mass.....	57
		XX.—Notices of Recent Publications...	59

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MORRISANIA, N. Y.:

HENRY B. DAWSON.

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This Notice is intended to protect, especially, the First, Third, Sixth, and Eleventh articles, as numbered below, all of which are first published herein, by due authority.

CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER.

	Page.		Page.
I.—The Morristown Ghost.— <i>Concluded.</i> By JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D.D., President of Wabash University, Crawfordsville, Indiana.....	65	<i>New Hampshire and the early Vermontese, from the Archives of New Hampshire.</i>	99
II.—Reminiscences of early Ohio State-men. A letter, by the late Hon. THOMAS EWING. Communicated by the late A. T. GOODMAN, Esq., of Cleveland, Ohio.....	71	XI.—The Sixth Army Corps, before Fredericksburgh, April–May, 1863. An unpublished Report of Major-general John Sedgewick. Communicated by Major-general WILLIAM F. SMITH.....	102
III.—Early Records of Trinity Church, New York City.— <i>Continued.</i> From the original manuscripts, now first printed.....	73	XII.—Notable Places. <i>Continued.</i> II. The Grave of J. RODMAN DRAKE, M.D. By the Editor.....	105
IV.—The attack on Fort Mifflin, 1777. Two unpublished letters of the Baron d' Arendt. Translated from the originals, and communicated by Colonel T. BAILEY MYERS, of New York City.....	77	XIII.—List of the members of the Pennsylvania State Association of the Order of the Cincinnati. An unpublished document belonging to the Dauphin-county [Penn.] Historical Society. Communicated by Doctor W. H. EGGLE, of Harrisburg, Penn.....	107
VI.—“The Green Mountain Boys” of Vermont. Minutes of the Proceedings of their Conventions.— <i>Continued.</i> Now first printed, without mutilation, alteration, or interpolation, from the original manuscripts.....	80	XIV.—Flotsam.....	109
VII.—The ancient Penobscot, or Panawanskek. By Hon. JOHN E. GODFREY, of Bangor, Maine.....	85	XV.—Notes, by Captain WILLIAM F. GOODWIN, U.S.A., of Concord, N. H.; Rev. ISAAC JENNINGS, of Bennington, Vermont; JOHN WARD DEAN, Esq., of Boston; General W. S. ROSECRANS, U.S.A.; JOHN T. BOWNE, Esq., of Glen Cove, N. Y.; and Captain C. W. ELLWELL, of New York City.....	114
VIII.—Major-general Mooers, of Plattsburg, N. Y. Written by himself, in 1833, and communicated, for publication, by General N. B. BAKER, Adjutant-general of Iowa....	92	XVI.—Queries.....	120
IX.—Manners of American Judges and Lawyers. Extracts from an Address on Manners of the Bench and Bar, delivered before the Law School of the New York University, December 22, 1871, by CHARLES H. HUNT, Esq., of the New York Bar.....	94	XVII.—Replies, by JEPHTHA R. SIMMS, Esq., the historian of Schoharie-county; JAMES MACKENZIE, Esq., of Lima, Ohio; Rev. LEONARD WHITINGTON and his grandson, W. W. JAKUES, Esq., of Newbury, Mass.; Colonel JOHN SCHOONOVER, of the Eleventh New Jersey Volunteers; WILLIAM KELBY, Esq., of the New York Historical Society; JOHN GILMARY SHEA, LL.D.; and the EDITOR.....	120
X.—“Vermont Controversy.”— <i>Continued.</i> A series of unpublished papers, concerning the relations of		XVIII.—Books.....	124

TO OUR READERS.

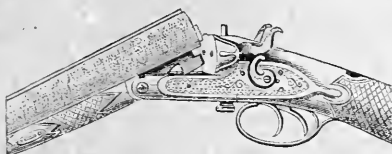
We have pleasure in being enabled to send out the second of our numbers of the current year, although out of time because of reasons which are not unknown to you.

The March number will be sent out at the very earliest possible moment consistent with due care in the preparation of its contents; and if we shall not again be sent back to our sick-room and if no other disaster, now unforeseen, shall overtake us, we shall be enabled to enjoy, very shortly, through the promised assistance of others,—what we have never yet enjoyed—the pleasure of being in line with our contemporaries.

The March number will not be less worthy of your notice than those of the current volume which have preceded it. Among other papers, hitherto unpublished, which will appear in it, will be a Report made by General Ben McCulloch of the Confederate States' Army, describing the military operations in Missouri, from the Battle of Carthage, July 5, 1861, to the retreat of General Hunter, from South-western Missouri, in November of that year. This important paper was communicated, for publication, by General FEANZ SIGEL.

The *Story of Fort Sumter*, commenced in the January number, will be continued in that for March; and as that portion of this important narrative has been written from unpublished material communicated for this purpose by Generals Jefferson C. Davis, John G. Foster, Truman Seymour, Abner Doubleday, and Samuel W. Crawford—the only survivors of the officers of the garrison—as well as by Larz Anderson, Esq.—the Major's brother—and by other gentlemen who were personally conversant of the occurrences described, our readers will not only be enabled to read a new version of that Chapter of our country's history, but to judge of the merits of the defence of the Fort and of those who had a hand in it, from new and undoubted testimony.

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WHOLE NUMBER,
VOL. XXI., No. III.

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The Antiquities, History, and Biography

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March, 1872.

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CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER.

	Page.		Page.
I.—The Military Operations in Missouri, in the Summer and Autumn of 1861. An unpublished Report of General Ben McCulloch, C. S. A. <i>Communicated, with a Supplementary Note, by General FRANZ SIGEL.</i>	129	out mutilation, alteration, or interpolation, from the Original Manuscripts. — <i>Continued from page 85.</i>	184
II.—“Green Mountain Boys” of Vermont. Minutes of the Proceedings of their Conventions. <i>Now first printed, with-</i>		III.—The Conflicts of the War of Secession. I.—The Story of Fort Sumter. — <i>Continued from page 53.</i>	139
		2.—From the occupation of Fort Sumter to the repulse of the <i>Star of the West.</i>	
		IV.—Books.....	192

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

I.—Reference is respectfully made to the *Advertisement*, at the foot of page 192—the last page of the Number. It is one in which all are interested.

II.—We refer with unaffected pride to the contents of this number. The Report of General Ben McCulloch, of his operations in Arkansas and Missouri, in 1861, is a paper of unusual importance to all who desire to know the exact truth of that subject. It is now first published; and we are indebted to our friend and neighbor, General Franz Sigel, for our copy of it. That portion of *The Story of Fort Sumter* which relates to the events between the evacuation of Fort Moultrie, on the evening of the twenty-sixth of December, 1860, and the repulse of the *Star of the West*, on the morning of the ninth of January, 1861, which appears in this number of the Magazine, will be found both interesting and important. Particular attention is invited to that portion of it which presents the author's conclusions concerning Major Anderson's alleged zeal in the discharge of his duties; to that in which General Scott's character and conduct are examined; and to the remarkable misrepresentations of the subject of the paper, by several of those who have previously written concerning it.

III.—Because of the great length of that portion of the *Story of Fort Sumter* which appears in this number—which could not be divided without impairing its usefulness to the great body of our readers—we have laid over the Notes, Queries, and Replies, and some of the Book-notices which we had provided for this number. They will serve to make the next Number more varied in its contents.

IV.—The April number, which is in the printers' hands, will be ready early in April. It will be the first issue of the Magazine, under the new arrangement; and we reasonably hope that, in the character and variety of the articles which it will contain, it will be found entirely worthy of the confidence and respect which, even under the disadvantages under which we have so long labored, the Magazine has not failed, hitherto, to secure and to hold.

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CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER.

	Page.		Page.
I.—CONFEDERATE LOVE-TAPS. GENERAL BRAXTON BRAGG AND THE GENERALS OF HIS COMMAND. <i>By the EDITOR.</i>	257	W. H. EGLE, M.D., of Harrisburg, Penn.....	292
<div style="margin-left: 20px;"> <p>☞ This article contains original letters, hitherto unpublished, from General Bragg, Lieutenant-generals Polk and Hardee, Major-generals Cheatham, Withers, Breckenridge, Cleburne, S. B. Buckner, and Van Dorn, etc.</p> </div>		VIII.—“Vermont Controversy.”—Continued from Page 227. A series of unpublished papers, concerning the relations of New Hampshire and the early Vermontese, from the archives of New Hampshire.....	298
II.—An Essay on the Universal Plenitude of Being and on the Nature and Immortality of the Human Soul and its Agency, <i>by General ETHAN ALLEN, one of the leaders of “the Green-mountain Boys” of Vermont. From the Original Manuscript, now first printed.—Continued from Page 196.</i>	274	X.—Flotsam.....	297
III.—A sketch of the old Catholic Church of the Sacred Heart, at Conewago, Pennsylvania. <i>By M. REILY, Esqr. From The Catholic Mirror.</i>	283	X.—Notes, <i>by</i> JOHN WARD DEAN, of Boston; Professor E. F. ROCKWELL, of Statesville, N. C.; ISAAC B. CHOATE, of Gorham, Maine; “DICK,” of Bronxville, N. Y.; HENRY B. DAWSON, of Morrisania, N. Y.; and Doctor SOLOMON DROWNE, of the Army of the Revolution.....	306
IV.—Early Records of Trinity-church, New York City.—Continued from Page 222. <i>From the Original Manuscripts, now first printed.</i>	285	XI.—Queries.....	302
V.—Rev. Michael Wigglesworth's Reasons prompting him to lay down his pastoral office. <i>From the original manuscript, with a Prefatory Note, by JOHN WARD DEAN, Esqr., of Boston, Mass.</i>	288	XII.—Replies, <i>by</i> ROBERT CLARKE, Esqr., of Cincinnati, Ohio; S. F. HAVEN, Esq, Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, of Worcester, Mass.; HENRY B. DAWSON, of Morrisania, N. Y.; Hon. JAMES FOLLOCK, Superintendent of the Mint, Philadelphia; Dr. H. R. LINDERMAN, Director of the Mint, Washington, D. C.; Hon. CHARLES J. HOADLY, State Librarian, Hartford, Conn.; Rev. JOHN R. FREEMAN, Pastor of the First Congregational Church at Canterbury, Conn.; General J. WATTS DE PEYSTER, of Tivoli, N. Y.; “DICK,” of Bronxville, N. Y.; Hon. M. D. LEGGETT, Commissioner of Patents; and “W.,” of New York.....	308
VI.—“The Green-mountain Boys” of Vermont. Minutes of the Proceedings of their Conventions.—Continued from Page 207.....	289	XIII.—What we have to say about it.....	310
VII.—Western Pennsylvania, in 1779. An unpublished letter from C. A. Fowler to Thomas Gates. <i>Communicated by</i>		XIV.—Books.....	315
		XV.—Current events.....	319

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

We have taken such excellent care of the manuscripts, concerning the Battle of Buena Vista, from which we proposed to withdraw General Wool's letter, descriptive of the battle, that we cannot find them, in season for the employment of that letter, *in this number*, as we proposed and promised. As soon as we can lay our hands on it, we shall present it, through the columns of the Magazine, to the historical world.

**Trial of the Officers and Crew of the Privateer
Savannah, on a charge of Piracy, in the
United States Circuit Court, for
the Southern District
of New York.**

Hon. Judges NELSON and SHIPMAN, Presiding,

Reported by A. F. WARBURTON, Stenographer,

And corrected by the Counsel.

OCTAVO pp. xvii, 385. NEW YORK, 1862.

This very celebrated trial involved the principles which control the rights of those who are in insurrection and resort to the seas, in the prosecution of their purposes; and it is probable that in no other work have those principles been so thoroughly or so ably discussed.

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CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER.

	Page	Page.
I.—The Western States of the Great Valley and the cause of their prosperity, historically considered. <i>By</i> JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D.D., <i>President of Wabash-college, Indiana</i>	331	uscripts, now first printed..... 351
President Tuttle introduces in this paper extended extracts from the hitherto unpublished Diary of Manasseh Cutler, D.D., the Agent of "The Ohio Company."		
II.—An Essay on the Universal Plenitude of Being and on the Nature and Immortality of the Human Soul and its Agency, <i>by</i> General ETHAN ALLEN, <i>one of the leaders of "the Green-mountain Boys" of Vermont. From the Original Manuscript, now first printed.—Continued from Page 282.</i>	330	VI.—"Vermont Controversy."— <i>Continued from Page 297. A series of unpublished papers, concerning the relations of New Hampshire and the early Vermontese, from the archives of New Hampshire</i> 356
III.—Fourth of July Ode, <i>by</i> Doctor Peter Bryant, of Cummington, Massachusetts, father of William Cullen Bryant, the poet. <i>Communicated, with Notes, by</i> JOHN WARD DEAN, <i>Esqr., of Boston</i>	334	VII.—Flotsam..... 362
IV.—Confederate Love-taps. General Braxton Bragg and the Generals of his Command. <i>By</i> THE EDITOR. <i>Continued from Page 274</i>	334	VIII.—Notes <i>by</i> the late T. W. C. MOORE, <i>Esqr., of New York City; the Records of the XVIIth Regiment of Light Dragoons, Lancers, British Army; Rev. Doctor FISCHER, of the Congregation of "Shearith Israel," New York City; and Professor E. F. ROCKWELL, of Statesville, N. C.</i>
This paper contains unpublished letters, generally from the originals, by Lieutenant-general Polk, Major-general Breckinridge, and other distinguished officers of the Confederate States Army, besides much material, hitherto unpublished, concerning the important Battle of Stone's-river, January 2, 1863.		X.—Queries..... 368
V.—Early Records of Trinity-church, New York City.— <i>Continued from Page 288. From the Original Man-</i>		XI.—Replies <i>by</i> W. S. BOGERT, <i>Esqr., Treasurer of the Georgia Historical Society; HENRY B. DAWSON, Editor of the Magazine; J. S. FUTHEY, Esqr., of West Chester, Penn.; JOHN GILMARY SHEA, LL. D., of Elizabeth, N.J.; Captain GEORGE HENRY PREBLE, U. S. N.; Captain WILLIAM G. WHILDEN, of Charleston, S. C.; ISAAC B. CHOATE, Esqr., of Gorham, Maine; LUTHER S. MARSH, Esqr., of the New York Bar; Rev. GEORGE HOWE, D.D., historian of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina; and Hon. A. B. HAMILTON, President of the Dauphin-county (Pa.) Historical Society</i> 369
		XII.—What we have to say about it..... 372
		XIII.—Books..... 375
		XIV.—Current events..... 383

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

The Title-page and Index of this volume, will be sent to our subscribers with the number for July, which is now in the printers' hands and well advanced.

The July number will contain the first of Major Douglass's Lectures on the Military Operations on the Niagara frontier, in the War of 1812; the beginning of Mr. Randall's historical sketch of men and matters in Chenango-county, in this State; Judge Godfrey's paper on the younger Castine, read before the Maine Historical Society; General Devens's Oration on General George G. Meade, delivered before the Society of the Army of the Potomac, at its recent meeting at New Haven; and a supplement to the article in this number entitled *Confederate Love-taps*—General Bragg having sent to us some very important papers, hitherto unpublished, for that purpose—besides a continuation of some of the articles unfinished in this number.

**Trial of the Officers and Crew of the Privateer
Savannah, on a charge of Piracy, in the
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Hon. Judges NELSON and SHIPMAN, Presiding,

Reported by A. F. WARBURTON, Stenographer,

And corrected by the Counsel.

OCTAVO pp. xvi, 385. NEW YORK, 1862.

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